MANA WAHINE READER

A COLLECTION OF WRITINGS 1987-1998

VOLUME I

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Volume I

Te Kotahi
Research Institute
THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

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Naomi Simmonds, Joeliee Seed-Pihama and Kirsten Gabel**

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Preface

Over the past few years we have had many requests for references related to Mana Wahine and/or Māori women's writings on Māori feminist approaches. Many of the early writings in this area are difficult to access and as such have become less well known or utilised as a basis for thinking about issues that impact upon Māori women. The growing articulation of the need for intersectionality has prompted more conversations around how we as Māori and Indigenous Peoples engage with the multiple intersecting beliefs, ideologies and practices that both inform, and impact upon, our lives. Mana Wahine is a term that encompasses our own tikanga and which upholds and elucidates the mana that is inherent in our lives as hine, as wahine, in its many forms. It embeds our wellbeing and our ways of being within particular cultural understandings, beliefs and practices that affirm who we are within our whakapapa and whanaungatanga, our roles, our positioning, our responsibilities, our obligations. Mana wahine is not, and should never be considered only about gender relations. It is much more and moves beyond the colonial definitions of gender identity that is constructed within dualist notions of biology, femaleness or maleness. Mana wahine is always located within our wider relationships as Māori. And it is within such a framework that we can ensure that we are cognisant of our relationships, responsibilities and obligations to each other as Māori, to our Indigenous relations and to those that live here on our lands.

We are honoured to reprint a range of early works here to make them more readily available nationally and internationally. The writings that appear in these two readers are those that we have been able to gain permission to reprint, often because the original publications either are out of print or are not easily accessible. We acknowledge and thank all of the authors and the publishers who brought these writings to us all in their original form, and who have agreed that we share them in these volumes with free access. We have chosen to create these volumes as online resources so they can be downloaded and shared widely. He mihi mutunga kore tēnei ki a koutou, wāhine mā.

As editors of these volumes we have retained the original text with only a few minor corrections where required. We have also listed at the beginning of each volume the source of the original article for your information. The cover images have been gifted by Robyn Kahukiwa and represent two commanding atua wahine, Mahuika and Hineteiwaiwa, and who bring the power of their respective domains to this publication. At the commencement of each volume is an original poem that has been gifted for this collection. Volume One includes the poem 'Don't Mess with the Māori Woman' by Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Volume Two opens with 'Ngā Māreikura' by Hinewirangi Kohu-Morgan. These poems are to provide a creative entry into the publications. At the end of Volume Two, we have included four new articles by Leonie Pihama, Naomi Simmonds, Kirsten Gabel and Joeliee Seed-Pihama to bring the volumes to an end with some contemporary discussion of Mana Wahine The purpose of this publication is to share. To share the words and thoughts of wahine Māori. To share reflections, analysis, practices from a place that is ours. So to you, the reader, enjoy.

Leonie Pihama, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Naomi Simmonds, Joeliee Seed-Pihama, Kirsten Gabel.

Source Acknowledgements

Don't Mess with the Māori Woman

A gift to Herearoha Skipper

Linda Tuhiwai Smith - Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Porou

She walks with
The power
Of thousands of years
In her cycles of blood,
And
The rhythms of her heart
She descends from the seeds of
Rangiātea
The neverending source of who we are
who we can be

Don't mess with the Māori woman
Who stands beside you
As she walks with the power
Of thousands of years
In her blood and her bones

She breathes
The salted air
From the greatest ocean
From legendary voyagers,
risk takers, storytellers
And lovers
From composers
Mischief makers
Scientists
And warriors
From those who could intercede with the
gods, our ancestors,
Who predicted our futures
And changed the course of our destiny

Don't mess with the Māori woman
Who walks alongside you
As she walks with the power
Of thousands of years
In her blood and her bones

She cries the tears
Of human triumphs
And tragedies
She has sobbed with inconsolable grief,
Torn her skin in anguish and pain
Worn her sorrow of loss and defeat
Of injustice and cruelty
Of famine
sacrifice and courage
Her tears have washed
Generations of heart break
And witnessed all that was sad

Don't mess with the Māori woman
Who bears your children
As she walks with the power
of thousands of years
In her blood and her bones

She loves from a place
of sacred songs,
Of passion and pleasure
whisperings and touch
Of the gift of her body
Of her ancestral freedom
To discover
And hunger for her lovers
Never the property
For someone to own
Free to pursue
Her own desire

Don't mess with the Māori woman
Who chooses to love you
As she walks with the power
Of thousands of years
In her blood and her bones

She speaks
With the voice
Of a long line of grandmothers
Her words can
Entrance
Cast spells
And entice
Her voice can pierce
Like lightening
And shatter
The silence of
Secrecy or shame
Her words can spark fires
And start wars
They can arouse lovers
and hush babies to sleep
She can sing in the
Beginning of life
And weep at life's end

Don't mess with the Māori woman
Who speaks her truth
As she walks with the power
Of thousands of years
In her blood and her bones
She lives with the power
Of thousands of years
Coursing through her blood
On an eternal journey
That will outlive her
She holds the stories
Of peoples past
In her bones, her puku
And her heart
She laughs with the joy
From generations before
Whose legacies will

Line her face
With wisdom, heartache,
Compassion and grace

Don't mess with the Māori woman
Who walks with the power
Of thousands of years
In her blood and her bones

To Us the Dreamers are Important

Rangimarie Mihomiho Rose Pere

E hine! hei ona wa
kā kite koe i te puawaitanga
o te moemoea, te wawata
Kā rongo hoki Koe
I te pumanawa - pumau ...
E hine! e Kore e Waikura e.

Young girl! the time will
come to pass when you will
realise our dreams, our hopes,
you will also experience the
deeper meaning of intuitive
intelligence, creativity -
innate qualities…. Young girl!
these do not perish with time.

Picture if you will the following analogy. A team of women is working on a tukutuku panel.[1] The chief designer has told the women working in the front of the panel what designs they need to use to symbolise her dream. These women pass threaded needles back and forth through the slats to partners at the back of the panel. The dreamer knows how the whole design will eventually look - she represents the pure intellectual. The women working in the front of the panel initiate the design and see it unfolding as the needles pass back and forth at strategic points - these women represent the academics who set up the 'blueprint' within society. The women at the back of the panel are an important part of the process, but the vision that unfolds before them is cluttered and blurred - these women represent the 'masses'.

I have had dreams for as far back as I can remember, and I continue to have dreams. For me life's moments are to be savoured whether they be good or bad. For me dreams enable me to capture the magic that comes with each day. The dreamers are important.

Lake Waikaremoana. National Publicity Studios.

Born in Ruatahuna a half-century ago, I was strongly influenced by my natural mother's kinship groups. I was transferred from my natural mother to my maternal grandparents soon after birth. I regarded my maternal grandmother as a mother. The word mother has a wide range of meaning. In Maori kinship terminologies, no distinction is made among the related women of one's parents' generation. One's aunt in English becomes one's mother. In Maori an individual uses matua (father) for all male relatives, and whaea (mother) for all female relatives in his or her parents' generation.

Up to the age of seven I lived with my maternal grandparents on an ancestral block of land called Ohiwa, approximately 20 kilometres south east of Waikaremoana. Ohiwa is a 270-hectare block of land that was originally cultivated and settled by Ngati-Hika, a sub-tribe of Kahungunu. Several pa sites, burial grounds and various artefacts remind me and my kin of its sometimes turbulent history.

A brief account of my ancestry is also important to me as a Maori. It establishes my rapport with readers. Te Iriheke, who was my maternal grandfather, was himself the son of a Kahungunu father by the name of Te Rangi and a Tuhoe Potiki Ngati Ruapani mother, Ngawini. My maternal grandmother, Mihomiho, was herself the daughter of an English man, Fenton Arundel Lambert, and a Tuhoe-Potiki mother, Te Au Mihomiho. Some of these forebears lived and farmed on Ohiwa along with elders and other relatives. Many other people used Ohiwa as a meeting place, and a place for stopping over when travelling through on horseback.

I slept, ate, played, worked and learnt alongside four generations, and was never excluded from anything my grandparents were involved with, including attending celebrations, tangihanga (ceremonial mourning) and many other gatherings. I learnt through observation and participation. It was my grandparents' generation, and older, who influenced most of my learning in those formative years. After my grandfather died in 1944, I joined another part of the family at Waikaremoana so that I could attend the Kokako Native School; but my grandmother, Mihomiho, continued to influence my life until her death ten years later.

I should also acknowledge Ngati Rongomaiwahine, Ngati Kahungunu and Ngati Porou, my father's tribal groups and in particular members of the following hapu (sub-tribes): Ngati Hika and Ngai Tahu-Matua. Harry, my paternal grandfather, who died in 1931, was the son of Bertram Lambert and Teia of Ngati Hika. Wiki, my paternal grandmother, who died in 1983, was the daughter of Tu Kapuarangi and Ani Karaitiana. Through Ani I am united to Hauiti Tuatahi and Hine-te-Ra of the Tairawhiti tribes.

As a female, I have been exposed to very positive female models from both my natural parents descent-lines. The most senior men and women in my immediate kinship groups set the example of complementing, respecting and supporting each other. They made it quite clear from the legacy they left that men and women, adults and children, work alongside each other and together. Retaining this close interaction of all members of the extended family during the waking and working hours of the day is extremely difficult and often quite impossible in the urban situation. There are few services or social occasions in the wider community that encourage and allow for extended families of all age groups to participate together on a regular basis. The role of parenting is left to one person in many instances (usually the mother). Social and economic pressures, including other implications, can also be added to further complicate such an important responsibility. Within traditional Maori society, parenting and following through the development of a child were the responsibility of the whanau as a whole.

The adult models to which children are exposed in their formative years dictate and influence the way people later think and feel about themselves. My Maori female forebears, before the introduction of Christianity, and the 'original sin of Eve', were extremely liberated as compared to my English tupuna. With the exception of slaves (male and female), the women were never regarded as chattels or possessions; they retained their own names on marriage. Retaining their own identity and whakapapa (genealogy) was of the utmost importance and children could identify with the kinship group of either or both parents. The clothing and ornaments of traditional Maori men and women were very similar in both texture and appearance, particularly over-garments, such as cloaks. Clothing was loose-fitting and flowing so that pregnant women were never restricted by the 'fads of fashion' that for English women could include tight corsets. Conception was not associated with 'sin'; childbearing was not seen as a 'form of punishment and suffering' but rather as uplifting and within the natural order of life.

Assault, which could have included rape or an insult to women, involved a penalty of death or some very severe punishment for the offender. For example, a woman of Tuhoe-Potiki had her back badly injured by her third husband. Her kinship group, one of whom was the 'head' of one of her hapu, declared the husband 'dead'. This punishment was worse than physical death because he was completely ignored and boycotted by the whole community, including his own immediate family. Children persecuted and abused him because he was a 'non-person' and when he finally died he was buried without ceremony.

As a grandchild who was truly blessed and loved, I am drawing extensively on my own experience and on the knowledge that has been shared with me by my immediate elders. Most of the information in this study is from whanaunga (relations), and from consulting the work of other research workers and writers.

It is not simple to share information and knowledge about the way people consider the type of preparation their children should receive in order to fit them for the role of adult life. My intention is not to give answers or solutions to questions that this generation or future generations might have, but rather to experiment in the use of new methods of analysis and the furthering of new understandings.

An over-simplification of the diversity of Maori institutions not only produces the errors inherent in averages but disregards the vivacity of the Maori people themselves. Their lives and institutions were far from static and consistent before the arrival of the Pakeha, and have certainly not been so since. But it is convenient for the Pakeha to collectivise 'the Maori' and restrict an understanding of the conflicts between us to 'agreed' areas. But such an approach hardly reflects the realities of human interaction. My own small contribution to resolving these difficulties is to share at least a part of my knowledge with you. I have no intention of sharing it all. Tribal histories are not public matters; but the memories of childhood experiences coupled to the position of women in my own descent-lines may be particularly topical today.

My views on this matter resemble those expressed by John Rangihau, a Tuhoe-Potiki kinsman, and give a timely warning for anyone who sets down hard and fast rules about Maori institutions and concepts.

> There is no such thing as Maoritanga….Each tribe has its own way of doing things. Each tribe has its own history. And it's not a history that can be shared

among others…. I can't go around saying because I'm a Maori that Maoritanga means this and all Maoris have to follow me. That's a lot of hooey. You can only talk about your Tuhoetanga, your Arawatanga, your Waikatotanga. Not your Maoritanga. I have a faint suspicion that this is a term coined by Pakeha to bring the tribes together. Because if you cannot divide and rule, then for tribal people all you can do is bring them together and rule… because then they lose everything by losing their own tribal identity and histories and traditions.

When Elsdon Best wrote the tribal saga of *Tuhoe,* he decreed that the ancestral gods should determine whether the book should keep the tribal canoe afloat or whether it should flounder on some hidden rock. A tribal canoe needs far more than a book to keep it afloat; it needs people to believe that it can transport them to new horizons. The Urewera and all that it conveys to those who visit, and the way that it intrigues and inspires those who 'belong', helps to assure me that the tribal canoe is still afloat even in these very challenging, turbulent times. Indeed, all the tribal canoes are afloat - the current resurgence of tribalism makes it quite clear that we know from whence we came and that we want to chart our own direction into the future.

Many of us identify ourselves with the awe-inspiring beauty of the Urewera bush, a domain that is made up of different families of trees from the young to the ancient, with their roots deeply entrenched in Papatuanuku. While there are also many other New Zealanders, who appear to be symbolised by the Kaingaroa Forest with its one family of pine trees standing row after row in their sameness, one is ever hopeful that the schools will contribute to their growth by way of diversity.

I also identify with Hine Pukohurangi, the heavenly mist maiden who mantles everything she gently embraces! The following song was composed by my daughter Katherine Ngarangi Tautuhi on 6 February 1984:

Hine Pukohu	Beautiful Mist Maiden
te ngahere	O'er the trees
nga maunga	O'er the mountains
te moana	O'er the sea
He taonga miharo	Beautiful vision
na te Kaihanga	From the Maker
Nana nga mea Katoa	Maker of all things
he taonga miharo	beautiful vision
Na te Matua?	from the supreme.

I know that traditional Maori institutions are often criticised and attacked for being sexist, and yet for me the language, with its values and beliefs, clearly indicates otherwise. Our tribal traditions are serving us well, and it is time to break down some of the myths espoused by Maori and non-Maori people who are either ill-informed and ignorant, or who are playing their own power games.

Within my own tribal groups women are of paramount importance and this is symbolised through positive concepts being associated with females: wahine (identifying with the first female parent, Hine-Wao - unlike 'women' from the womb of man), Papatuanuku (mother earth), hapu (pregnancy, large kinship group), awa tapu (sacred river of life - menstruation), whare tangata (house of humanity), waka tangata (the canoe that is the lifeline of the family

and the transmitting of a heritage). In Tuhoe-Potiki the women are the first communicators on the marae and no official occasion begins without them. No self-respecting Tuhoe male will go on to a marae without a woman. I am more than familiar with this important role and have carried it throughout the country because other tribal groups also recognise its significance. Within Ngati Kahungungu I have been given full speaking rights on the marae and spoke just recently on the marae at Waipatu, Hastings, as a lead into a wananga for young Maori women from all over New Zealand. These young Maori women were deeply moved by the whole experience. The majority of them did not know very much about their own heritage. Maori women from traditional backgrounds have always had the role of mediators and learn to develop communication skills to a very high level. In international conferences I have attended there has been acknowledgement of the work of Maori women as social scientists.

In contrast to coastal tribes, Tuhoe-Potiki had a harsh hinterland environment. Resources were sparse and limited. The rhythms of their life reflect that situation. Both sexes and all age groups were trained to know their environment and were expected to utilise its resources. A person, no matter of what age or sex, was expected to perform, or at least to attempt, any task that confronted them. The survival of the individual and group depended on this type of philosophy. As a child in Waikaremoana, I saw both men and women performing the same tasks - from delivering and caring for babies to fencing, ploughing and digging roads. In consequence there were no distinct or formal boundaries for men's and women's work habits or patterns. The girls and boys played the same games - including rugby at school, did the same chores, and fought together in feuds amongst whanau. One learned to assume responsibility and think independently at an early age. It was as a total person, rather than as a male or female, that one came to recognise oneself.

I also wish to share a part of my philosophy with readers. This statement is about the total development of the individual within the context of the family. The symbol that is being used to define this totality is Te Wheke (the octopus). Only a limited interpretation of my basic beliefs can be given in English. It thus involves the hermeneutic difficulty of expressing the concepts of one culture in the language of another. There are twelve stages of learning that I know of from my immediate forebears, and I am still at stage one. There are so many things that one can take for granted from one's own heritage. I have only realised the full significance of what my immediate elders tried to share with me as a child through comparing it with what I have seen from a western university in New Zealand. I was very fortunate to receive the teachings of a people who could traverse the universe through the aristocracy of the mind.

TE WHEKE (THE OCTOPUS)

An explanation of the symbol is as follows:

> The body and the head represent the individual/family unit.

> Each tentacle represents a dimension that requires and needs certain things to help give sustenance to the whole.

> The suckers on each tentacle represent the many facets that exist within each dimension.

> The eyes reflect the type of sustenance each tentacle has been able to find and gain for the whole.

The intertwining of the tentacles represents a merging of each dimension. The dimensions that have been mentioned need to be understood in relation to each other and within the context of the whole because there are no clear-cut boundaries.

I will now make reference to each tentacle by beginning with:

WAIRUATANGA (SPIRITUALITY)

Sustenance is required for the spiritual development of the individual, the family. The Creator, the Great Parent, the Supreme Influence is of the utmost importance. The Creator, the most powerful influence we have, is recognised as the beginning and the ending of all things. The Creator has planted a language and given a unique identity to me and my Maori forebears. We have given this identity an earthly form. Our forebears transmitted numerous incantations, beliefs to help give sustenance to this spiritual existence.

An absolute belief in a Supreme Influence has always been a part of my Maori heritage. The closest I can get to the Creator is to retain and uplift the unique identity he has given me. The world view of the Maori is that people are the most important of all living things in the physical world, because we believe we are in the image of the Creator. We do not support the Darwin theory and do not classify ourselves as belonging to the animal kingdom. The sacred seed of life and the sacred river of life are from the Creator. My natural parents link me up to the beginning of humanity. I was baptised in and born of water - my mother's.

MANA AKE (UNIQUENESS IN THIS CONTEXT)

Just as one is aware of a child's heredity from forebears, there is also an awareness of those things that make a child absolutely unique. This absolute uniqueness is a part of the individual's own mana as a whole. *As long as humanity has existed there has never been any one who is exactly the same as any one else.* This concept also applies to the family unit. If a family receives sustenance that gives them a positive identity with their mana intact, then that family will have the strength to pursue those goals and those assets that can uplift them. A balance has to be kept between individual and group endeavour. My elders only gave me guidelines to help me through life because they had the utmost respect for my mana ake - my absolute uniqueness.

MAURI (LIFE PRINCIPLE, ETHOS)

If great importance and support is given to the mauri of each individual in the family, in time the individual, the family, will appreciate the mauri in other people, the mauri in meeting houses, the mauri of traditional courtyards, the mauri of trees, the mauri of rivers, the mauri of the sea and the mauri of mountains. The traditional courtyards and the mountains of New Zealand have heard and felt the mauri of the language as spoken by our Maori forebears before the intrusion of any other. The mauri of the language and the mauri of everything else that has been mentioned is very important to the family unit and the way it can withstand negative influences. Respect for the natural environment and conservation are important aspects of the whole.

HA A KORO MA A KUI MA (THE 'BREATH OF LIFE' FROM FOREBEARS)

The 'breath of life' mentioned here relates to the heritage that has come down from Maori forebears. Sustenance from knowing one's own heritage in depth is important. A basic belief is that one's future is linked up with one's past so that if the heritage is firmly implanted then

the members of the family will know who and what they are, the unique identity that they have, will remain intact. Families who have had their heritage transmitted to them have a strong central core that can enable them to become universal people.

TAHA TINANA (THE PHYSICAL SIDE)

The family must receive sustenance for its material and bodily needs. The general guidelines required would relate to medication, suitable foods, suitable and appropriate clothing, appropriate means of shelter, different types of recreation including physical education, everything that pertains to physical survival. The body is regarded as sacred and requires a set of disciplines. The head is regarded as the most important part of the body and has its own set of restrictions, tapu, placed on it. If one does not take care of her or his head, then worrying about everything else pertaining to the body is pointless. The genital region is also regarded as very tapu, particularly in women - the sacred 'houses of humanity'.

Tremendous respect is given to the body and the way one should use it. A mother cherishes and nurtures her child in the womb, and when one is old enough to take over the responsibility of his or her body, then this cherishing and nurturing must continue. As a child and grandchild I remember the physical warmth, the tremendous flow of love that I received from my many parents and grandparents. They taught me to adjust and to accept change - to think things out for myself. They taught me to realise that my physicalness as a human being would be a constant challenge to me.

WHANAUNGATANGA (THE EXTENDED FAMILY, GROUP DYNAMICS, SOCIAL INTERACTION)

Whanaungatanga is based on the principle of both sexes and all generations supporting and working alongside each other. Families are expected to interact on a positive basis with other families in the community to help strengthen the whole. Families receive sustenance for this dimension when they feel they have an important contribution to make to the community they live in. Genealogy, whakapapa, is an important part of whanaungatanga. It is the basic right of the child to know who his or her natural parents are even if he or she is adopted out. The spirit of the child amongst other dimensions begins from conception and relates to the child's forebears. A basic belief of the Maori is to expose a child to his or her kinship groups as soon as possible and throughout the whole of his or her lifetime.

The extended family is the group that supports the individual through a crisis or anything else of consequence. Kinship identity is most important. Affection, physical warmth and closeness of members of a kinship group is encouraged and fostered. Traditionally men and women who did not produce children of their own could foster a relative's child or children. Some of our most famous ancestors and Maori people of more recent times did not produce any issue of their own, but were still regarded as most outstanding leaders and tribal parents. The concept of Matua-Whangai - foster parents - is becoming prevalent throughout Maoridom again. Today some of us extend whanaungatanga across the world community; for example, I have been adopted by a Cherokee family and am addressed and known as White Eagle.

WHATUMANAWA (THE EMOTIONAL ASPECT)

Sustenance and an understanding of emotional development in the individual, and the family as a whole is considered important. Children are encouraged to express their emotions so that the people who are involved with the parenting know how to support, encourage and guide the children. Crying for joy or sadness by both sexes is regarded as natural and healthy by the Maori. This form of expression is not regarded as a weakness.

Emotional involvement and interaction are regarded as important meeting points for human beings. Creativity, which is innate in each person, can often be developed through this aspect of total learning. Human emotion is still one of our most powerful forms of body language and the Maori, among other Polynesians, acknowledges it in a very positive way.

HINENGARO (THE MIND - 'THE HIDDEN LADY' - THE SOURCE OF THE THOUGHTS AND EMOTIONS)

Approaches of learning that arouse, stimulate and uplift the mind are very important. My immediate forebears believed in the aristocracy of the mind and despised anyone who tried to tamper with the mind. The mind if nurtured well knows no boundaries, and can help one to traverse the universe. Intuitive intelligence is encouraged and developed in some individuals to a very high degree. There is a strong belief in exercising and using all of the senses on a regular basis. First-hand experiences are most important to the whole notion of learning. Thinking, knowing, perceiving, remembering, recognising, abstracting, generalising are all processes which refer to the intellectual activities of the hinengaro. Emotional activities such as feeling, sensing, responding and reacting are also processes of the hinengaro. There is no doubt in my hinengaro that intuitive intelligence has helped me to remain fairly intact in myself as a total person.

WAIORA (TOTAL WELL BEING)

If each symbolic tentacle receives sufficient sustenance for the whole then the eyes of the individual and the symbolic family unit will reflect total well being. Waiora is my definition of total well being as shared with me by my elders. If people from the wider community wish to help Maori people face up to the challenges confronting them in today's world, then I feel that some cognizance must be given to the philosophy I have tried to share within the limitations of English as my second language.

As a human being I have the basic right to seek enlightenment, to extend my own mauri, my life force, in every possible way. I have many limitations but the influences of my early childhood in Ruatahuna (my birthplace) and Waikaremoana make me strive to go forward, to learn, and to face up to the challenges that confront one in today's world. I remember one of my elders saying that if I stood tall, my ancestors would also stand tall. I can respect and appreciate other cultures, including other traditions, because of the way I feel about my own. I am learning to understand my own culture by comparing it with others and I am proud to be able to share and to contribute something that is from my own heritage. While humanity has many universals; the Maori people have their own unique contribution to make to the fellowship of peoples.

He Aha Te Mea Nui?

Waerete Norman - Ngāti Kuri, Ngāti Rehia

HE WAHINE HE WHENUA

When Linda[1] proposed the idea of a collection of writings for a journal, written from a Maori women's perspective, giving different views of 'te ao Maori'[2] and life in general, I thought 'tino pai he whakaaro rangatira teenei e haapai i nga waahine', brilliant, this is indeed very meaningful, a very worthwhile aim, to uplift and recognise the 'mana' of Maori women. Now at last, instead of being written about through the lens of someone else, our women will write about their own life experiences, be it generally, poetically or academically.

To us, to be Maori is to acknowledge 'tuupuna' and keep them close to our hearts as a 'puna'; a source of inspiration, wisdom and knowledge. 'Te Aho Tuhi', the tradition of writing,[3] records the memories and thoughts of some of the earliest writings of 'waahine' Maori by 'waahine' Maori, some of which are available in early Maori manuscripts.[4] The inspiration, the 'wairua', the spirit, the very essence of these writings is ever present in the hearts and minds of our writers and poets today. 'Te Aho Tuhi' also gives us some insight into the lives of our 'tuupuna'; their way of life in the past, how they adapted to new ways, and more than that, something tangible and real to hold on to and to look upon from another time, something to feel a heaviness about the eyes, of 'roimata', tears, something that makes us feel emotional about.[5]

It seemed quite natural then for those of us who have chosen 'Te Aho Tuhi' as a means of communication and expression to form 'Te Puawaitanga', a Maori Women Writers' group.[6]

No reira e Linda nga mihi nui me nga manaakitanga teenaa koe.[7]

For my contribution I have chosen to examine a 'whakataukii', a saying or utterance, pertaining to Maori women. I have chosen to explore this 'whakataukii' in the traditional sense and leave for another time the contemporary analysis.

What are 'whakataukii'? Sayings or proverbs or aphorisms are perhaps the commonest terms used for them in the English language. However, when defining meaning from an

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1   Linda Smith, Editor of *Te Pua*.
2   The Maori world view.
3   I am told the Maori of that period wrote more than they do today.
4   Ruta Te Rauparaha for example, her writings in Maori are in the Grey Collection.
5   The photographed images of family members, especially those who had passed away, were often touched or stroked when viewed by 'kuia' or other close 'whanau' members. Coming as I do from a family of 9 children a 'kootiro mutunga' youngest daughter of two marriages, though first born in a second marriage when first attending university and researching the land records of Te Hapua in the archives and seeing for the first time the actual writing of my 'tuupuna' who was very active in the tribal and community affairs of the region throughout their lifetimes. I constantly stroked my hand across the page of hand writing and felt quite emotional about them. I had been told many stories by my parents about them but they had died well before I was born and pictures or photographs of them were scarce and only came to light recently when they were restored by other family members, so for a long time I never knew what they looked like. The custom of burying 'taaonga' and personal belongings with the 'hunga mate' deceased was very prevalent at the turn of the century much of their 'taaonga' went in this manner. Also, with the change of 'haahi', religion from Church of England to the Ratana Faith in the community many family 'taaonga' were sent to the museum at Ratana Paa. Actually viewing their hand writing, for me, made them so much more real.
6   So named by the writer meaning the 'blossoming'.
7   In the Maori language there is no traditional term for thank you except the Biblical term 'whakawhetai'. A 'mihi' or accolade is as close as one can get to extending personal thanks. It is really a custom where you give some energy like a giving of yourself in recognition and acknowledgement of the 'mana' of that person. Linda in this instance initiated the idea of Te Pua, a journal for the writings of Maori women.

actual Maori term, 'whakataukii' can be so rendered as to seem to set something down and bring it to rest 'whakatau', in speech, with 'ki' taking the meaning of speak, talk or tell; to say or utter something, so that the saying, the proverb, the aphorism may be remembered in the oral record of an iwi for generations to come. 'Whakataukii' are commonly used in the speeches of able, highly competent and imaginative speakers skilled in the art, orality and ingenuity of 'Te Reo Rangatira' the Maori language. Speakers are primarily tribally based as theirs is a collective tribal worldview that links them in time and space to the landscape of art, of philosophy and of poetry, insofar as their knowledge and awareness of Maori 'tikanga', history, custom and traditions are concerned. In a living culture one need only to be aware of the nuances of 'koorero noa iho', everyday conversations and 'whaikorero', oratory, the subtleties of speech, of ritual, of challenge and response exchanged between speakers, to realise that such talented speakers often can and often do create and innovate 'whakatauki' in the actual delivery of a 'koorero', as a natural occurrence. Such sayings, such meaningful words, such 'whakataukii', live on in the oral record, often becoming universal in their application and use, becoming 'taaonga', precious treasures, inherited from 'nga whare koorero' the 'marae' of our people as is the case with the 'whakataukii' I will be discussing. 'Whakataukii' can be described as a way of imparting meaningful knowledge in a brief and succinct way.[8]

My aim, however, is to increase, for Maori women in particular, the store of the 'kete waananga';[9] the three baskets and their resources of wisdom and knowledge.

A 'whakataukii' most frequently quoted and used from the past concerning Maori women, is the 'whakataukii':

'He wahine he whenua i mate ai te tangata' generally translated as 'for women and land men die'. or 'on account of women and for land people die'. Other accepted translations of these 'whakatauki' are:

1 He wahine, he whenua, i ngaro ai te tangata.
Women and land are the reasons men die.

2 He wahine, he whenua, a ngaro ai te tangata.
For women and land men will die.

3 He wahine, he whenua, ka ngaro te tangata.
For women and land men die (are lost to the tribe).

4 He wahine, he oneone, i ngaro ai te tangata.
Women and the land (the earth) are the reasons men die.

5 He wahine, he whenua i ea ai te pakanga.
By women and land the battle is assuaged.[10]

8   See McRae, J. (1988: unpublished), 'Whakataukii' Maori Sayings. University of Auckland: Doctoral Thesis. This is a collection of Whakataukii from the Tai Tokerau, Northern Tribes.
9   Merimeri Penfold, kuia of Ngati Kuri, at a Maori Women's Waananga at Auckland University in 1991 spoke of nga kete e toru the esoterics, conceptual and fundamental knowledge of the three baskets of te ao Maori as it applied to Maori women.
10   See also Maori to English translations of this whakataukii in Sir George Grey. See also the following Maori Proverbs: A.E. Brougham and AW. Reed, revised by T.S. Karetu, 1987. Whakataukii, Proverbs, Maori and Island Education, Department of Education. Nga Pepeha a Nga Tupuna, Neil Grove, Victoria University of Wellington, Department of Maori Studies for various translations of this whakatauki.

What do these particular 'whakataukii' mean for 'waahine' Maori? How can they be interpreted? Although the translation 'on account of women and for land people die', accords closely with the Maori view or meaning of this 'whakataukii' all are valid and also serve to illustrate the difficulty of conveying in one language exactly what has been said in another. All the translations arise from traditional or classical Maori language to English language translations based on the earliest Maori Grammars.

Most discussions and writings about land and about Maori women in this country allude to this 'whakataukii' in some way. To which tribe this particular 'whakataukii' is attributed, and who composed it is not certain but it has survived from traditional use to be perpetuated in a modern context. The five translations of this 'whakataukii' are contextually the same in form and meaning, and, can be translated in a similar way.

The term 'ngaro' can mean lost, as in 'whatu ngarongaro he tangata' the first line of another 'whakataukii', meaning lost to sight, lost to the tribe, dislocated from that tribe, or even death itself, all concepts of meaning of the term 'ngaro'. 'Whenua', on the one hand, means land, ancestral land, in particular, as Papatuanuku, mother earth, is the land. Thus reference to 'whenua' is almost always in the sense of 'tupuna'. On the other hand, placenta or afterbirth is also termed 'whenua' and this is the 'whenua' that nourished the foetus as it grew within the mother and went back to the 'whenua', to the mother of all, Papatuanuku, when the child was born. 'Oneone', however, is the term for earth, ground or soil. It is also, according to 'tikanga', synonymous with 'kura', the red ochre, the red earth or clay from which the first woman Hineahuone, at Kurawaka, was fashioned.

The final example of this 'whakataukii', is slightly different in meaning to the others because of the introduction of the term 'ea', in this context meaning paid for where a debt was owed and demanded in the payment of 'utu'. The term 'pakanga' is evident in the translation meaning battle, usually such battles can be of some duration and pass down from one generation to the next. Aside from the land aspect, this particular 'whakataukii' relates also to the concept of 'utu', payment in terms of 'muru' retribution.

Although the terms 'ea' and 'pakanga' do not appear in the other examples, nevertheless the implications of 'ea' 'muru' and 'utu ' are inherent in them all. As was the customary practice, 'muru' was exercised because the 'mana' of a tribe was at stake. Often, 'muru' was at the behest of a woman, and, as a result of the influence she exerted full scale warfare was sometimes the outcome. Of primary importance however, was the fact that women and land were the means by which peaceful relations could be forged between enemy tribes and the exchanges that followed from one or both could halt hostilities. For example the tribal alliance between the Muriwhenua tribes and the warring factions of Aupouri and Te Rarawa was continued when Whangatauatea, 'wahine rangatira', a chiefly woman from Aupouri, commemorated in the name of a sacred hill in Ahipara, was taken to wife by the chief Poroa of Te Rarawa, thus halting hostilities. Tribes, after all, were born out of women, and such unions between warring factions consolidated the dynamics of inter-tribal, social, political and economic interaction, or, simply put, created and strengthened the bonds of whanaungatanga, relatedness, and extended 'te kupenga tupuna', the intertribal network.

I would like to dwell now on the third translation of 'for women and land men die' which represents, fundamentally, the intricate balance between life and death. In its traditional context, this 'whakataukii' conjures up quite powerful negative images of death, the 'wharemate', or 'whare aitua', the houses of death and misfortune, and Hine-nui-te-po,

female guardian or 'kaitiaki' of the night realms, 'nga po', who symbolises death. This image is reinforced by the act of copulation between 'taane' and 'wahine', male and female, where, in particular, the male reaches his climax. This moment is described by men as the 'moment of death', hence the momentary loss of the senses to the outside world; to 'te whare o te mate' (in reference to the female organs). The traditional belief is that this is also the moment when conception is likely to take place.

'Mate', in connection to 'te whare o te mate' the term commonly known as death, has many other abstractions; it can for example mean ailing with an affliction of some kind. 'Mate wahine', a further example, refers to and describes a man who greatly and most fervently desires a woman, similarly, its antonym, 'mate taane' or 'wahine mate taane' describes a women who greatly and most fervently desires a man. 'Mate' also acts as an intensifier on certain verbs eg; 'mate kai', hunger or 'e mate ana au i te hiakai', I am really hungry.

It is also a term that applies to the menstrual cycle of women. The correlations to death and women can be understood quite simply in this statement from one of my kaumaatua who says:

> ...the Maori says there are only two things they would die for, women and land, and of course it is true for kaiwhenua.... Nga kaupapa i timata te mea nui he tangata he whenua me nga kai o runga o te whenua. Kore hoki nga kai ra e kore te wahine e ora. Hore kau he pononga o te tangata.

> Fundamental principles in te ao Maori since the very beginning evolved around the importance of people, the land, and resources (food) harvested from the land. Without food women would not survive. Mankind, people could not survive.

These statements then are an acknowledgement of the primary importance of 'wahine' and 'whenua' in terms of procreation, and more importantly, to life itself. 'He aha te mea nui?' What then is a great resource? Why humankind, people, of course. In the natural order of the world they could not survive without women. Their first home was in the wombs of their mothers, appropriately named 'te whare o te tangata', the house of humankind.

'Te mauri', the lifeforce, began in 'te whare o te tangata' and had to be protected as it housed new life. Prayers, 'karakia' incantations, were said even before life or form took place 'manaakitia te hunga e whakawairua mai ana i nga koopu o nga whaaea' - Protect the spiritual essence and life force taking place within the wombs of their mothers. Women and land were intertwined, part of each providing nourishment and sustenance to 'iwi'. This 'whakataukii' also illustrates the primary importance of Maori women 'te mana o te wahine' as nurturers and guardians and protectors of the generations. As such they are accorded respect by the whole 'whaanau'. In the natural world, in the traditional complementary system, there was order, harmony and balance.

The term of 'wharemate', as touched on earlier, is balanced by 'oranga wairua' and 'oranga tinana' spiritual and physical wellbeing and vitality of the mind and body.

'Te whare o te tangata', in reference to the womb, is the only source from which all new life flows. 'Te oranga wairua', and 'te oranga tinana' therefore, are synonymous terms and give substance and meaning to the process of life where women are the rulers of the lifestream,

the menstrual cycle. The blood 'mate' which is 'toto' blood, and 'aku toto', my blood; meaning my descendants, inherited from the genetic coding of the tupuna. It was believed that the menstrual cycle termed 'mate' was in itself a 'mate' or death if conception did not take place.

'Ko Papatuanuku te matua o te tangata.'
Papatuanuku is the parent of all.

'Te tapu', 'te mana', 'te wehi o te wahine' were all powerful forces to be reckoned with in the traditional context. Among all tribes are stories that illustrate the feats not only of men but also of courageous women.

The Maori philosophy of death was to return to Papatuanuku to be greeted by Hine-nui-te-po. Whilst there was no formal ownership of land as we know it today, possession of whenua and territories were in the form of custodianship and the attendant responsibilities of guardianship that went with it. Future generations as descendant of 'tuupuna' were charged with maintaining their territories. The bones of buried 'tuupuna' and blood spilt over the defence of territory, sanctified whenua as 'taaonga tuku iho no nga tuupuna' the direct inheritance of the 'tuupuna' to their descendants for the care and use of future generations.

As a Maori woman this 'whakataukii' is of prime importance to me as it links me to the past, to 'whenua', 'tuupuna' and tribe, and illustrates the importance of Maori women, and 'tikanga', custom and tradition, as we move into the future to reclaim our autonomy. In the creation stories the activities of ancestors in ancient times celebrated the 'mana' of Maori women and is evidence of the deeply rooted attachment to the land. The creation story represents the central axis from which the Maori perceived all living things came. There was Papatuanuku, from whose breast sprang plants, trees, animals, fish and fowl all of which provided sustenance. 'Ko te whenua te waiu mo nga uri whakatupu', 'wai u' means milk from the breast, likening sustenance from the land to the milk from a mother's breast. Aside from the traditional role of Maori women moreover is the reminder of the matrilineal descent coming from Papatuanuku, which I believe to be one of the most powerful and vital sources of energy that we have.

'He wahine he whenua i mate ai te tangata.'

After exploring the meaning in some depth in this article I conclude by saying 'without women and without land mankind would die'. He aha te mea nui? He wahine he whenua.

He Whiriwhiri Wahine:

Framing Women's Studies for Aotearoa

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku - Te Arawa, Tūhoe, Waikato

This paper is based on a Women's Studies Seminar performed by Ngahuia in
Tane-nui-a-Rangi House, October, 1991

> E nga mana, e nga reo, haere mai.
> Mauria mai nga tini aitua o te ao whanui,
> Kawea mai nei ratou ki te poho o Tane-nui-a-Rangi,
> Kia tangi ai.
> Tomo mai, kuhu mai, haere mai.

Warmest greetings. You have come in to this house, and before doing so, you removed your shoes. And thus you became part of this environment, and contextualised within it. This practice grounds the visitor to the place visited, yet tapu about footwear comes from respect for fine floor mats which are womens art, and items of rare value and great fragility. Obviously this carved house is a repository of knowledge, a primary resource. It is also effectively a reference library, with sophisticated information systems.

As a phallocentric celebration of male artistic genius, like the carved war canoe, the house is empowering and inspiring. Particularly for men; this is certainly clear if you choose to look around these walls! So one wonders - What do women realise from such a tradition? From a place such as this? Apart from the one vibrant wealth of fibre woven finely between the carved panels, discretely placed, what is there for us?

Perhaps it is the power of the Hine Ngaro, the lost maiden, the woman concealed, the one female whom Tane-nui-a-Rangi was unable to reach. You might say - the one that got away! And Hinengaro, in English, means the mind, the intellect, the muse. Yet such subtlety is not seen by the uninitiated; those who regard the 'intellect' with awe, or doubt; or even fear. And most of our sisters feel like that; disconnected from, or not interested in, such ideas, such things as intellectual.

However, Women's Studies is about intellect as we define it for ourselves, about knowledge, and about its rediscovery and affirmation. It is about us. All of us.

Women's Studies began as the educational arm of the Women's Liberation Movement in the early 1970s. We should be proud that the New Zealand Women's Studies Association started in 1974, one of the first in the world, and to quote Renate Klein, Women's Studies was established by supporters:

> ...not simply seeking to change knowledge for knowledge's sake - to practice Women's Studies as an academic exercise - but they were more intent on CHANGING the lives of *real* live women, by improving the social, political, socioeconomic and psychological condition of women world wide.[1]

And particularly for women of colour, this has remained a pivotal issue, as Barbara Smith wrote as long ago as 1982:

> I began to recognise what I call women's studies or academic feminists: women who teach, research, and publish about women, but who are not involved in any way in making radical social and political change; women who are not involved in making the lives of living, breathing women more viable. The

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1   Renate Klein (1991), 'Passion and Politics in Women's Studies in the Nineties', in *Women's Studies International Forum*, 14.

grass-roots and community women's movement has given women's studies its life. How do we relate to it? How do we bring our gifts and our educational privilege back to it? Do we realise also how very much there is to learn in doing this essential work? Ask yourself what the women's movement is working on in your town or city. Are you a part of it? Ask yourself which women are living in the worst conditions in your town and how your work positively affects and directly touches their lives. If it doesn't, why not?[2]

This challenge remains painfully relevant. Women's Studies should be an empowering process for the seekers and participants; it should make the intellectual more understandable; it should enrich, provoke, and enlighten; it should stretch the imagination and exercise the intellect - and it should be FUN! After all, Sue Wise remarked rather drily:

> The sound of women laughing together is the beginning of the revolution.[3]

We realise there are many different concepts of Women's Studies; as there are different feminisms, and conflicting definitions of what it means to be feminist. What we are doing here, and now, is choosing the right one for *us*.

We need to secure a Women's Studies conceptual framework that rises from the fertile bicultural earth of Aotearoa, and recognises the unique opportunity to distil and realise our own ideals, and our own theoretical resolutions, shaped by forces and factors from within our own community, and our own knowledge traditions. What shape would such a framework take? There are many types; I will describe three possibilities.

One is that of revising and reacting: the androcentric bias, which shows women in relation to men, and their examples are course offerings like, Women and Art, Women and Education, Women and the Law, Women and Politics. The second subject defines the place of the object. (*Women* and -); need I say more?

Another example is visionary and proactive, and chooses a gynocentric bias. Health Initiatives, like Maori Women's Welfare League, is *Rapu Ora*, and such marae based research projects like Toi Tu in Waikato illustrate this model. And they enhance, and empower, their communities.

One more shape combines both, and can be done in an independent and funded university department, like the one we hope to see. Examples of such work include: Linda Smith on *Smoking and Maori Women*, Julie Park on *New Zealand Women and Alcohol*, and the many projects of Jane Ritchie.[4]

In looking at these models, a number of relevant issues arise.

What about Gender Studies - instead of Women's Studies? To me, this approach neutralises and defuses, effectively, the gynocentric focus of the discipline. The relationships proffered and projects funded emphasise female/male issues; this contradicts the original kaupapa, or premiss, of Women's Studies. It makes women invisible and neutral. It denies the genesis

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2   Barbara Smith (1982), 'Racism and Women's Studies', in G.T. Hull, P. Bell, S. Smith and B. Smith (eds), *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave*, The Feminist Press, New York.

3   Sue Wise (1989), cited in Klein, 'The Journey Forward', in *Girl's Own Annual*, Deaken University, Australia.

4   Linda T. Smith (1991), 'E hine e moe nei, kati ra ko te moe', University of Auckland Winter Lectures; Jane Ritchie (1990), *Violence in New Zealand*, Allen & Unwin; Julie Park (1991), *Ladies a Plate: Change and Continuity in the Lives of New Zealand Women*, Auckland University Press.

of Women's Studies in the Women's Liberation Movement. It also makes way (not waves) for 'feminist' men in the field, so that the academy can continue to flex its male muscles. According to Renate Klein, one of the first United States chairs went to Professor Harry Brod.[5] An action described as a form of 'hetereoreality', it may be intriguing for some of us to actively 'deconstruct', though I acknowledge, that within its own parameters, Gender Studies is as valid as any other academic discipline. but it can never be, replace, or preempt Women's Studies.

The next issue could be tagged as Jumping Generations! Or, the Size Ten Feminists of Post Modernism vs The Old Time Bag Ladies On the Block. The feminism of us - my generation: the mothers - can hardly be the same as that of the generation we face in the classroom, or lecture theatre: our daughters. Their experience, their expectations, are dynamically, stunningly, different. And so, they challenge and provoke - occasionally even hurt, or trample - us: the pioneers and founding mothers who took more than a few risks and bruises to get the Women's Studies system charged, up, and going.

We approach the new millenium with dread, expectation, and delight; we consider the world around us, and our part in its forming.

And fresh theories arise; theories and perspectives that must be presented and discussed, that have a place in the academy; that are essential to a balanced Women's Studies programme. The challenge is maintaining that balance, as one of the founding movers of the New Zealand Women's Studies Association candidly observed.

> If you lose the connection between theory and praxis, between experience and analysis, and focus solely on theory on analysis, then Women's Studies becomes circular, elitist, and ceases to have any potential for growth and change.[6]

and modifying this are the words of Bettina Aphtheker, in Tapestries of Life:

> I think we must read each other with tenderness, with grace, with care, for the enormity of effort that goes into forming a coherent thought.[7]

Which brings me to another issue - can we live in the mouth of the dragon, and flourish? Or should we simply, safely, stay away?

Translated by Adrienne Rich as:

> I live under the power of the fathers: I have access only to so much privilege and influence as the patriarchy is willing to accede me.[8]

And on this particular point, we come straight home.

Unlike other institutions - Waikato 1974, followed soon after by Victoria University, Auckland University took many years to effectively commit itself to a Women's Studies programme, to be taught intramurally, and ultimately established. At this very moment, the process is

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5   Renate Klein (1989), 'Passionately Forward: Feminist Research and Feminist Politics, *New Zealand Women Studies Association Conference Papers*.
6   Claire L. Mccurdy (1992), personal communication.
7   Bettina Aphtheker (1989), *Tapestries of Life: Women's Work, Women's Consciousness*, University of Massachusetts Press.
8   Adriene Rich (1976), *Of Women Bom: Motherhood as Experience and Institution*, W.W. Norton, New York.

underway; while this campus was the first to set up a Women's Liberation action group (no small historical honour), it has remained the last to enjoy an autonomous teaching programme.

I perceive two reasons for this:

1   Resistance from the women's community; a distrust of academic assessment, false criteria, and the seemingly hopeless conflict of disseminating women's knowledge, and conducting women's research within an institution so masculinist and intractably male oriented. Alternate provision continues through Workers' Educational Association, community workshops, extramural programmes like Continuing Education and other committed groups and initiatives. Only in very recent times has this suspicion begun to wane; yet questions were raised about the more appropriate deployment of funds, otherwise spent on the Chair, into the community. Discussion continues on this sensitive and challenging subject, to this day.

2   Compartmentalisation: the tyranny of territory. Or as Robin Morgan puts it:

     If I had to name one quality as the genius of patriarchy, it would be compartmentalisation, the capacity for institutionalising disconnection. ... The personal isolated from the political. Sex divorced from love. The material ruptured from the spiritual. The past parted from the present disjointed from the future. Law detached from justice, vision dissociated from reality.[9]

Like similar institutions world wide, Auckland University is fiercely departmental, and each individual department vigilantly protects its 'patch', possessively guards its own Effective Full-time Students, and watches out for its own in the scramble for resource allocations, research grants, teaching equipment and all such prerequisites for survival, and success. Interdepartmental, or interfaculty, programmes are extremely rare, and usually occur between close friends - individuals with a shared vision that transcends the scramble.

Women's Studies originally grew from interdepartmental courses - the Waikato University model demonstrates this achievement, having emerged from a combination of English, Psychology, Maori, Education, Sociology and Geography in the late 70s. I realise that traumatic changes have occurred since then, and I lament them. For it is a model I find exciting, and immensely relevant; it is also one that a group of Maori academic women here undertook in 1991, with the course, Kaupapa Wahine Maori. There was an enrolment of 19, and the course was 100 percent internally assessed. Gender remained a problem with two unrelenting male students. The aims of this course are worth considering:

    1   To introduce students to an understanding of the heritage and her story of Maori women, as different from Maori men whose world and world views have formed the basis of most, if not all, recorded cultural knowledge to date.

    2   To explore the nature of this difference, another, female perspective, thus stimulating discussion, offering new insights and challenges, and focussing on another, relatively unstudied, part of this country's indigenous culture.

    3   To contribute much to a currently very thin, shallow and fragile body of knowledge, by research, publication and the focussed development of a strong exciting new discipline.

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9   Robin Morgan (1989), '*The Demon Lover*', W.W. Norton, New York.

4   To return to Maori women particularly, what they have been denied. To rediscover what has been lost or mislaid. To uncover what has been spoiled or misinterpreted.

Linked with such programs as Kaupapa Wahine Maori is the awareness that to develop a truly Aotearoa Women's Studies programme, reflecting our time and place, more attention must be given to those like us.

At this point, I acknowledge the exciting and innovative work of Jane Ritchie, Debbie Jones, Sue Middleton and Alison Jones,[10] in their determined and consistent endeavours to define and develop a Women's Studies theory and practice intrinsic - but not quite indigenous - to these islands.

Instead, I refer to the works - the theories and analyses - of emerging post colonial, first nation, third world, feminist writers and thinkers.

Women of colour. Women of blood. Women who, predictably, have often been discounted by those same gatekeeping practices so deplored by the founding mother feminists of Women's Studies in the academy - who nevertheless choose to exercise similar discriminatory practices. Is it racism? Is it ignorance? Is it not knowing, or not wanting to know? [11]

Why is there so little theory or analysis published about/by/for the lives of Maori Women's? Pacific women? Native American Women's? Koori Women's? And then again, what do we mean by theory? Barbara Christian, an African-American professor of literature at Berkeley brings us all beautifully back into focus:

> For people of color have always the theorised - but in forms quite different from the Western form of abstract logic. And I am inclined to say that our theorising (and I intentionally use the verb rather than the noun) is often in narrative forms, in the stories we create, in riddles and proverbs, in the play with language, since dynamic rather than fixed ideas seem more to our liking. How else have we managed to survive with such spritedness the assault on our bodies, social institutions, countries, our very humanity? And women, at least the women I grew up around, continuously speculated about the nature of life through pithy language that unmasked the power relations of their world. It is this language, and the grace and pleasure with which they played with it, that I find celebrated, refined, critiqued in the works of writers like Morrison and Walker. My folk, in other words, have always been a race for theory - though more in the form of the hieroglyph, a written figure which is both sensual and abstract, both beautiful and communicative. In my own work I try to illuminate and explain these hieroglyphy, which is, I think, an activity quite different from the creating of the hieroglyphs themselves. As the Buddhists would say, the finger pointing at the moon is not the moon.[12]

Which brings us back, inevitably, to the hieroglyphs, the visual symbols, the discourse of this house, Tane-nui-a-Rangi, and its place within a teaching, and learning, tradition.

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10   Jane Ritchie, *op cit*.; Debbie Jones (1991), 'Looking in My Own Backyard: The Search for White Theories of Racism in Aotearoa' in Du Plessis (ed), *Feminist Voices*, Oxford University Press; Sue Middleton and Alison Jones (eds) (1992), *Women and Education in Aotearoa Volume 2*, Bridget Williams Books.

11   Maxine B. Zinn, Lynn W. Cannon, Elizabeth Higgenbothan and Bonnie T. Dill (1986), 'The Costs of Exclusionary Practices in Women's Studies', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *11*, University of Chicago Press.

12   Barbara Christian (1990), 'The Race for Theory', in Gloria Anzaldua (ed), *Making Face, Making Soul: Haciendo Caras: Creative and Critical Perspectives by Women of Colour*, Aunt Lute Foundation, San Francisco.

And to theory itself, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, a prominent and creative Maori feminist educator, made this remark:

> By just being Maori and a woman, who thinks about her life, and her people - one is on the cutting edge. That is where Maori women live - on the cutting edge of theory.[13]

And that edge cuts deep, sharpened by our experience as a post colonial people.

Such issues are being addressed by a growing number of feminist Maori scholars,[14] with diverse and excitingly contradictory views. As Kathie Irwin states:

> In order to understand the needs of Maori women and girls, it is essential to develop Maori feminist theories in which Maori Society and culture are central. … The issue of life styles and opportunities for Maori women and girls is a serious one and demands our specific concern.[15]

She continues:

> Feminist theory and her stories from other women of Aotearoa, particularly our Pākeha sisters; from other coloured women around the world; from indigenous women, whose people have been colonised; in fact from other women wherever they are, all provide an international perspective (thus) there is no one theory of Maori feminism; there will be many.[16]

And it is essential to realise that the criteria which fashion these theories come from a Maori, not a western, genesis; and that they are accepted as valid. Debatable, contentious, asinine or challenging; they are still valid.

Integral to such acceptance is an acknowledgement, by mainstream white feminists and the matriarchs of the Women's Studies academy, of their own racism. Here in Aotearoa, with the Treaty of Waitangi and its immediacy in our lives, our charters, our realities, dialogue and discussion are on-going. Debbie Jones has done some pivotal work in this area, recording and critically assessing the effectiveness of Pākeha anti-racist activity and education in this land.[17]

Issues of race are seldom addressed here; they are seen primarily as the concern of the oppressed, not the oppressor; yet as Lynet Utal states:

> 'Gender', 'race', and class are not a static categories, but dynamic processes in which everyone is located.'[18]

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13 Linda T. Smith (1991), personal communication.
14 Vapi Kupenga, Rina Rata and Tuki Nepe (1990), 'Whaia te Iti Kahurangi: Maori Women Reclaiming Autonomy', *Puna Wairere*, New Zealand Planning Council; Linda T. Smith (1992), 'Maori Women: Discourses, Projects and Mana Wahine', in *Women and Education in Aotearoa Volume 2*, op cit.
15 Kathie Irwin (1991), 'Towards Theories on Maori Feminisms', in *Feminist Voices*. op cit.
16 Ibid.
17 Debbie Jones (1991), op cit.
18 Lynet Utal (1990), 'Inclusion Without Influence: The Continuing Tokenism of Women of Color', in *Making Face, Making Soul: Haciendo Caras: Creative and Critical Perspectives by Women of Colour,* op cit.

And where are we, as women of Aotearoa, placed in relation to each other?
Too often, in an uncomfortable position; certainly in regard to specific Maori customary practices the following observation from a Hawaiian - Italian feminist, Marta Savigliano, applies -

> In the name of cultural racism of a shared subordination, feminism has been caught up in the practice of reproducing Third World Women's reification as exotic objects. The intentions are different, but there women are often represented in the same way in Women's Studies courses, as they are in National Geographic - uncivilised, passive, and ignorant.[19]

Unable to change their own condition - unable to help themselves, thus are we judged.

One illustration of this is the prohibition of women to make oratory on the marae, an issue confronted superbly by Irwin in writing cited above. Because of this issue, and their monocultural view of it, Pākeha feminists have refused to attend marae live-ins, or marae-based workshops, condemning the marae institution, and concept, as 'sexist'.

Maori women get caught in the crossfire.

And what is missed, in all of this, what is totally overlooked, is the fact that Maori woman have an oral performance tradition, and ritual process - karanga - which is absolutely, uniquely, our own. A tradition to be celebrated, having survived generations of redefinition, and attempted control by male elders; a tradition which, when considered closely, actually allegorises the reality of mana wahine. But who will take time out to explain that to Pākeha feminists and Maori male chauvinists, when most of our own daughters remain uninformed and unaware?

And we remain caught in the cultural cross-fire.

Michelle Cliff wrote:

> It is objectification that gives the impression of sanity to the process of oppression ... [20]

and much too frequently, Maori women, Pacific women, women of colour, are objectified - even in the feminist literature, and one scalding example I simply cannot ignore, as it is in the recommended feminist reading of the month - Naomi's Wolfs unsourced, unpardonable, unfounded little quip that:

> ... the Maori admire a fat vulva.[21]

Do we indeed? Who told her that? Did she check it out when she visited a few weeks ago? That particular phrase surely revisits the glossy pages of National Geographic; in any context, that is an indefensible remark. For it objectifies, sexualises, and isolates Maori women - as quaint exhibit, as ethnographic, third world, curiosity. As a collectible thing. As, very much, the other.

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19 Marta Savigliano (1991), 'Feminist Uses of Third World Women', *Voices: The Hawai'i Women's News Journal*, Winter.
20 Michelle Cliff (1982), 'Object into Subject: Some Thoughts on the Work of Black Women Artists', *Heresies 15: Racism Is The Issue*, Heresies Collective Inc., New York.
21 Naomi Wolf (1991), *The Beauty Myth*, Vintage Books NZ.

Differences cannot be denied - differences in ethnicity, class, sexual orientation. They should enrich and enhance; they should be confronted by all of us. Particularly as we move into the new millenium. But can we confront them? Can Pakeha women?

Perhaps another Third World writer, Trin T. Minh-ha:

> The understanding of difference is a shared responsibility which requires a willingness to reach out to the unknown.[22]

And the irony of this perspective is that as a post colonial society, we have been trained in, socialised for, and indoctrinated by, the English language, and the values intrinsic within it.

What do they - the Pākeha colonisers - their descendants now - actually know about *us*?

These are the challenges that Women's Studies should meet; and ultimately, I hope, resolve. Particularly in the context of this place, and in this time, with this opportunity, Women's Studies in Aotearoa - Women's Studies in Tamaki Makaurau: in Auckland, the most populously Polynesian city on the planet - could develop a completely singular programme. New theories could gestate and flourish, and analyses abound: new programmes and projects could reach into the community, revitalising the withered educational wing of the women's movement: new directions could be charted, mapped, explored: Women's Studies could have a real meaning for us all. As it promises so much.

> He whiriwhiri korero, ka whatungarongaro
> He whiriwhiri wahine, ka tonu.
>
> Words fade
> Women endure.
>
> Ngahuia Te Awekotuku
> Whiringa a Nuku 1991

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22   Trin T. Minh-Ha (1992), 'Not You/Like You: Post-Colonial Women and the Interlocking Questions of Identity and Difference, in *Making Face, Making Soul: Hacienda Caras: Creative and Critical Perspectives by Women of Colour*, op cit.

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Kia Mau, Kia Manawanui We will Never Go Away:

Experiences of a Māori Lesbian Feminist[1]

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku

BEGINNINGS

My birth parents were quite old when I was born, so I was adopted by another family who lived in my father's village, Ohinemutu, in Rotorua. I have a tangle of very early memories, and the contrasts within that tangle are astonishing. I will refer to the woman who raised me as my mother - she's a traditionally raised, but extremely independent woman with a real sense of her own self, and she herself had a wonderful mother, my kuia, who was so marvellous and loving, and is still an extremely strong influence in my life, although she's been gone for many, many years.

During the very troubled periods of my infancy, and there were many, I was unfailingly embraced in the arms of my kuia. One of my earliest memories as a tiny child is going to sleep between my two grandparents in a huge cast-iron bed, underneath a *tivaevae*, a wonderful quilted bedspread that my kuia had brought back from Rarotonga.

My koro was a famous tenor, and he used to sing me to sleep. I remember well the sound of his music. I also remember them getting ready to go to concerts, because they were both entertainers. My kuia was a guide at Whakarewarewa. She was a very adept and respected weaver of harakeke, of flax, as well, and her work is still admired in the Māori world. She made the korowai cloak, which I remember being woven, for the visit of Elizabeth II in 1953. Māori women's arts were part of my childhood, and the smell of flax is something that holds close memories for me.

My mother's sister was an incredible person. She was a teacher, and particularly enthusiastic about teaching Māori children to read. As one of my baby-sitters, she would spend hours and hours with me, and she had taught me to read by the age of four. Although there were not many books in the house, we had comics, and the *Weekly News* with the pink cover, which my grandmother would soak to get the pink out and turn it into dye for the flax, and the *Dairy Mirror*, whose covers gave her yellow.

The whole period of childhood and puberty, particularly immediately before and following the death of my koro when I was nine or ten, remains for me particularly messed up and loaded with pain. Changes of schools, changes of address, changes of township, changes of parenting.

I was always very conscious of being Māori, but I had my first real taste of racism when I was about eight, and spent two terms at a Wellington convent school. I was quite fair, light-skinned, freckly, a bit funny-looking next to the other kids. I was also asthmatic, unable to take part in sport, and until my early teens, very short-sighted. Nobody knew. There was always a feeling that I was making things up in order to get attention, but I really couldn't see. I retreated more and more into my own little worlds - and I had many of those. The very safest of them all was where my grandmother looked after me.

The one school at which I spent a significant number of years was St Michael's convent in Rotorua. Apart from very heavy doses of orthodox Catholicism, we were exposed to some exciting ideas as part of Christian doctrine. We learned about apartheid, fascism, the French revolution, and the IRA. The nuns gave us some quite astonishing examples of women as fighters, as strong and formidable warriors, as courageous women. They exemplified this as well: they coached football, they drove trucks, and they brought a whole vision of justice and equality. It was a really politicizing environment.

The nuns also recognized me as someone with real 'academic potential', so I was fed lots of church Latin and encouraged rigorously to study. It was during that period too that my talent as a child writer first emerged. They encouraged me to write stories and published them in the Catholic schools' little bulletins. I also won a national essay-writing competition when I was eleven. I started keeping diaries when I was ten, mainly because we were reading *The Diary of Anne Frank*, a book that influenced me a great deal as I was growing up.

ADOLESCENCE

Unfortunately, all this dropped out of my life when reached 12 years of age, because there was no corresponding Catholic high school anywhere in the district, and no chance of my being sent off to a private secondary school. So I went into the state system. I got to high school and went totally berserk. Lots of things had happened on the home front, some particularly gruesome and unpleasant, and I was, I suppose, quite warped by these at the time I started high school.

I fought like a demon to get into the stream that did Māori. I had been told that my verbal skills and IQ level required that I go into the top stream, and as a Māori girl I should feel very honoured. However, the top stream didn't do Māori in those days, they did Latin and French. This and many other things led to my feeling really isolated in that class, and my reaction was to go quite over the top. I ran away and was in all kinds of trouble. There was often the threat of child welfare on my back, but whenever it looked as though I was going to be carted off in the Māori Affairs car, my kuia always came to the rescue.

I was different from the other kids in my class, some of whom went yachting and skiing and learnt French when their parents took them to Tahiti, or even France. I was different from my cousins and my mates as well, because I did like reading books and I still couldn't catch a basketball. At the end of that year I was expelled. By then most of my friends were getting drunk and getting pregnant, but I didn't think that was for me, so I started seriously thinking about doing well at school. I tried to get into Catholic boarding schools, and actually won scholarships, but was refused entry because of my so-called child welfare and criminal record.

So I went across town to the coed state school, where the headmaster decided to give me a try. I was very grateful. By now I was bored with all my rebelliousness, so I knuckled down. There were three other Māori kids in the top fourth form there, and they were related to me too, so life - at least at school - became a lot easier. The patterns of the convent school were repeated in many ways, because I was always there. I was in the drama club, I worked in the library, I made school my life again. During this period I won another national award for writing, and published quite a lot in magazines. My birth mother died. We had sustained minimal contact with her because she was from another village in another part of the district. But when she passed away I became once again an integral part of my birth family, which for me was a whole new set of variables, scattered across my already incredibly unsettled life.

AUCKLAND: ON MY OWN AND RUNNING WILD

Despite the continually sublime and loving presence of my kuia, who was by now very old, I broke out, and escaped with a scholarship to Auckland University. Again there was a sense of overwhelming isolation. I was the only female Māori student in O'Rorke Hall, although the domestic staff were all Māori women. I was drawn to them, and inevitably

became involved with them. I was also by this stage - it was 1967 - acutely aware that I was not heterosexual, that I was camp. 'Lesbian' wasn't the word then. One of the factors which coloured my adolescence was that I was regarded as conventionally attractive - I looked like a pretty halfcaste. That was a real impediment when it came to being a lesbian Māori. How could I be butch with all that long hair?

I was totally alienated, screwed up, alone, knew I was camp, and couldn't handle it at all. The only camp women I knew at home, apart from much older ones whom I realized only much later were lesbian, were really hard, really tough. So I had a pretty rugged time. Coming to Auckland I thought I was free of all that, and could really find out about my campness. That immediately cut me off from everyone in O'Rorke. I was not white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant; I was not even heterosexual. The Māori women working on the domestic staff, though, looked after me. I also ended up with a rather motley crew of fellow students, and we got into all sorts of escapades, including looking for the lesbians, looking for the action. From the very first week I missed lectures. It was almost like my first year at high school. I was on my own and running wild.

Someone did reach out to me, and she made a real effort. She tried to take me to Māori Women's Welfare League meetings, she quite literally pedalled me along to Māori Club dos, and I owe her for that. That was Merimeri Penfold. Dear Merimeri. I still couldn't cope. I recall my only Māori Club gathering. The isolation there was almost as bad as at O'Rorke, first of all because I was camp. Secondly, though, because I was the only first year who hadn't gone to a private school. The Māori students had already formed a very exclusive and tightly contained little clique. As a smart-ass kid from a state school, I didn't have a chance. I was just 17!

Inevitably, I fell into the seething bowels of Auckland city and got tangled up with the camp lot, fell in love, ran around on Japanese ships, got strung out on drugs, lost any real sense of self-worth, never went back to Rotorua, never went back to Ohinemutu, never went back to my grandmother. I just lurched from one small personal crisis to the next, until they all piled up on each other and flattened me. By the end of my first year – 1967 - I was a mess. By then, too, having been unceremoniously tossed out of O'Rorke Hall, I ended up in a Grafton Road flat, awaiting the Age of Aquarius. At that muddled milestone, I was talked into getting married. What a crazy thing to do! I became Volkerling for a time - but it didn't last very long, thank heavens.

LAW SCHOOL

I remained at law school. By the end of my second year I was becoming bitterly disillusioned with the course. I had a vision of becoming a very successful and brilliant Māori land or Māori criminal lawyer, with the emphasis on Māori issues. When we did crimes there was just no mention of anything even remotely Māori, apart from the fact that it was salient to note that most of the criminals were Māori. When we did land law we spent hundreds of hours on English kings and queens, and learned British statutes and case law by rote. I had started attending lectures regularly and being a real student. I challenged my teachers, the lecturers, and tutors. I was even secretary of the Sir Leslie Munro Mooting society. God, how I tried!

I performed all through that third year, and found myself getting reasonably good grades in Māori and English and Anthropology but failing repeatedly in law. When it came to my land law exam, I decided that I wasn't going to answer any of the questions, and instead of

swatting the required texts, I researched all the material I could find on the Treaty. In the land law exam I then presented a well-argued and extremely well documented case about the Treaty of Waitangi; and more relevantly, about the necessity of instructing law students in this land at this time in knowledge of the Treaty. I charged them in my final paragraph with whitewashing the backwardness and bigotries of a colonial government. I think it was a quite extraordinary statement, even though it was my own work. It was 1969. No one was thinking like that; it pre-dated much of what was to come by at least four years, and was quite unacceptable and unfashionable. It resulted in my being told there was no longer a place for me in the law school, and I think we all heaved a great sigh of relief. They were rid of a 'troublemaker' and I moved on to English.

I have since been told by people in the law school that my paper, which was argued over and fought about, became one of the many key factors behind the setting up of the Māori land law course. Yet it got an E. In the English Department there turned out to be a comparable amount of drama and crisis, because it was during that time that I started blossoming as a Māori and women's liberation activist and gay rights campaigner.

GAY LIBERATION

Disenchanted with the radical action groups, with the feminists, and with the on-campus Māori factions, I believed there had to be something else for me as a queer. There had to be others like me out there, there had to be more than just one who was willing to get her head chopped. After a meeting at which I was told by the American Consul that I was a known sexual deviant, I went up to the university Forum, an event which takes place at one o'clock every Thursday, and I picked up the mike and said, 'Who out there is crazy enough to come and do this with me?' Five materialized. We went off to the coffee bar and talked about calling a meeting. Forty people came on that very first Sunday. We decided we should do something - but what?

There was energy, there was enthusiasm, there was exuberance. After all, we were the very people our parents had warned us against. We were the ones who said, 'Say it loud, gay is proud!' And as lesbians we all declared triumphantly, albeit rather naively, to the straight world, 'We are your best fantasy and your worst fear'.

So much happened in that first year. We organized ourselves into cells – I don't know where we got that idea from – and there was a media cell, a PR cell, a cooking cell, a sewing cell, a political cell and a thinking cell. We came up with this rather brilliant idea of cell-ebrating our cells and ourselves. What we did was put together National Gay Week. My God, it began with a most amazing skit which included Shakespeare, Mae West, Queen Victoria, Oscar Wilde, and, most memorable of all, Santa Claus guffawing all over the university campus, 'Ho ho ho ho, homosexual.[1] The other thing we did was to give talks to groups like Rotary, the Jaycees, and the South Auckland Christian Youth Camp!

We had such energy, it was so crazy. We disrupted meetings, we went down to Patricia Bartlett's appearance at the Sunday School Union and dragged past a banner. I got banged over the head with a handbag by a blue permed pensioner. Eventually I withdrew, and others came in. In Auckland I think of Sharon Alston. She was brilliant - new, and charismatic; she was and still is stunning. Following her was Rae Delaca, often on the news, often exposed, and now, too, probably burned out. The rest of that decade, the rest of that time, is their story, best told, I think, by them.

MĀORI ACTIVISM

At about the same time I became involved with Ngā Tamatoa, the Young Warriors, a significant group because it involved people who have since gone on to make lots of changes within the system. Tamatoa was important, because through our extremely noisy and radiant and enthusiastic attention seeking we actually brought to the public eye a number of issues that had been either ignored or dismissed, or shelved for many decades. We had great fun, as well as lots of agonizing.

At the same time as Ngā Tamatoa was gathering strength, we began to liaise with another Auckland-based organization - also a key political group - the Polynesian Panthers. There was some fragile merging between the Panthers and Ngā Tamatoa, and we had lots of rather curious meetings where we acknowledged that we were Māori, tangata whenua, and they were our cousins from the Pacific.

The third group that was very active on the Māori political scene was the organism called the New Zealand Federation of Māori Students. In 1972-3 I became the national secretary, with Morehu McDonald as president. The first thing we did was to change the name, and it became Te Huinga Rangatahi O Aotearoa, quite a forceful Māori student group. We also brought in the technical institutes and teachers' colleges and attempted several initiatives in land issues, in education, health, and employment.

In 1972 I became involved in Te Ra O Te Reo Māori, which became Māori National Language Week. One of the initiatives, spurred by two different sets of people working at different ends of the island, was the campaign to secure official status for the Māori language, to make Te Reo Māori the language of the courts and also to affirm the Māori language as a compulsory subject in schools. At the same time there was the Māori Language Petition, and the splendid spokesperson for that was Hana Jackson (now Te Hemara). Within the petition itself was a vast group of people all lobbying and collecting signatures.

At the same time, based primarily in Wellington and working from Victoria University, was an organization loosely affiliated with Ngā Tamatoa, called Te Reo Māori. Te Reo Māori was a strong action group of native speakers of the language, which made them, I think, quite different from Ngā Tamatoa, because we did not have very many native speakers. We hit the people of Auckland with National Māori Language Day, 14 September 1972. It was amazing. We did a whole series of Māori language commercials on Radio Hauraki, we launched a massive poster splurge throughout the land, we staged the most unbelievably bizarre guerrilla theatre, we took over *Craccum*, the student newspaper, we had speakers visiting schools. It has since become a yearly event so that now it is Te Wā O Te Reo Māori and takes up a couple of weeks in July. That was an initiative that can be traced back to the early days of Te Reo Māori society in Wellington, and Ngā Tamatoa in Auckland.

CHOOSING THE SCHOLARLY PATH

The early 1970s was a very painful time for me. It was all so tangled up. It was as if my paper-chasing, my going for degrees, my getting honours, had been an anchor - something that kept me focused and gave my life some meaning. My kuia passed away in early 1970, and that was absolutely devastating for me, absolutely shattering. I was lost again. As a small child I had retreated into books, as an adolescent and a young adult I would withdraw into my research programmes, or my books, assignments, or whatever needed doing. Scholarship was a refuge.

Yet, after all this political activism as a lesbian, a Māori, and an enraged feminist, I found myself at the end of seven years of university education with an MA with Honours, but virtually unemployable. By the middle of 1974 I was exhausted - burned out and disillusioned. Again there was that sense of isolation, acute self-consciousness, angst, and not knowing the meaning of it all. The degrees seemed useless, worthless. No one could give me a job, nobody wanted me, what was I going to do?

The Centre for Māori Studies and Research at Waikato had been set up and I was offered a job there without a salary. Very weird, demeaning even. Nevertheless I prepared a bunch of possible research proposals, one of which really excited me: it was on the impact of tourism as it affected my own community, remembering of course that I was born and raised in a environment strong on tourism. One of the things I most wanted to do was get down on paper the stories of my grand-aunts, my aunts, my mother, and everyone who had ever had anything to do with the tourist experience. So I set about recording their stories and planning what was going to be some sort of publication for them. It was like a gift to the people, and it was fun and something I really wanted to do.

I was then approached for the leading part in the summer Shakespeare production of 1974-5 at Auckland University. I did quite a bit of acting. I was also offered at that stage, quite by chance, the opportunity to go to the East/West Centre in Honolulu to study the effects of tourism on communities in the Pacific. People knew I was doing tourism research, and almost the very month I started an American professor came down wanting a Māori tourism researcher. Everything fell into place, but I had to make a momentous decision about whether I wanted to stay in the theatre or become some sort of intellectual.

I chose the scholarly path and went to the East/West Centre in 1975 to work on the impact of tourism. I looked at dance and visual arts and came back with a proposal for a PhD. I arrived in Rotorua, again really quite disoriented, and spent two years scrub-cutting, section clearing, house clearing, any sort of job to support myself through the doctoral research. That was a really trying time, but worth it!

During that period I started hanging out with the lesbian separatists again. In the years following my huge break-out in 1971 as the only declared lesbian in the women's movement in Aotearoa, they were suddenly popping out all over the place! A real blossoming. The separatist community was something that I found as a Māori extremely challenging and also quite confusing. I lived in a perpetual state of conflict. Those issues which confronted me were probably alien to all the other women. They were also issues that most of those women refused to consider anyway. Issues such as racism, responsibility to the whānau (most of them of course had denounced their patriarchal families), accountability to a network outside the lesbian community. As a Māori I could never turn my back on my iwi, on my people; that became a real source of tension for me.

AN EXTRAORDINARY GRADUATION CEREMONY

Another academic fellowship took me back to Honolulu in 1978 and I remained there until December 1980. Those three years were very formative for the Māori women's movement in Aotearoa, and I regret not being here, but they were years important for my own growth too. Achieving a PhD was very important to me at that time, and again it becomes tangled up with personal stuff. There was one stage when it looked as though my life was about to finish at any minute. I contracted cancer, and it was invading my uterus and other nether regions. I endured all this surgery and it truly did look as if Ngahuia was not going to be

around for very much longer. The prognosis was very doubtful. During the time that my PhD was to be conferred I was a gaunt, shadowy, ill figure, nurtured by the lesbians of Hamilton. How I love them all for that.

The idea of my being awarded the degree at the marae at Ohinemutu surfaced, and was met with great enthusiasm by the conferring institution, Waikato University. So the elders, the kaumatua and kuia from Ohinemutu, got together with the university officials and arranged an extraordinary graduation ceremony. I will never, ever forget it, it was a magical day. I was between operations, absolutely doped to the eyeballs, and quite spectral.

The thesis documented the Māori perspective of tourism as it impacted on the Arawa people of Rotorua. Again I found myself tasting bile, because despite having an extremely marketable and important product, no one would publish it. The other part of the whole doctoral programme, which occurred in Honolulu and the Pacific as well as Aotearoa, is that it is very much a Māori women's perspective. It is as much the view of the women of my community as it is mine. Without them, the thesis would never have been written.

When I came back from Honolulu I started work for the Centre for Continuing Education at Waikato - that was immediately before I got ill. My brief there included women's studies, initiating programmes for Māori women, New Start. I was there for two and a half years and then I won the University of Victoria post-doctoral fellowship, which took me first to Wellington and then to Oxford University in England. Wonderful!

UPPITY MĀORI AND QUEER

The tenure was only a year. I came back in November 1984 and again I was unemployed. For eight months I collected my dole, sent out countless job applications, went through a couple of degrading job interviews, had my qualifications and my level of achievement persistently and viciously questioned by Labour Department minions who could not believe I was so well qualified.

I spent a few weeks packing kiwifruit, and sensed then that something was wrong. I was beginning to wonder whether my status as unemployed, despite the PhD and academic honours and high achievement, could possibly have been because I was a queer. Not just an uppity Māori but a queer. I had applied for a variety of different jobs and had been interviewed, but no decisions had been made.

The curatorship at Waikato Museum of Art and History came up. Through that job I ended up taking on a massive challenge - the restoration of Te Winika, a fully carved war canoe dating from the 1830s. It was a memorable and riveting experience, which questioned the bigotry and male bias that exists in the Māori world with regard to women working on carvings, working on art forms created by men. Yet I could not have undertaken it without the blessing of the Māori Queen, Te Arikinui Te Atairangi Kaahu. She protected and empowered the project - she made it possible. The team of Waikato PEP workers was made up of six women and one youth. The project supervisor was Mamae Tuanewa Takerei, a tirelessly determined campaigner for women's rights in her tribal community. Together, we have completed a number of other restoration projects.

I have also served on various government boards and committees, including Cultural Conservation, the Film Archive, Social Sciences Research Funding, and the Museum of New Zealand. Currently, I teach Art History at Auckland University - a job I enjoy for the students, who make it more than worthwhile.

My book, Tahuri, was published by New Women's Press in 1989. It contains 18 stories, two of them quite long. They are drawn a lot from my own life, but are fiction. They deal with coming to terms with being a young Māori lesbian in a traditional village environment, being a young Māori woman with a heap of hassles, being a little Māori girl who is loved by her kuia.

The stories are about those young girls you see on the street, in McDonalds, at the flea market, in the classroom. And in a way, they are written for them to read most of all. But I hope other people read them, too. Lots and lots. Of course, politically they're not very sharp - two or three are quite subtle - but they are primarily for pleasure. I have also recently completed Mana Wahine Māori - a collection of my political writings, speeches and so on between 1970 and 1990.

FINAL REFLECTIONS: REBIRTHING INDIGENOUS TRADITIONS

I think that lesbians and gay men need to consider our inheritance. And we are so rich in history. We are the inheritors of a Polynesian tradition, of the *māhu* of Hawaii, Tahiti, the Cook Islands, the Marquesas, of the *fa'afafine* of Samoa, of the *fakaleiti* of Tonga, of the Carmens and Shirelles and Natashas of Aotearoa. In this land we obviously have the traditions, yet we do not have a common, everyday name for us. My challenge is this: to reconstruct tradition, reinterpret the oral history of this land, so skilfully manipulated by the crusading heterosexism of the missionary ethic. For we do have one word, takatāpui. And ironically, this word is associated with one of the most romantic, glamorized, man/woman love stories of the Māori world, the legend of Hinemoa and Tutanekai. Tutanekai, with his flute and his favourite intimate friend, his hoa takatapui, Tiki, and Hinemoa, the determined, valorous, superbly athletic woman - my ancestress - who took the initiative herself, swam the midnight waters of the lake to reach him, and interestingly, consciously and deliberately masqueraded as a man, as a warrior, to lure him to her arms. Is that not another, intriguing way of looking at this story? And is that not a way which we, our community, and tradition, have been denied?

Of women, though, there is even less on record, yet we did exist. The story of Wairaka tells us about the woman who, in saving the canoe Mataatua with her superb strength, named a locality and said, 'Kia whakatāne au i ahau'. Let me be as strong as the strongest man. Her unlucky demise, pairing off under pressure with a man, tells us even more. The loving of one's own gender is an ancient, even tribal practice, honourable and revered. And yet, the practice, the carrying through the acting out of one's inner self, even the very acknowledgement of it without the acting out, has meant too often shame, condemnation, dismissal, hatred, ostracism, hopelessness, and despair. The Judeo-Christian legacy of guilt and punishment, of judgement and mortification has flourished on these islands. Despite the indigenous traditions of the Māori, despite those old, old beliefs, despite their continual rebirthing.

Shifts have been made. There is some acceptance of open, lesbian and homosexual creativity. And yet I believe this: as long as it is unsafe for two men to dance together at a rugby function (despite what might have occurred in the showers); as long as it is unsafe for two women to stroll arm in arm along a sunny, daylight beach; as long as there is loathing and fear and disgust and embarrassment, there will never be freedom for any of us. But we will not go away, and we will certainly not lie down and die or be trampled over, not any more. For we must demand the right to love and to rejoice in that love, with dignity, grace, and pride, as human beings who love our own gender in every fathomable and unfathomable, every passionate and passionless, every hopeless human way.

We will never go away. Never. Never. Never. For we are your technicians, waitresses, doctors, cashiers, metal workers, teachers, potters, dentists, cabin crew, accountants, shopkeepers, lecturers, nurses, bus drivers, secretaries, drain layers, florists, undertakers, telephonists, DJs, paperhangers, carpenters, hairdressers, mothers, fathers, uncles, aunties, brothers, sisters, daughters, sons. We are truly everywhere, and we will never, ever go away.

Kāti mo tēnei. E rau rangatira mā. Tēnā ra tātou katoa

Notes

1   This chapter draws on material from two articles - ' Ngahuia Te Awekotuku ', an interview with Pat Rosier, editor of Broadsheet, and 'Dykes and Queers', the opening speech to the Lesbian/Gay Easter Conference 1989. Both are transcriptions of oral presentations. They first appeared in Broadsheet, New Zealand's feminist magazine, and were edited into this chapter by Rosemary Du Plessis. 'Dykes and Queers: Facts, Fairytales and Fictions' has also appeared in Ngahuia Te Awekotuku's *Mana Wāhine Māori,* New Women's Press (1991).

Māori Women:
Discourses, Projects and Mana Wahine

Linda Tuhiwai Smith - Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Porou

Maori women belong to the group of women in the world who have been historically constructed as 'Other' by white patriarchies and white feminisms. As women, we have been defined in terms of our differences to men. As Maori, we have been defined in terms of our differences to our colonisers. As both, we have been defined by our differences to Maori men, Pākeha men and Pākeha women. The socioeconomic class in which most Maori women are located makes the category of 'Other' an even more complex problematic.

Furthermore, the way 'Other' has been historically structured has denied us our own ways of defining and relating to differences. In creating a 'new' nation, the colonisers placed great emphasis on how different they were from (and much 'better' than) the native inhabitants. The emphasis placed on the constructed dualisms of savage and civilised, heathen and Christian, immoral and moral, provides examples. In resisting colonisation, Maori whanau, hapu and iwi were structured into political formations identifiable as 'Maori'. Thus, in the land wars of the 1850s-1870s Maori hapu were either 'friendly Maori' (to Pakeha settlers) or 'rebel Maori' (anti-Pakeha). This categorisation glossed over both the deeper issues of inter-hapu politics and the gross injustices caused by Pakeha settlement.

Education through Pakeha schooling has reinforced the dichotomies between the coloniser and the colonised. It has done this at several levels. Schools were created for Maori children as agencies for the assimilation of Maori culture. Maori culture was regarded as being antagonistic and in opposition to education. Schools reproduced forms of knowledge and history through the curriculum which reified the colonisers' view of reality. Schools also fulfilled a hegemonic role in that they consciously and unconsciously produced and reproduced reconstructed histories. In order to survive, and indeed succeed, in such schooling, Maori children needed to accept as natural and common sense the reconstructed knowledge of their own society.

Maori women in particular have been written out of historical discourses not just in the years after colonisation but also from the centuries prior to Pakeha settlement. Schooling has served to legitimate selected historical discourses through its curriculum, pedagogy, assessment and organisation. This process has turned Maori history into mythology and the Maori women within those histories into distant and passive old crones whose presence in the 'story' was to add interest to an otherwise male adventure.

A major contradiction in Maori attempts to struggle free from this 'Otherness' has been that we have asserted our right to redefine what being 'Other' means in order that we can live more freely within it. Our attempts to escape this marginalisation have resulted either in the assimilation of our entire beings as social, physical and spiritual members of society or it has entrapped us in a state of perpetual contradiction and struggle. Assimilation, where it has worked, has cut many Maori off from their own society and has left them still on the fringes of Pakeha New Zealand.

White feminisms have thrown into relief the complexities of our oppressions but have, at the same time, come dangerously close to smothering us in various metatheories and to reconstructing our reality in 'their' metaphors. Even worse, the metaphors which are used to explain our situation are sometimes reconstructed versions of our own whakataukii.* And in attempting to theorise our own lives we have frequently been caught using their concepts as a means of understanding our own. While white feminisms may help to gain insight

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* A glossary of Maori terms is given at the end of this chapter

into 'Otherness' at one level, at another level these forms of feminism may perpetuate otherness further. This tension has made it extremely difficult to reconcile the realities of Maori women's lives with existing feminist theories. The challenge for Maori women in the 1990s is to assume control over the interpretation of our struggles and to begin to theorise our experiences in ways which make sense for us and which may come to make sense for other women. In helping to determine how that interpretation might be advanced, it is worth while analysing the kinds of struggles in which Maori women have been engaged and to set them more explicitly within a Maori orientation to the world. This does not mean rejecting all feminist theories. Rather, it means that we, as Maori women, should begin with an understanding of our own condition and apply analyses which can give added insight into the complexities of our world. Consequently, the first task of any theory is to make sense of the reality of the women who live within its framework. The second task is to provide women with a framework which will assist in emancipating them from racism, sexism, poverty and other oppressions.

MAKING OUR DIFFERENCES VISIBLE

One of the difficulties in subsuming our struggle as Maori women under existing feminist analyses is that we deny the centrality of our identity and the specific historical and cultural realities which we endure. The term 'Maori' only became meaningful as a category because of colonisation. It is the label which was used by the colonisers to define the native inhabitants they encountered. It was not the term by which these members of whanau, hapu and iwi necessarily described themselves. It is as much a political construction as a construction of race. Behind this label there lies the lived realities of generations of women. Women who were explorers, poets, chiefs and warriors; heads of families; founding tipuna or ancestors of various hapu and iwi. Their deeds were remembered in waiata and whakataukii. Their labour helped their colonisers build a nation; their work helped a culture survive against the odds. All of these lived realities are grounded in specific sets of experiences and informed by specific knowledges. Tribal explanations through whakapapa, through carvings, waiata, whakataukii and day-to-day activities, maintained these deeds as visible history. Colonisation has frequently made them invisible.

In the 1990s we cannot assume that the lives of all Maori women have been shaped by the same kinds of forces. We cannot deny the validity and power of the experiences of women who have been socialised away from whanau contexts; who have lived their lives in deliberately impoverished urban subdivisions; who have been adopted into non-Maori families; who have been abused within dysfunctional whanau or who have been parented by the state through institutionalised 'care'. The experiences of these women are part of what it has meant to be Maori.

There are also the differences which are inherent in our whakapapa and which connect us to very specific hapu and iwi forms of social organisation. These ties connect us to sets of obligations, responsibilities and contexts which have continued to influence our social, economic and political activities.

RECLAIMING THE DISCOURSES FROM THE PAST

The different experiences and interests of Maori women make for distinctly different kinds of discourses and projects. While some women seek an understanding of cultural traditions, others seek redress for historical oppression. While some seek a clarification of meanings and symbols which exist in our world-view, others seek to reclaim and uphold the validity of ancient tikanga. The perceived legitimacy of some tasks over others has often marginalised

from mainstream Maori debate the discourses of significant groups of Maori women. Maori politics have generally always been complex. This is true also for the politics of Maori women.

At various times in our post-colonial history, women have been marginalised on the basis of religious and political differences as well as on the grounds of sexual preference. The process of marginalisation has frequently mirrored the processes at work within dominant Pakeha structures. This is an example of hegemony. The Church of England, for example, was institutionalised as an ally of the state educational bureaucracy, beginning with an ordinance issued under Governor FitzRoy in 1853 which appointed the Anglican Bishop of New Zealand as one of the trustees to a board set up to manage property set aside for the 'advancement of the Native race'.[1] This church, along with other settler churches, was given government assistance for the development of schooling for Maori children.

The consequence of this assistance reached its heights through the success of such Church of England Maori boarding schools as Te Aute, St Stephens, Queen Victoria and Hukarere. The foothold gained by the Church of England in the provision of secondary education for Maori children legitimated a particular orientation to Maori schooling. This made it difficult for the other denominations involved in Maori schooling. And it made it almost impossible for the later development of Maori religious movements to gain credibility as a legitimate voice for Maori people. In the specific examples of the communities at Parihaka and Maungapohatu, the people and their leaders were perceived by settler interests as dangerous subversives.

Maori women were an important part of these communities and of other resistance initiatives to Pakeha domination. The significance of their involvement has been silenced not just by most Pakeha histories but by many Maori oral histories as well. Maori schools were established in these and other communities without government assistance, and Maori women were known to have been involved in schooling as pupils and as teaching assistants from the time when mission schools were first established. We can therefore only assume that Maori women were also involved in non-mission and non-government schools, for we know little of their contribution.

CONTEMPORARY DISCOURSES ON MANA WAHINE

In this section, I conceptualise four strands of mana wahine discourse. These strands bring together the work which is actually being carried out by Maori women and the different ways in which they have described their individual struggles. There is also a collective consciousness about many of the projects in which Maori women are engaged. This consciousness is in the early stages of being articulated and disseminated beyond the realms of Maori society through writing, film production, song composition, the performing arts and politics. Writers such as Rangimarie Rose Pere,[2] Vapi Kupenga, Rina Rate and Tuke Nepe,[3] Ngahuia Te Awekotuku,[4] Mira Szaszy,[5] Donna Awatere [6] and Kathleen Irwin,[7] to name but a few, describe the *forms* and *contexts* of oppression which are being confronted by Maori women.

1   W Bird, 'A Review of the Native Schools System', *Te Wananga* 11:1 (March 1930), pp1-17.
2   See, for example, RR Pere, 'Te Wheke: Whaia Te Maramatanga me te Aroha', in S Middleton (ed.), *Women and Education in Aotearoa* (Wellington, 1988).
3   V Kupenga, R Rata and T Nepe, 'Whaia Te Iti Kahurangi: Maori Women Reclaiming Autonomy', in *Proceedings of Joint Conference with the New Zealand* Planning Council (Wellington, 1988).
4   N Te Awekotuku, in R Rowland (ed.), *Women Who Do and Women Who Don't Join the Women's Movement* (London, 1984).
5   M Szaszy has consistently challenged the role of men on the marae in forums of Maori women. For an earlier account of her views, read M Szaszy, *Maori Women in Pakeha Society* (Auckland, 1973).
6   D Awatere, 'Maori Sovereignty', *Broadsheet* (Auckland, 1984).
7   K Irwin, 'Maori, Feminist, Academic', Sites 17 (Summer, 1989), pp30-38.

Almost without exception these writers have been unable to ignore the impact made by colonisation on the role of women in Maori society and of Maori women in Pakeha society. There exist some real differences in terms of the focus of the struggle between some of the writers mentioned and between groups of Maori women generally. Clearly, there is some tension between a position which locates the oppression in Te Ao Pakeha, argued for example by Atareta Poananga,[8] and a position which locates it in Te Ao Maori, such as was taken recently by film-maker Merata Mita.[9]

This kind of debate, however, is extremely useful because it delineates clear boundaries. Addressing Maori issues 'from a Maori woman's perspective' in a systematic way is part of a wider attempt to develop (possibly) a new set of strategies to deal with the subtleties of ongoing oppression. At one level the increased influence being exercised by Pakeha women can be seen as a new form of colonisation, because Pakeha women are now in a better position politically from which they can define us as a people and deal with us according to their own perceptions of who we are and how we live. This power can be seen in its raw state when Maori men compete with Pakeha women for jobs and the issues of gender become ranked above those of race. It has also been revealed in terms of marae protocol and the refusal by some Pakeha women to attend hui because they regard the marae as a sexist institution.

Responding to external definitions of ourselves continues to absorb our energies and resources in an activity which history would suggest is an inordinary waste of time. The problem is that it is frequently unavoidable. Some examples of this have occurred at school functions and women's forums where a single Maori woman, or even a small group of women, has been put into the problematical position of starting a gathering or meeting with a Maori 'welcome'. It is particularly problematical because the powhiri ritual in which a 'welcome' sits fulfils important cultural obligations and responsibilities. It is also extremely problematical for individual women who may be prevented for a number of reasons from performing this role. These reasons include their own tribal protocols, their age, their position in their whanau, their tangata whenua status at that venue and their actual knowledge and ability to conduct the formalities. The tension for these women is that they know that certain rituals should be carried out and that these rituals are significant and should not be treated as mere 'window-dressing'.

Whilst women can, and have, on many occasions welcomed visitors in Maori settings without the presence of men, the explanations for these occasions have little to do with the actual and deliberate *exclusion* of men from the ritual. In playing along with a kaupapa that seeks to exclude people on gender terms from rituals and cultural practices in which gender dynamics and reciprocities play a critical role, it may be that as Maori women we fall into the trap of constructing cultural forms suited to the interests of a dominant group first, rather than to our own interests.

This does not deny that Maori women have always had space to control their own activities and power to exclude men. The point is simply that where those cultural practices exist they should be invoked, but in ways which are controlled by Maori world-views and not by the force of Pakeha-defined expectations. Replacing colonised males with colonised females simply perpetuates colonisation.

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8   See N Legat, 'Atareta Poananga and Te Ahi Kaa' in *Metro* (March 1986), pp44-58.
9   M Mita, 'Maori Women and Rangatiratanga', *Te Whakamarama/The Maori Law Bulletin 2* (1990).

THE WHANAU DISCOURSE

When Maori women control their own definitions, the fundamental unit of identity which can make sense of different realities lies in whakapapa. Whakapapa is both individual and group oriented. It is process and outcome, curriculum and pedagogy. It is embedded in a whanau- and hapu-based view of the world, an epistemology or body of knowledge and experience which marks out the boundaries and the geography over which our collective struggles as Maori women are fought. We are related to each other not just because we are women but because we are part of a complex genealogical template. We cannot claim to be sisters or part of a sisterhood in the way that other women have claimed. Our sisterliness, in fact, is not even necessarily meaningful or important, for we are *tuakana* or *teina* to other women, with sets of responsibilities or obligations according to these culturally defined relationships.

The whanau or hapu discourse is frequently overlooked in terms of its importance to understanding what it means to be Maori and female. Women who have strong whanau links take it for granted as part of being Maori. Women whose experiences of whanau have been more problematical are more cautious and tentative. The search for stable and supportive whanau structures has played an important part in a range of Maori initiatives, both historically and in contemporary contexts. It has become increasingly a discourse of 'conscientisation', which at one level is unashamedly about the past and another about meeting the demands of the present. It requires the seeking of knowledge which is whanau-, hapu- and iwi-specific. It seeks an understanding of a specific set or foundation of knowledge and practice. It seeks to empower young Maori women by reconnecting them to a genealogy and a geography which is undeniably theirs. And it seeks to protect women by filling in the details of their identity; by providing the genealogical template upon which relationships make sense. This is a discourse which has engaged the energies of younger women. It needs the guidance of older women.

The whanau discourse has also been about locating the whanau and its associated structures, such as the marae, as a central site for the contestation of mana wahine. The fact that there are clearly tribal, hapu and whanau variations in the role of women might suggest that in the past women were able to win and maintain power at this level. One example in recent history is the role that some women played on the Marae during the years of World War II. It could be that in those whanau where women did gain key leadership roles, possibly through sheer force of individual achievement, this model was simply taken as the norm and maintained.

Marae kawa has already been the focus of contestation by some Maori women. Dame Mira Szaszy, for example, has consistently asserted the right for women to have a speaking role on the marae atea. Atareta Poananga has also claimed that in former times it was the norm for women to speak, and that the concept of the paepae or speaking platform is a modern construction. Women who take this position argue that the powhiri ritual is abused by men as a means to discuss issues which should more appropriately be done after the visitors have been welcomed. They would argue further that men have reconstructed the domain of Tumatauenga, the founding ancestral protector of the marae atea, in ways which suit their particular interests. This position has also been the focus of some liberal Pakeha feminist analyses of Maori society which claim, for example, that the marae is a sexist institution. The role of women on marae has been used as an example of women being made powerless by Maori males. This particular interpretation has usually been made of the ritual of powhiri, which is used to welcome visitors or begin major meetings. This ceremony is as close as

many Pakeha women have come to observing or participating in Maori culture. It is by no means the only ceremony Maori people have.

However, the more general debate on the role of women on the marae has frequently over-simplified the issues and ignored the range of ways in which Maori women have always exercised power there. Many of these knowledges and practices have been lost, or there are few women with the skills to carry them out. For example, there was previously a range of strategies which women used to interrupt events or focus attention on another issue during hui. Women's voices were acknowledged as being powerful. Yet today it is generally only the karanga and the waiata which are heard on marae. It is interesting that a significant part of women's knowledge about the marae - knowledge which women themselves had the power to maintain - has been almost lost.

There has also been a tendency to accept a more liberal and limited notion of power, which has reduced its meaning to one of visible operations such as 'He who speaks must have power'. Power is a far more complex dynamic than this, for it operates within a context and a culturally shared understanding. Many Maori women would argue, for example, that it is they who hold real, political power and that the men who speak are doing so as their representatives. These women would also argue that they can exercise power when and if they choose through a whole range of strategies which are an accepted and rational part of marae kawa. These strategies include the skillful use and timing of waiata, of ridicule and of direct confrontation. Women have used the whakapohane to display absolute contempt. They have brought meetings to a standstill through the use of their voices.

The marae is an institution of the whanau, hapu and iwi. What takes place on each marae represents the particular interpretation of the tangata whenua. The marae is a place which fulfils a wide range of functions, marae kawa is more than a simple set of fixed rules and behaviours. For example, one way in which mana can be attained on the marae is through creative and daring exploitation of kawa. The context of the gathering, its kaupapa and the whakapapa which is represented at the hui help to determine the nature of the rituals and the form of the gathering. These dynamics are an integral part of the agenda, and they vary considerably. Not all marae are the same. Kawa differs significantly across tribes. Mana could be diminished through inappropriate behaviours or mistakes. Breaks in karakia and waiata, errors in tauparapara, poorly made arguments, ill-prepared food and cold hospitality can destroy the mana - not of the marae but of the people, the whanau collectively and the chiefs individually.

The modern form of marae in educational settings such as schools has created a new set of problems in that the whanau base of these marae is constructed on non-kinship lines and serves different kinds of purposes as well as the more traditional ones. Although the issue of kawa is generally resolved by virtue of the location of the institution in a given tribal territory, the opportunities for mana Maori to be contested by Maori and by Pakeha are greatly increased. For example, schools and their principals have an influential but often unseen role in determining which visitors are particularly welcome, how they are welcomed and when they are welcomed. Maori teachers, who are the kaitiaki of the mana of their school marae, are frequently put into the position of defending the boundaries of the marae from inappropriate use. The dynamics involved embroil Maori staff at these institutions in added responsibilities which are often misunderstood or not acknowledged by their colleagues. However, the marae is but one manifestation of the whanau. Every Maori home is also a representation of the whanau. It may be that the whanau at a domestic level is

a more important site of struggle, where the role of women is being constantly defined and recreated. It is at a day-today level that real oppression is sustained. It is also in the hegemony which determines domestic relationships and practices and which, in fact, leads to these forms being reproduced elsewhere, such as on the marae.

It is not enough to understand that Maori women are at the bottom of the social heap. Understanding has not and does not prevent violence, sexual abuse or other forms of oppression which are occurring within whanau. The victim in violent relationships has ultimately been the whanau or the whole extended family unit. These units have frequently been torn apart by the actions of individuals who live within them. The individual, however, is not the central unit. It is the whanau which bears the long-term shame and suffers the indignities of public knowledge.

This discourse then is about whanau. It is about women, about men; about children, about kaumatua and kuia. Mana wahine is a dynamic which operates within whanau structures, and it is at this level that mana is struggled for and contested.

THE SPIRITUAL DISCOURSE

Most of the literature in feminist and women's studies on education which comes out of the mainstream of white women's scholarship does not focus on spirituality. It has been regarded either as a peripheral and unimportant part of state education or has been lumped in with religion and church as a contested part of a visible curriculum. However, Maori women's realities are spiritual as well as physical. Schooling has attempted to subsume Maori identity through both assimilation and integration policies. In the past there was a clear agenda for separating Maori children from beliefs and value systems as well as from language and other obvious cultural forms of behaviour.

As the human manifestation of the female elements, women have been engaged in a monumental and historic-mythological spiritual struggle, a struggle marked by significant events: the wrenching apart of Papatuanuku from Ranginui; the turning over of Papatuanuku so that her sights and thoughts would look forever downwards; the creation of Hine Ahu One; the transformation of Hine Titama into Hine Nui Te Po; the deeds of Maui against his grandmothers. This spiritual struggle continues to be fought in our role as mediators of tapu. Women have the power to make things noa, to intervene in the states of tapu-ness. This power tends to be conceptualised as an indication of the passive role of women, but the freedom that is contained within this role suggests that it is extremely active and dynamic. The power to make things noa contains within it the power over day-to-day life, over food and over commerce.

Some women have argued that our traditional roles can best be described as complementary to the role of males. If this is the case, then we are involved in a struggle to establish equilibrium or balance with the male elements. It is a struggle because our spirituality is dynamic - it waxes and wanes, ebbs and flows, and transforms itself. In order to achieve states of complementarity, the female elements have to be active: they have to neutralise; they have to procreate; and at times they have to destroy.

Other women have argued that there was never such a notion as complementary roles. Their contention is that males have asserted a position of dominance against which women have had to struggle. This interpretation may account for the variation in tribal conditions, with some women perhaps having been able to wrest greater autonomy from males and

to redefine roles and relationships and traditions. This would affirm the significance of the whanau project. However, this position does not undermine the notion of a wider spiritual struggle, for it suggests that women could lay claim to a greater domain and not have to mediate structures or states of tapu-ness in order to achieve a state of balance.

The spiritual discourse incorporates more than the dimension of wairua. It is a struggle over world-view, over Maori knowledge, over history and over the various realms in which we function as humans. It is a discourse which is beginning 'the task of connecting what we have been taught about the past with how we live in the present. Among those writers who have attempted to theorise and reconcile this dilemma, the best known is Rangimarie Rose Pere. Other women, like Kuni Jenkins,[10] are attempting a similar feat through a deconstruction of mythology and a critique of Christianity.

THE STATE DISCOURSE

Structural analysis has been one way in which Maori women have come to understand the structural dimensions of our struggle. This analysis locates political and Pakeha-dominant structures at the core of the struggle. The current material conditions of Maori women need to be seen not only against the background of colonisation but also against the construction, via various manifestations of the state, of Maori women as an oppressed social and economic group. These manifestations include the state education, social welfare and justice systems, as well as other bureaucracies involved in economic and social planning.

The colonial state constructed Maori women as a group requiring domestication. Through education, Maori girls were trained to fit the state categories of 'wives' and 'domestic workers'. In the early beginnings of New Zealand capitalism, it was important that women 'assist' the colonial economy (which was based primarily on exploiting the land and other natural resources) through their unpaid labour in homes and on farms, and through their roles as unpaid assistants to men. An openly espoused purpose of Maori education was to train Maori lads to be farmers and Maori girls to be farmers' wives.[11] Later educational policy was directed at producing a Maori population who could work with their hands; who were skilled at a technical level. An academic education for Maori was considered relevant only for an elite group. Women, for the most part, were not considered to be part of this elite pool.

The role of the state in domesticating Maori women was also supported by the churches. Christian teachings stressed the importance of such notions as 'marriage', 'home', 'motherhood' and 'work'. Sexuality was, of course, confined to marriage. From what has been reconstructed of pre-Pakeha Maori society, we know that these notions were defined in quite different ways: individual mothers were not solely responsible for childcare; homes did not need twenty-four-hour labour to keep clean; motherhood was probably important only as a developmental stage, and at the time of the birth itself; and work was communally focused. This does not deny that women had specific roles within Maori social organisation. Rather, the colonial state needed to redefine these existing roles in order to construct particular forms of economic units which would contribute to the growth of a new colony.

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10   K Jenkins, 'Reflections on the Status of Maori Women', paper available from Education Department, University of Auckland. A revised version is in print in *Te Pua, the Journal of Puawaitanga*.

11   This comment is attributed to H Strong, an early Director-General of Education, but the ideology has become entrenched. For further reading, see J A Simon, 'Ideology in the Schooling of Maori Children', *Delta Research Monograph 7* (1986).

This colonial construction of Maori womanhood fitted into an economic and social hierarchy. White women were also locked into domestic roles, but their husbands held power. Maori women were often trained by them as domestic servants or Sunday School pupils. Colonial New Zealand society was, however, never sufficiently integrated to allow for the interchange of ideas or the sharing of struggle between Pakeha women and Maori women. Although there were occasions where Maori and Pakeha women struggled together, for the most part Maori women were portrayed as the recipients or beneficiaries of white women's good works.

Recent changes in the role and nature of the state need to be scrutinised just as rigorously as historical relationships. The increase of women employed within state structures, the legislation relating to equal employment opportunity and·pay equity and the appointment of 'new equity' bureaucrats are attempts to transform the position of all New Zealand women. Whilst some Maori women are in a position to benefit immediately from these changes, most are not. About 13,000 Maori women are not in paid jobs. High proportions live on benefits, are involved in childrearing and work in voluntary capacities. More than half of Maori households are headed by a single Maori woman.[12] A range of social indices places Maori women in an ongoing tenuous social and economic position. The April 1991 changes in benefit structures have placed a further disproportionate burden on Maori women and on Maori children.

Maori women's discourses he state have worked to resist and to transform the current social, political and economic position of Maori women. Some of the outcomes of these analyses, Te Kohanga Reo, for example, may at first glance seem unlikely approaches to this struggle. However, out of this movement there has emerged an active and politically aware generation of Maori women. They have had their training outside mainstream, state-supported early childhood programmes, and they know how the state works at a very specific level. They have also experienced the struggle at a hands-on, day-to-day level. Likewise, women working in pre-employment, job creation and other training programmes have learned through practice the subtle reach of the state into the lives of Maori people generally and of Maori women in particular.

Legitimating the mana and authority of the Treaty of Waitangi has also engaged Maori women in a process designed to make the structural and societal changes necessary to ensure that the Treaty remains a reality and a protection of our rights as tangata whenua.

THE INDIGENOUS WOMEN'S DISCOURSE

White feminist theories have been struggling to take account of the conditions confronting women who are not white. These other women have been variously grouped as 'women of colour', 'black women' or 'Third World women'. These labels encompass a diverse sector of women and serve to bury the complex issues which lie within that sector. Maori women have tended to react to these issues in contradictory ways. Frequently, the division has been along government and non-government representative lines, with Maori women who do hot work for government agencies having had greater difficulty getting to world

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12   M Evans and A Horsfield, *Maori Women in the Economy* (Wellington, 1988)

forums and, once there, having had to work in with other Maori women in order to present anything resembling a united front. This is true not just of wider world forums but also of forums for indigenous women.

In 1989, the World Indigenous Conference for Indigenous Women was hosted in Australia. The Maori women present represented a range of organisations - iwi, Maori Women's Welfare League, government and other collectives of Maori women. One of the first controversial issues to hit the conference was presented by Palestinian women. Maori women were unprepared as a group to deal with the Palestinian struggle. Another issue was presented by lesbian women. Whilst lesbian Maori women were at the cutting edge of this debate, non-lesbian Maori women did not have an informed response.

This indigenous women's discourse is concerned essentially with locating our struggle as Maori women within an international context. We are part of a world from which we can learn and to which we can contribute. *The political and economic conditions of Maori women are conditions which are sustained at an international level.* Oppressive regimes, whether capitalist, totalitarian or communist, are maintained by international alliances of which New Zealand is a part. New Zealand's economy is totally dependent on international markets. Recent reforms by government in terms of restructuring the state have been informed by a debate occurring throughout the western world. Our struggle is therefore not just within our own whanau or iwi, but part of a much wider struggle for freedom.

Maori people have sought to define identity in terms of our relationship to the land. We are tangata whenua. This definition is one which is shared by a number of minority and racially different indigenous populations. We share with these groups a common history of being colonised. We have lived through the processes of colonisation by church, by trade, by the gun, by the law and by the more subtle hegemonic processes of internalised self-abhorrence. We also share with them a position of numerical weakness. Our populations are disproportionately small. Our language and culture are under threat of extinction. Our struggle is to retain authenticity as a people.

Indigenous, minority populations do not all share the same interests. But where they do, for example, in attempts to preserve the language, they need to speak to one another in the same way that sovereign nations do. Having at hand analyses of indigenous issues should help us develop international links with people whose interests are similar to ours. We can draw strength and creative ideas from the experience of women whose history of oppression extends centuries beyond our own.

WHITE WOMEN'S PROJECTS

It would be useless to deny the relevance of the feminist struggle for all New Zealand women. As analysts of a particular form of oppression, feminist scholars and researchers have uncovered the different forms of patriarchy which have served to oppress groups on the basis of gender, race and class. The cervical cancer inquiry at National Women's Hospital, for example, sparked by the investigative report of feminists Sandra Coney and Phillida Bunkie, drew people's attention in a very focused way to the unethical practices of medical researchers on women. In that inquiry, specific attention and concern relating to the needs of Maori women was expressed by Judge Sylvia Cartwright. The inquiry was presented with some material by Maori women[13], but the main media focus was on the practice of research on women in general.

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13   Individual submissions were made by Maori women but the major submission was made on behalf of Maori women by the Ministry of Women's Affairs, Te Oho Whakatipu, Wellington.

For Maori, one of the outcomes of that inquiry was an opening up of the debate related to issues which many Maori have found difficult to talk about. A powerful combination of Maori traditions and puritanical Christian beliefs have made it extremely difficult for Maori women and Maori men to talk about and confront issues related to their health, their pain and their bodies. The public debate on what had been perpetrated on all kinds of women and baby girls shocked many Maori males with the evidence that their own mothers, sisters and daughters could have been part of this 'unfortunate experiment'. Breaking through the psyche of the colonised man is a monumental task, and even though Maori women have assumed primary responsibility for this task where it concerns Maori males, we too are caught in the contradictions of a colonised reality.

Basically, *there is a tension between the projects of white women and those of Maori women*. Donna Awatere's comments on feminism in her book *Maori Sovereignty*[14] are a succinct statement of that tension. As Maori women, we have to be on the alert for the possibility of one oppressive agency simply being replaced by another. Experience should have taught us to be wary of those who bear gifts and those who may have come to rescue us. Although we may value the revelations of how white patriarchy works (revelations which have come to us from the work of white women), we have also witnessed the practice of white matriarchy. Our rage as an oppressed group is directed at dominant white structures which sit over us, and so encompasses white women as much as white men. Our struggle as Maori women is our own struggle. To lose control of that struggle is to lose control of our lives. We are not in a position therefore simply to endorse or graft on to the projects of white women. We have to develop according to the reality and logic of our struggles. *Race and class may well continue to ensure that our alliances with white women will never be more than tenuous.*

MAORI MEN

None of the above tasks necessarily excludes the role which should be played by Maori men. Oppression by race is not, on the surface, gender-specific. It does, however, have different ways of defining the roles to be played out by men and those to be played out by women. *The very nature of colonisation is that it alters and distorts social and cultural organisation at the fundamental level of personal and family relationships.* This includes notions of sexuality, the organisation of childrearing, control over economic resources, decision making processes and what counts as 'normal' and 'appropriate' behaviour for men, women and children.

Colonisation did serve to legitimate the power of Maori men. The first colonisers were men. They dealt with men and observed and studied men. The roles played by Maori women were marginalised because of the ethnocentric and phallocentric views of these early colonisers. Maori women/girls were perceived either in family terms as wives and children, or in sexual terms as easy partners. Women who had 'chiefly' roles were considered the exception to the rule, not the norm. (This fallacious belief has led to the curious claims by some Pākeha that they are descendants of Maori princesses.) Maori women were considered attractive in the absence of a pool of white women. Their autonomy was interpreted as immorality and lack of discipline. Christianity reinforced these notions by spelling out rules of decorum and defining spaces (the home) for the carrying out of appropriate female activities.

Maori men were the ones with whom the colonisers negotiated, traded and treated. Maori whanau were the ones against whom the colonisers waged war and (to use a colloquial

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14   Awatere (1984).

expression) ripped off resources. Maori men were colonised by being absorbed into the economic fabric of a new society. Even though this absorption was in terms of manual labour, it was necessary for a capitalist economy to have workers rather than thinkers. Maori women remained in the confines of home and family, able to work outside this domain when the labour market required or (more commonly) forming part of the reserve labour force. *The defining of male and female roles by an essentially capitalist-driven economy has made for distinctly different kinds of colonising experiences for Maori men and for Maori women.*

Most Maori women would recognise the impossibility of separating our experiences as women from our experiences as Maori. However, changing social and economic circumstances have called for new strategies for dealing with the unequal power relations experienced by Maori. Past settlements which assumed that all Maori would benefit from change have simply led to the maintenance of a hierarchy that placed Maori men on top and Maori women underneath. This is clearly illustrated by educational policies which fostered a specific curriculum for Maori boys aimed at the acquisition of marketable 'skills' and one for Maori girls aimed at producing good wife material.

The last twenty years has seen the emergence of Maori women as something more than a mere social category. Maori women are now part and parcel of the economic and political reality of society. *Maori women, too, have been urbanised, educated and absorbed into the dynamics of an unhealthy society. This movement has enabled Maori women to become a critical part of the struggle for rangatiratanga. What is at stake in further colonising processes are the interests of Maori women as much as those of Maori men. On that basis alone Maori women need to act.*

CURRENT ISSUES ON HEALTH AND EDUCATION

Our work has always demanded that we make distinctions between the symptoms and the causes of oppression. We are caught in that we have to deal simultaneously with both. The symptoms of oppression for Maori women are manifested in appalling rates of cancer and heart disease, in worsening rates of mental ill-health and in a host of other diseases. Maori males and Maori children are trapped in a similar web of suffocating ill health. We are also locked into a time bomb, for we could lose a third of our population to smoking-related diseases in the next decade. In effect, this will mean decapitating our most treasured resource: he tangata, he tangata, he tangata.

Some of our tasks as Maori women have a real time limit to them. There is urgency to resolving the social crisis which faces us. The four discourses outlined in this chapter each address this crisis at both the symptomatic and the causal level. Solutions which are proposed now need to offer long-term possibilities as well as to account for the 'here and now'. Maori women are already particularly active at the whanau level, but they lack support from state structures to develop systematic and well-resourced programmes which can reach out and establish more permanent structures for dealing with problems at the causal level.

In terms of education, Maori children have missed out on the benefits and opportunities which are purported to be the outcome of schooling. A number of educational initiatives begun by Maori people indicate the levels of frustration felt at the inability and reluctance of schools to meet the needs of Maori children.[15] Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori are perhaps examples of programmes that have been established through Maori initiative and energy, but even these two interventions are at risk and will continue to need vigilant

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15   See, for example, *Proceedings to the Maori Education Development Conference, Turangawaewae Marae* (Auckland, 1984).

protection. Whilst the educational reforms carried out under Tomorrow's Schools purported to give greater power to parents, they also implied less commitment both politically and economically by the state to the education of children. Recent initiatives by New Right ideologues[16] suggest that a further political agenda based on individualism, competition and market-place economics is being advanced as a solution to the current 'crisis' in education.

The reality of our struggle is that we are caught in crises which will engage our minds and energies for all our lives. Permanent and ongoing, this struggle is an unwritten condition of belonging to an *indigenous and colonised* ethnic minority. Because of the permanent nature of the struggle there will always be a need for Maori people generally to contest issues of relevance to Maori survival. As members of whanau, hapu and iwi, generations of Maori women will continue to be caught up in one project or another or, more likely, several projects simultaneously.

Glossary of Maori Terms

Hapu	sub-tribe
Hui	meeting, gathering, occasion
Iwi	tribe
Kaitiaki	guardians
Karakia	incantations
Karanga	call
Kaumatua	elder men
Kaupapa	philosophy, purpose
Kawa	protocol, custom
Kuia	elder women
Mana	power, prestige, reputation
Marae atea	open ground in front of meeting house where formal welcomes are often carried out
Noa	unrestricted
Paepae	speaking platform
Powhiri	formal welcoming ceremony
Rangatiratanga	chieftainship, sovereignty
Tangata whenua	people of the land; people from that place, hosts
Tapu	restricted
Tauparapara	chants
Teina	younger sibling/cousin of same gender
Tikanga	customs, traditions
Tipuna	ancestors, grandparents
Tuakana	older sibling/ cousin of the same gender
Wahine	woman
Waiata	chants, song
Whakapapa	genealogical links
Whakapohane	bending over and showing your buttocks as an insult
Whakataukii	proverbs
Whanau	extended family

16   An example of this is contained in the 'Sexton Report', which was commissioned by the New Zealand Business Roundtable and was circulated to boards of trustees and other policymaking bodies.

Becoming an Academic:

Contradictions and Dilemmas of a Māori Feminist

Kathie Irwin - Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou

Becoming an academic was a dream that I wanted to fulfil. In some quarters, being described as a dreamer is a form of derision. And yet, for Maori, as Rangimarie Rose Pere has so eloquently written, 'To us the dreamers are important.'[1] My dream of becoming an academic has helped sustain me through the first decade of my chosen career. It has the power to re-energise and recommit me in my work as a Maori feminist academic, because it is not my dream in an individualistic sense, but part of a dream and vision handed to us by our tipuna. This dream, more than anything else, keeps me working as an academic, against the odds.

> TOI TE KUPU, TOI TE MANA, TOI TE WHENUA

> The language lives,
> The mana is great,
> The nation is strengthened.

On 6 January 1981, I took up my first academic appointment in a New Zealand university.

THE INFLUENCE OF WHAKAPAPA AND WHANAUNGATANGA
Seeing myself as a 'historical being'

Over the years, I have come to know that the decision to become an academic was not mine alone. My mother, Kath Cameron, her mother, Horiana Laughton, and my family helped choose my career path for me. This historical and family connection helps me to see my career in a different perspective; to locate myself as 'a historical being'. [2] The historical being is a significant feature of Maori scholarship, as Rangimarie Rose Pere points out in her analysis of Te Wheke, a framework for the development of a theory of Maori education. Whanaungatanga, the extended family, is one of the central features of this model.[3]

Whereas I work in a university, at the end of the twentieth century, when it ought to be easy for a Maori woman to make a contribution to our society as an academic, my grandmother began her career in education just after the turn of the century, when the climate was very different. She was a pioneer Maori woman educator in her own right. She received her secondary education at Turakina Maori Girls' College. The 149th registered pupil, she attended the school from 7 March 1915 to 19 December 1917.[4] She left the school as dux. In 1918, she took up the position of teaching assistant in the Presbyterian Mission Service at Waiohau. Nineteen years of age, she was articulate, bilingual and bicultural. She returned to Turakina as a teaching assistant in 1919.[5] If I have ever felt that academia was not ready for me in the 1980s, how must she have felt about society's preparedness to accept her as an educator in the 1920s?

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1   RR Pere, 'To Us the Dreamers Are Important', in S Cox (ed.), Public and Private Worlds (Wellington, 1987).
2   H Giroux, 'Introduction', in P Freire, *The Politics of Education*. (Massachusetts, 1985), pxxiv.
3   RR Pere,'Te Wheke: Whaia te Maramatanga me te Aroha', in S Middleton (ed.), *Women and Education in Aotearoa* (Wellington, 1988).
4   I would like to record my sincere thanks to the staff of Turakina Maori Girls' College for making this information so freely available to me. Those interested in Turakina Maori Girls' College should refer to R Fry, 'Maori Girls at School', in It's Different for Daughters (Wellington,1985). This chapter contains a description of education at Turakina based, in part, on an interview with Horiana. See also: MA Gray, 'Turakina Maori Girls' College: A Presbyterian School', MA thesis (University of Auckland, ·1970).
5   A more detailed account of my grandmother's work and life can be found in K Irwin, 'Horiana Te Rauru', in C Macdonald, M Penfold and B Williams (eds), The Book of New Zealand Women (Wellington, 1991).

My mother was also a fine teacher, who made a career of teaching while at the same time raising a family. By 1974 she was the senior woman of Mahora School (a large primary school in Hastings), with at least fifteen years of service ahead of her. Had she lived longer than her short forty-eight years, she could well have, become one of the first Maori women principals of a primary school in New Zealand. My father, Keith Cameron, and grandfather, the late Very Rev John Laughton, were leading educators in their time. My sister, Karen Pryor, and brother, Kerry Cameron, both trained as teachers, and have spent many years teaching in primary schools. Education has been nurtured into a special place in our hearts, minds and souls.

My whakapapa is drawn from mixed sources - Scots and Maori. To date, my most urgent need has been to learn about my Maori ancestry. I have always felt a need to understand first that which is closest to me. It has seemed odd to me to search for an identity in a far-off place when not even sure of my identity in the land of my birth. I have also found it most unfair that the gifts given to me through my whakapapa from my three Scottish grandparents have not been considered problematical in this society (they are gifts to devalued through the process of colonisation and the practices of racism. The consequent view given to me of my ancestry could hardly be termed balanced.

My work in education has been about redressing that imbalance. I have tried to adopt positive approaches which enable me to celebrate the gifts of all my grandparents. My work, then, has not been anti-Pakeha or anti three sources of my whakapapa. Rather, it has sought to reaffirm the Maori world so that. The gifts could be equally valued by me and the wider community. My greater involvement in Maori education and issues of Maori identity is also a product of the urgent need for this work. I sense that people sometimes assume that this involvement means I have no regard for my Pakeha ancestry. They are wrong. There are very good historical, cultural and social reasons why my Maori tipuna need my professional and personal energy more than my Pakeha tipuna. My tipuna know and understand this. Society is slowly coming to realise it.

My real learning about being Maori has taken place outside such formal, institutionalised Pākehā contexts as schools and tertiary establishments. When, at the age of eighteen, I lost my mother, my maternal grandmother became a close mentor in things Maori that were precious to me. I lived away from her at this time, so my opportunity to learn from her was limited, but her counsel and thoughts I cherish. More than anyone else she knew the path along which my career was taking me, and she was well aware of the kind of life that I would be required to live as a result. When I won my first academic position, it was she who advised me that that my most severe and unrelenting critics would be Maori, including my family. I had been appointed to work in the area of Maori education. She warned me that whereas a Pākehā would be forgiven for transgressions made in such work, I would not. I was a Maori woman who would be expected to be perfect; not to make any errors.

For me to know who I am I have had to discard much of what I have learned and been conditioned to accept. In short, I took responsibility for my own learning a long time ago, a process which social philosopher Paulo Freire would describe as conscientisation:

> …the process in which men [sic], not as recipients, but as knowing subjects achieve a deepening awareness both of the sociocultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality.[6]

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6   P Freire, *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power and Liberation* (Massachusetts, 1985) p93.

I am still learning to develop the full range of my faculties, including intuition and instinct. I view with some disquiet those who want to take shortcuts in their learning. Learning is lifelong; there is no easy or shortened path to education and enlightenment. Over the years I have developed a critical view of that which is considered to be 'natural', 'normal', 'conventional', 'traditional', 'rational' and 'objective' in education. Such words are invariably used to rank and judge people. In the ranking process, Maori women routinely end up at the bottom of the pile. As an academic, this has led me to question seriously the cultural bias of formal educational institutions in New Zealand, from early childhood to post-compulsory education and training.

THE DECADE OF THE EIGHTIES

During the 1980s, every sector of the education system has been subject to major review and reform.[7] The policies which emerged from this process, outlined in Before Five, Tomorrow's Schools and Learning for Life, firmly stated that equity, defined to include the Treaty of Waitangi and equal employment opportunities, was central to government educational policy, and that it was to be closely reviewed by the newly created Educational Review Office to ensure its implementation.[8]

The 1980s ended on a high note for those concerned to see equity implemented in all aspects of government policy. The first year of the new decade, however, ended ominously. Within weeks of National's victory in the 1990 general election, the new Minister of Education had announced that the non-racist and non-sexist principles of' all schools charters were no longer 'non negotiable'. The policies of the Fourth Labour Government had had barely a year to be implemented before their demise was launched.

The 1980s may well have been the worst of recent decades to take up the work of an academic. In announcing the findings of the report *University Funding Over the Last Decade*, jointly commis sioned by the Association of University Teachers of New Zealand (AUTNZ) and the New Zealand University Students Association (NZUSA), AUTNZ described the New Zealand university system as:

> ...the educational casualty of the Western World....During the period 1980-1988, equivalent fulltime students (EFTS) in universities increased by approximately 13,000: the numbers of fulltime academic staff increased by 208. Thus for every 62.5 students entering the universities, the number of fulltime academic staff increased by 11.[9]

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7   It is beyond the scope of this paper to comment in any detail on the reform process. However, some of the major reports which were produced as a result of the reviews undertaken are listed here. *Review of the Core Curriculum (1986); New Zealand 's Universities - Partners in National Development. A Review of the New Zealand Universities (1987); Government Review of Te Kohanga Reo (1988); Education to Be More (1988); Administering/or Excellence: Report of the Task Force to Review Education Administration (1988); Assessment for Better Learning (1988); Report of the Working Group on Post-Compulsory Education and Training (1988).*

8   *Before Five* outlined the policy for early childhood education; Tomorrow's Schools for primary and secondary education; *Learning/or Life* for post-compulsory education and training.

9   'Crisis in University Funding', *AUT Bulletin* 142 (October/November 1990).

Figure 4.1 Real fall in numbers of university academic staff in comparison to rising student numbers, 1979-1988
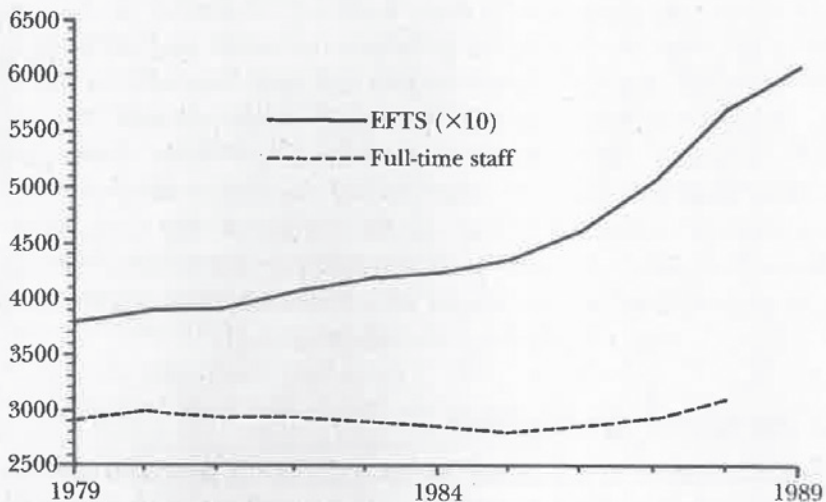
N.B. Academic staff refers to occupied positions from assistant lecturer to professor

Figure 4.2 Deflated university operating expenditure per equivalent full-time student

Fiscal years
Years ending March until 1988/89, year ending June 1989/90
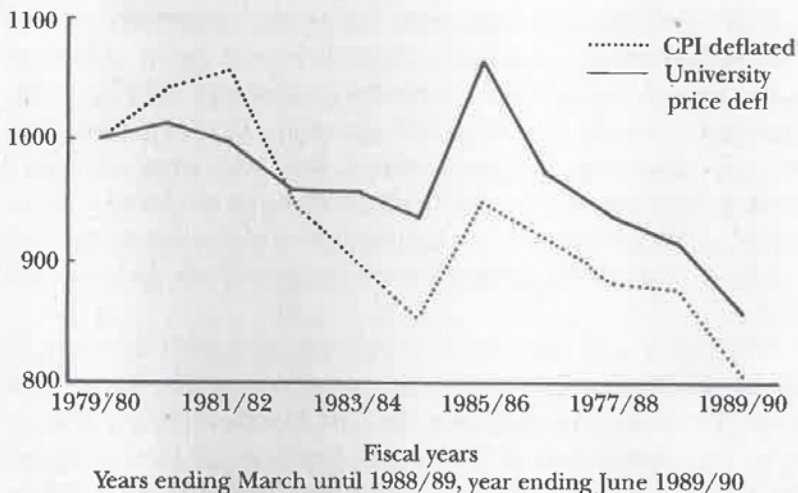
Sources: UGC annual reports and *Education Statistics of New Zealand*, annual volumes, *AUT Bulletin* 142, October/November 1990.

As Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show, the university system has been seriously run down. Universities basically have not had the resources to develop as they should. There have been insufficient funds for building programmes, resulting, in part, in overcrowded classes. Fewer academic appointments than required have been made to keep pace with increasing student enrolments, giving rise to larger classes. And the reduced budget has meant that there have been fewer funds available for innovation and development. All staff, academic and general, have had their workloads increased considerably to cope with budgetary constraints.

In 1986, AUTNZ released *The Status of Academic Women in New Zealand*,[10] the results of a survey carried out in our universities by Margaret Wilson. It provides compelling evidence that women academics, as a group, experience their careers differently from men. Although the appointments of women to academic positions increased steadily during the 1980s, as Table 4.1 demonstrates, women remained under-represented in the academic fraternity. Furthermore, the majority of women academics are still to be found in the junior positions of the academic hierarchy (Table 4.2).

Of real concern was this observation in Margaret Wilson's survey:

> The two feelings that emerged most strongly from the women were anger and frustration. Many women had difficulty in expressing how angry and upset they were both at their own treatment and that of other women.[11]

In 1987, the Vice-Chancellors Committee published their commissioned review of New Zealand universities. *New Zealand Universities: Partners in National Development*[12] clearly

Table 4.1 Percentage of female and male full-time academic staff in New Zealand universities, 1978–1988

	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
Female	10.3	11.4	11.9	12.3	12.7	13.5	13.8	15.2	15.9	17.7	18.3
Male	89.8	88.6	88.1	87.7	87.3	86.5	86.2	84.8	84.1	82.3	81.7

Source: *New Zealand Official Yearbooks*, 1980–1990 (Wellington).

stated that the university system had not served the interests of women or Maori equitably and that major changes were needed in order to implement a policy of equity. This report was important for feminist and Maori academics. It validated our concerns about the failure of the university system to implement policies of equity, and it provided recommendations relevant to the urgent need to develop programmes of reform in this area.

The report also addressed an interesting set of relationships which suggested that universities should be concerned with both national and international development. I think that it is fair to say that New Zealand universities have traditionally been more concerned with international than national development. Perhaps the title of the report - *Partners in National Development* - indicates that a shift in focus, long overdue, is imminent.
It was in this context that I became an academic.

10   M Wilson, *Report on the Status of Academic Women* in New Zealand (Wellington, 1986).
11   ibid, p39.
12   R L Watts,] M Herbison, T L Johnson and RH Myers, *New Zealand's Universities: Partners in National Development* (Wellington, 1987).

BECOMING AN ACADEMIC

I still have vivid memories of the first day that I went to sign up, to collect the key to my office and to start my new career. I can see myself walking down the corridor, in a bright skirt (florals set on a black background, elasticized waist and frill at the hem), a matching

Table 4.2 **Females as percentage of full-time academic staff by rank, 1980, 1984, 1988**

	1980	1984	1988
Full professor	2.3	3.0	4.4
Senior lecturer, associate professor, reader, lecturer in charge	8.4	8.7	9.5
Lecturer	15.7	23.5	35.2
Junior lecturer, assistant lecturer	34.2	43.8	54.1
Instructor and demonstrator engaged in teaching	29.2	39.8	47.0
Percentage of total teaching posts	11.6	13.8	18.3

Source: *New Zealand Official Yearbooks*, 1981, 1985, 1990 (Wellington).

peach-coloured tank top, my sunglasses perched stylishly (sigh, that's what I thought then) on top of my head. My high heeled, suede, multi-coloured, wooden-soled shoes slipped on the carpet and were bloody difficult to walk in. I was twenty-four years old, fit, lean, tanned, married, heterosexual, and shit scared. If I didn't look or speak like a 'normal' academic, that was no loss, because I didn't feel like one either.

Bordieu, a French theorist, whose research on education focuses on the way the school system facilitates cultural reproduction; would have recognised instantly the nature of the dilemma that soon faced me in my chosen career.[13] Either I could assimilate myself into the dominant culture (Pākeha and male) of the university, thereby being considered successful, or I could leave, a failure. For me, assimilation was not an acceptable option. I wanted to remain 'me, myself, I' (with thanks to Joan Armatrading): a Maori, feminist academic. To do so, I sought to uphold the counsel of Rangimarie Rose Pere: Kia maumahara ki tou mana ake: Remember your absolute uniqueness.'[14]

The literature based on Bourdieu's writing reveals that there is no place for people like me who choose to resist and contest the hegemonic forces designed to assimilate us.[15] Such work, therefore, is of limited use in helping me to theorize how Maori and women - Maori

13   See R Harker, 'Schooling and Cultural Reproduction';in J Codd, R Harker and R Nash (eds), *Political Issues in New Zealand Education* (Palmerston North, 1985), p65.
14   Pere (1988), p14.
15   Harker et al. (eds).

women particularly - can become 'successful' and still maintain their cultural identity and integrity in the education system. Anne Marie O'Neill supports this analysis in her comprehensive discussion of the development of feminist scholarship in the area of cultural reproduction:

> The primacy of human agency and the production of meaning and culture is... paramount in this work. Feminist studies of this kind have sought to expose how women, as well as men, are enmeshed in social relationships and ideological webs of meaning and power. The limitations inherent in the application of reproduction models to the study of girls' educational experiences, and women's lives, can be seen in their failure to sufficiently acknowledge human beings as 'choosing agents'.[16]

I started my academic career somewhat shakily (because of those shoes perhaps!), and maybe I was a bit of a nuisance (something that certain people may feel I have been to the academic fraternity ever since!). You see, I arrived too soon. It was the first week in January. Everyone was on holiday and my office was not ready. It could not be prepared until someone returned. On reflection, this situation was possibly a sign that the academic world was really not ready for me - or for my work. At the time, I should perhaps have reflected on this, but I didn't. I did know though that I had a strong desire to belong to this world; to become one of the fraternity. It has taken me years to be able to articulate why, and to sustain the motivation to carry on.

A 1988 report's identification of those characteristics 'which collectively distinguish universities from other educational institutions' helped me with this articulation. Universities, the report noted,

> are primarily concerned with more advanced learning... In universities teaching and research are closely interdependent... Universities are necessarily international in stance... Universities are a repository of knowledge and expertise... Universities are a critic and conscience of society.[17]

I realised that I had always wanted to be part of this kind of institution; involved in this work. I loved learning, I loved knowing and I was thirsty for knowledge. The university environment was for me. I wanted to be there to keep my mind challenged and active; to be aware of the latest developments in my fields and to contribute to them. Importantly, I wanted to act as much as a critic and conscience of the *university system* as I did of society at large. From Rangimarie Rose Pere's description of the mind as 'te hine ngaro', the lost maiden, unable to be touched by Tane in the Maori creation story, I gained a sense of security in my choice to be an academic, to be free to continually develop my mind.

If it took me some time to recognise the more esoteric reasons why I wanted to be an academic, it didn't take me long to discover the practical ones. The pay rates for men and women were the same, though men would probably be appointed higher on the various scales than women; the working conditions were flexible, including being able to work at home; staff development was part of the employment package, including paid refresher

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16   AM O'Neill, 'Gender and Education: Structural Inequality for Women', in ibid.
17   Report of the Working Group on Post-Compulsory Education and Training (1988), p91.

leave known as 'sabbatical'; and the job descriptions of academics were diverse, including teaching, research, publishing, community work and administration. In addition, academic freedom, the hallmark of the job, gave freedom to express 'truths' (as perceived by academics) that were free from political or other interference. What a job!

Despite these benefits, my first years as an academic were difficult and stressful. The overall climate that universities found themselves in during the 1980s had much to do with this. For Maori and feminist academic staff, working in areas which were still largely subject to pioneering in this decade, the resources were just not available to implement the programmes of reform generally accepted as necessary. This under-resourcing, at a time when educational policy had clearly come to include equity as a central focus, was intensely frustrating. I was one of a group of academics who had been appointed to implement the very policies called for, on Scotch mist and aroha - not the stuff that satisfying, rewarding careers are built on. Rather, it is grounds for the development of square heads, resulting from persistent banging against brick walls!

The fate of developing a square head was mine from the start. For one thing, I had been appointed as an academic to challenge and change the status quo of the university system. This task was actually set down in my job description! For another, as the following extract from the job description of my current position reveals, my work required diverse commitments.

> The person appointed will be asked to develop a new course in Maori Education as a part of the Department's programme of courses for under-graduates and to engage in research on Maori Education. The appointee will be expected also to make contributions to other courses in the Department, including Race Relations and Education, Gender and Education and Peace Education in relation to Taha Maori. The position also involves liaison with the Department of Maori Studies.[18]

Not only was I to be a specialist, in Maori Education, and to undertake the research necessary to maintain credibility as an expert, I was also to be generalist, able to contribute to a wide range of interdisciplinary courses. Added to this was liaison with another department - Maori Studies. The liaison work alone constituted a job in itself because of the vast amount of work that needed (and still needs) to be done to develop Maori programmes throughout the university.

For much of my time as an academic, I feel I have been 'caught between a rock and a hard place' - not a comfortable position to be in! I could have dug myself a safe hole by teaching one or two courses on Maori Education; by making the development of these courses my contribution to a changed status quo. I could have minded my own business and enjoyed the resources of the university for my own personal development and success. But, had I taken this option, I would have been labelled a sell out, a colonised Maori, a house nigger, a 'potato' (brown on the outside, white on the inside) by other Maori, not to mention the labels that feminists would have generated for me! If I were to be part of a system which tried to attract Maori people to it, particularly Maori women, then I knew that I had to do considerably more than write courses with appropriate content. Likewise, if we were to hold such students from undergraduate degrees to postgraduate work and eventually attract

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them to become faculty members. Yet the order that I have tried to work to promote the issues of Maori development and women's needs, the more resistance I have met. To survive, I have had to learn to become a strategiser, a politician, a negotiator, a bridge builder, a detective and a tracker dog with a keen sense of smell for traces of the scents of 'hope and potential'. This, along with being a scholar, researcher and writer.

I have also had to become a pioneer because so much pioneering work still needs to be done in the university system. As a result, I know that my experience of becoming an academic has differed from that of academics who are not Maori, who are not feminists and who are not Maori feminist academics.

For a time I internalised the stress and difficulties I found in my job, seeing them as personal problems, unrelated to professional concerns, the place of my work or society at large. I was sure that I was not well enough read, that I was poorly qualified, that my sense of humour was not strong enough to laugh off some of what I saw, and that I was unrealistic about what I thought could be achieved in the university system. But now I have been in the job long enough to see that my experiences as a Maori feminist academic cannot be 'explained away' as personal 'failings'. It has taken me years to accept myself as an academic and to learn to analyse how a complex range of factors has the potential to alienate and marginalise me from the very job that I was appointed to do. In this regard, I found Dale Spender's *Women of Ideas and What Men Have Done to Them*[19] particularly useful in placing the careers of many women, including feminist academics, in a historical context which helps us to analyse the real nature of the problems facing women of ideas.

When I took my first appointment, I was a trained primary school teacher with two years' primary school teaching behind me. I also had a Diploma of Teacher Training, a Diploma in Teaching and the degrees B. Ed and B. Ed Honours (1st Class). I was starting an academic career from the bottom. Given this, my expectations of myself were very modest. Junior lecturers' expectations tend to focus on starting, learning and developing on growing into the profession. I was a hard worker, prepared to give the job everything I had. I had nothing to lose. All the same, it took me some time to develop the confidence to affirm my own knowledge, to put my shoulders back and my head in the ready-to-learn position.

I started my academic career on the bottom step of the junior lecturers' scale. After four years (1981-1984) as a junior lecturer, I was appointed to a tenured lectureship, a position I held from 1985 to April 1988. I started this position at the bottom of the lecturers' scale. In May 1988, I graduated Master of Education from Massey University. Five months earlier I had been appointed, at the top of the lecturers' scale, to a lectureship in race relations and education at Victoria University. But before I could take up the position, two more 'bars' and three more steps were added to the scale, effectively meaning that I was no longer at the top of the scale when I took up the job. In ten years I have applied for promotion twice and been successful once. I end my first ten years as a lecturer, considered to be a junior position in the academic hierarchy.

I have neither sought nor taken 'shortcuts'. I have played by the rules of the academy: upgrading my qualifications (I am currently working towards my PhD); teaching in a wide range of courses, from first-year undergraduate to master's levels, and in both internal, face-to-face, and extramural situations; developing new courses; publishing my writing in books

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19   D Spender, Women of Ideas and What Men Have Don't to Them: From Aphra Behn to Adrienne Rich (London,1982).

and journals; engaging in research, from small, department-based research projects to major reviews at the invitation of the government; taking an active role in committee work in the university and wider educational environment; and working in the community. And, in recent years, I have learned a new set of rules, unwritten and whispered behind closed doors. My understanding of what academics do is now considerably more complete.

BECOMING A MOTHER

On looking around the university, I saw that being an academic, a partner in a relationship and a parent went comfortably hand in hand for the majority of male academics. Those choices, I thought, should also be open to women, if we wanted them.

Several women academics that I know have chosen not to become mothers because it is so difficult to combine parenthood and an academic career. I know no male academics who have made that choice for those reasons.

I became pregnant in 1985 and gave birth to my first child, a daughter, in January 1986. Two years later I gave birth to her brother. Soon after my daughter's birth I started to see that becoming a mother had made me, in some people's eyes, more of a 'real woman'. This was particularly so in the Maori community. Women without children by choice are a breed apart from 'real women'. Maori women who make a conscious choice not to have children are a cultural enigma.

As an academic, I found that one of the most worrying lines fed to me during my pregnancy concerned the state and functioning of my brain. The line was clear: once baby arrived I would be overcome with maternal emotion; I would not want to come back to this academic work and, even if I did, my brain would have turned to non-productive mush. This was a real worry - perhaps they were right. I was planning to come straight back to work after baby's birth. I was also working on my master's thesis at the time. To keep my brain engaged, and working, I took my briefcase with me into the maternity annexe and worked there. I wrote a module on culture and health for a new Advanced Studies for Teachers Unit course. 'They' were wrong of course. My brain didn't turn to mush, but the two weeks of blissful rest that I had so looked forward to (and which I desperately needed) never came.

I did not take maternity leave. I went back to work and took Horiana with me for the first four months of her life. During this time we commuted from our home to the university, some fifty minutes' distance by car. When I reflect on it now I shudder at our schedule. Determined to show that I could work and mother and breastfeed our baby and do everything else in which I was involved, I battled my way through the first four months of her life. Baby would wake at about 6.00 a.m. We would rise, feed, bath, dress for the day, pack a bag and set off for the university. I tried to be at my desk by at least 8.30. That way baby was asleep and not due for a feed for a couple of hours. I could get some 'work' done. We 'worked' at the university all day and headed home at about 4.00 p.m.

If you think that I only have myself to blame for trying to be a cross between superwoman and Einstein, please, pause for a moment. In professional terms this was the mid 1980s. I was one of two Maori women academics in that university, put up as a role model and mentor whether I wanted to be or not to Maori and women students. The pressure on women to be seen as serious academics was tremendous. We were still over-represented in the junior ranks of the university staff; the status of Maori and women academics nationally was low. The scene was set for me to feel that I had no choice but to soldier on for the good of the people.

I learned to keep a meticulous record of my work hours and schedule in a diary so that if anyone challenged me about not pulling my weight or not doing an honest day's work I could show them exactly what I had done - almost by the hour. A colleague sitting next to me at a staff meeting one day noticed my diary entries and asked if I was always that well organised. I thought to myself, it's worth the effort to keep this diary after all!

Eventually, some 'trouble' erupted in the education department over the presence of babies. Another colleague had a baby and was breastfeeding her and caring for her at work at the same time. A senior male colleague (whose academic specialty was, ironically, human development) wrote a note of complaint about the presence of babies at staff meetings. I never used to take baby with me, but the cauldron of discontent was simmering. This time the witches were mostly, but not all, male. It was a difficult time. Maori culture told me to take my babies everywhere with me. I was hired to work from the area of Maori education in the education department of a university, and yet, when I applied Maori cultural teachings relating to children to my own working life, I met resistance. I gave up. Baby was weaned. Doing this was quite easy. After four months of an exhausting schedule and the other hassles, my milk had run out anyway. Horiana stayed at home with a nanny.

I had asked for only one concession when I arrived at work with Horiana. I asked if I could use an empty office to help me with her care. I wanted to employ a graduate student to attend to her needs. I was told no, the department did not want to be seen to be undermining the creche facilities. Neither did I, in principle, but the staff creche was situated on a hill, about twenty minutes walk away from my office. I needed a place close to me to conserve my energy. A few years later when two other women in the department had children and made the same request, the answer was yes.

MAORI WOMEN ACADEMICS: WHO, WHAT, WHERE?

With great excitement and vigour I had entered a career in which I would have few Maori role models, men or women, mentors or colleagues. When I took up my first position, I brought to two the number of Maori women working in full-time academic positions at that university. The other woman, who had tenure, was a senior lecturer in the Social Work Unit. This meant that no Maori women held academic positions in the Department of Maori Studies.

Also at the time of my first appointment, only one Maori woman, Ngapare Hopa, had ever earned the PhD degree, and she was teaching in an American university. She graduated Doctor of Philosophy from Oxford University in 1977. The reality of the breakthrough that Ngapare made for Maori women serves as a chilling reminder to me of how recent Maori women's arrival in the academic fraternity has been. In 1982, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku graduated Doctor of Philosophy from Waikato University, the second Maori woman Ph.D. Our third Maori woman PhD, Kathy Garden, graduated Doctor of Electrical Engineering from Canterbury University in 1984. Margaret Mutu-Griggs, our fourth, graduated Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Auckland in 1990. As I write this, late in 1990, all four women are at last employed and working full-time in New Zealand universities: three as academics, one as a senior research consultant.

When Margaret Wilson undertook her survey on women academics in New Zealand, she found that, of those surveyed, only 1.3 percent of the women described themselves as Maori compared with 1.8 percent of the men. These figures she offset against 1983 statistics which

revealed that 13.5 percent of academics were women and 86.5 percent men.[20] The position of Maori academics, especially Maori women academics in New Zealand, is changing very very slowly, despite the significant introduction of equal employment opportunity positions in all universities and the focus, albeit fleeting, on equity as a top priority in educational policy.

But even given the difficulties, I will always consider it vital that a greater number of politically conscientised Maori and feminists become academics. The influence that universities undoubtedly have in our society, derived from the powerful functions that they perform, should not be left to a small, unrepresentative group to exercise. It must be exercised by a group of academics fully representative of the whole community. It is also crucial that academics in New Zealand universities undergo staff development programmes which educate them out of the conservatism that is so rife there in the areas of Maori and feminist development.

Essentially, much needs to be done to reform the current state of New Zealand universities so that they may become equitable institutions of higher learning. Universities have accrued too much power to be left out of programmes of social revolution. Within this revolutionary process, academics must be prepared to act as critics and consciences of their own institutions as much as they do of society at large.

Matua whakapai i tou marae,
Ka whakapai ai i te marae o te tangata.

First clean up your own marae,
Before you clean up another's.[21]

To repeat, I became an academic in order to make an educated and positive contribution to our society; to implement the dreams of our tipuna, expressed in these words:

TOI TE KUPU, TOI TE MANA, TOI TE WHENUA.

The language lives,
The mana is great,
The nation is strengthened.

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20   Wilson (1986), pp 8-9.
21   R T Kohere, *He Konae Aronui: Maori Proverbs and Sayings* (Wellington, 1951), p44.

Towards Theories of Māori Feminisms

Kathie Irwin

He tau pai te tau
He tau ora te tau
He tau ngehe te tau
He tau no te wahine
Rapua he purapura e tupu ai te tangata

The year is good
The year is peaceful
The year is full of promise
It is the year of women (a time for peace and growth)
Seek, therefore, the seed from which will come the greatest growth
for all people[1]

We need to actively honour, to celebrate the contributions, and affirm the mana of Māori women: those tīpuna wāhine who have gone before us; those wāhine toa who give strength to our culture and people today; and those kōtiro and mokopuna who are being born now, and who will be born in the future, to fulfil our dreams. These words restate a basic tenet of feminist theory: that as women we have a right to our herstories. Throughout our story as a people, Māori women have been successful innovators and leaders. Our work and deeds have had a significant impact on Māori culture and society, breaking new ground, often in radical ways. And yet, our women, and their stories, have been buried deeper and deeper in the annals of time by the processes of oppression that seek to render us invisible and keep us out of the records.

In order to make sense of the reality of Māori women's lives, our herstories must be told; they must be considered alongside the stories of our iwi, our peoples; and of Aotearoa, our land. The history of Aotearoa since contact with Pākehā adds another dimension to our stories, as does an analysis of our international connections beyond our immediate waters.

Having approached a study of our stories in such a way, we may be able to reflect honestly on the reality of Māori women's lives; the connections we have with our past, our contemporary situation, and the dreams we have for tomorrow.

The need to write Māori women back into the records, to make ourselves visible - all of which may seem to some feminists to be stating the obvious - is a necessary part of introducing a paper which aims to work towards Māori feminist theories. Such is the state of the struggle to validate and affirm Māori women's studies in some quarters.[2] There it is still considered unnecessary to focus on Māori women and girls in their own right. It is argued that because Māori culture and society is holistic in nature, any study of them can only be carried out in a context in which the holism of both remains intact through every phase of the study, in order for it to be authentic and authoritative to Māori.

The essence of this position is central to this paper. I hope to show that in order to understand the needs of Māori women and girls it is essential to develop Māori feminist theories in which Māori society and culture are central. This, however, does not preclude the necessity for specific analysis of the needs of women and girls in their own right. Aspects of our culture are continually being considered in their own right: weavers, musicians, writers, sports people, political parties, iwi, all meet regularly to work together. Such clearly focused work is also necessary if we are to realistically provide for the needs of Māori women and girls.

To argue that this work is unnecessary is also to imply that the life experiences of Māori women and men are the same, hence there is no need for Māori women's studies. This is

not so. The life experiences of Māori women and men are not the same. Māori women's health, education, family structure and support, employment and unemployment statistics are significantly different from Māori men. Our women earn less, are left alone to raise children, take subjects at school which prepare them for the lowest paid, least secure sectors of the labour market, and have health problems which lead the world in negative indices in some areas such as smoking and related health problems.[3] The issue of life styles and opportunities for Māori women and girls is a serious one and demands our specific concern. People should not feel the need to discuss the plight of Māori always in general terms, without highlighting the specific needs and concerns of our women and girls.

In our work with Māori women we need to recognize that they, like any other community of women, are not a homogeneous group. A number of factors influence Māori women's development: tribal affiliation, social class, sexual preference, knowledge of traditional Māori tikanga, knowledge of the Māori language, rural or urban location, identification on the political spectrum from radical to traditional, place in the family, the level of formal schooling and educational attainments to name but a few.

These factors must be taken into account when our women's stories are being researched, and they must be accepted without judgement. There is still destructive debate taking place in some quarters over who are 'real' and, heaven forbid, 'acceptable' Māori women. The discussions that go on about who is not a real Māori, or not Māori enough, or only a weekend Māori, best serve the interests of those who wish to see us kept off the record and out of control. Precious time is wasted debating amongst ourselves, who is and who isn't an 'acceptable' Māori. Trying to identify the 'ideologically correct, real Māori women' has already proven futile. The decade of the 1980s will be remembered for many things, some of them lessons learnt from mistakes made. We have been through times when families, relationships, and people's sanity were destroyed at the hands of activists, working to attain goals very similar to the current kawenata of Māori development, who tried to change those identified as not coming up to predetermined 'acceptable standards'.[4]

The identification of Māori is an issue over which whānau, hapū, and iwi have cultural control. This control is exercised through tikanga Māori, including whakapapa. Self-appointed Māori who question the identity of other Māori, at an individual level, according to their own agenda, are meddling in the affairs of whānau, hapū, and or iwi which are not their prerogative. As Māori we have challenged tauiwi for the right to our mana. Some self appointed activists have now taken over the task of attacking the mana of our people at an individual level, where tauiwi left off. Ironically, they claim to be doing this in the name of Māori causes! If Māoridom really is at crisis point, then surely it stands to reason that our meagre resources, both human and material, will be best served by clearly identifying the goals of Māori development, as the Hui Taumata did, and then committing our limited resources to attaining those goals as quickly as possible. The current in-fighting and debate over the least important questions only postpones the day when Māori attain the goals of Māori development, and when Māori women, as a part of this movement, are whole and strong once more.

The word 'reality' will be used regularly throughout this paper. We need to celebrate our visions and to share our perspectives for these are precious taonga that we possess. Dreams and visions are energizing and exciting. As Rangimarie Rose Pere has so eloquently reminded us 'to us, the dreamers are important' (Cox 1987). They enable us to enter a world beyond the constraints of that which our bodies inhabit, opening up the challenges of

new possibilities. Our work must also reflect the reality of Māori women's lives.[5] The real experiences of Māori women and girls, retold and recorded by us, provide a crucial base from which to develop strategies of change for Māori women. A balance must be reached between the world which minds, hearts, and souls can visit and that in which our bodies must dwell.

> *Puhi wāhine e pao i runga i tō kuru pounamu*
> *Arā ki te horo ahau*
> *Ko au tonu te mekameka ka noho i runga i ngā take o ngā*
> * puhi maunga puha i te kōrero*
> *Ko au tonu te uha o tōku mana*
> *Ko au tonu*

> *Noble women, chant upon your greenstone rock*
> *That if I am to be shattered*
> *I am to be the greenstone necklaces that will sit upon the base*
> * of every female mountain that activates the words:*
> *I am the source of my own power*
> *I am*   *(Black 1983)*

TOWARDS THEORIES OF MĀORI FEMINISMS

The development of theories of Māori feminisms is an urgent task facing both the women's and Māori movements if the life chances and life styles of Māori women are to be improved. This assertion is likely to be denied by some traditionalists, to be debated but not seen as a priority by some activists, to be laughed at by some chauvinists and patriarchs, to be taken up by increasing numbers of Māori feminists. However it is received, it will remain permanently on the agenda of both movements.

Theory is not an academic luxury, it is a necessary part of our revolutionary equipment. It can be a tool for empowerment and liberation. As Sue Middleton has shown in her seminal papers 'Towards a sociology of women's education in Aotearoa',[6] and her contribution to this volume, the development of indigenous theory in Aotearoa makes an invaluable contribution to our work because it is pivotal in completing our understanding of ourselves and the connections we have with the world around us. Without it we come to understand ourselves only as others see us. The development of theories of Māori feminisms is not an ostrich approach to Māori development, where Māori feminists have their heads buried in the sand, not aware of or interested in the world around them, concentrating only on the role or status of Māori women, in isolation from the world they live in. This kind of posture is self-defeating if development is the aim. It is especially so because you can't even see who is kicking you in the bum, let alone catch them at it! A more appropriate analogy is perhaps that of a bird flying high in the sky, with full view of the horizons around it, moving in directions and at a speed that it can control. This is the power offered by Māori feminisms.

For our day-to-day needs we have a range of tools available from which to fashion a meaningful existence. Some are to be found at the level of real, physical objects which we use every day: toothbrush, knife, hose. They are important and useful specialist tools. They are tools which our bodies use every day of our lives. If we pick the wrong tool for the job, the outcome is a disaster. Try ironing with a spade, digging up a field with a toothbrush, drying washing in a microwave. They know which tools we need for the jobs that we do every day of our lives. When we lack a tool necessary for our survival, we make a new one.

Other tools are not of this kind. They are intangible, tools which we cannot see, grasp with our hands, or employ the power of our physical strength to use. They are equally as valuable in our lives. These are tools of the heart, mind and soul: te ngākau, te hinengaro, te wairua. They know how to use them, why we need them, and what their powers are. They are the sources from which these tools are born. Theory is a tool of this kind: a powerful intangible tool which harnesses the powers of the mind, heart, and soul. It has the power to make sense of a mass of ideas, observations, facts, hunches, experiences. With the right theory as a tool we can take the right to our tino rangatiratanga, our sovereignty as Māori women,[7] to be in control of making sense of our world and our future, ourselves. We can and must design new tools — Māori feminist theories, to ensure that we have control over making sense of our world and our future. This is a feminist position in which the artificial creation, inflation, and maintenance of male power over women is unacceptable.

We don't need anyone else developing the tools which will help us to come to terms with who we are. We can and will do this work. Real power lies with those who design the tools - it always has. This power is ours. Through the process of developing such theories we will contribute to our empowerment as Māori women, moving forward in our struggles for our people, our lands, our world, ourselves.

DATA BASES FOR THEORIES OF MĀORI FEMINISMS

There are at least four central Māori sources of data from which to develop theories of Māori feminisms. These Māori sources are primary sources in this work. Māori society, both te ao hou and te ao tawhito (the present and past); te reo Māori, the Māori language; Māori women's herstories, the stories of the lives of our women; and ngā tikanga Māori, Māori customary practices. As Rangimarie Rose Pere's seminal work *Te Wheke*[8] has shown educationalists, analyses of Māori society must be grounded in te ao Māori, the Māori world. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku's analysis of her time as an activist in the sixties also argues this (Te Awekotuku 1989). Recalling days when the politics of student activists drew heavily from the political analyses of the United States, imported into Aotearoa, she identifies the need for the development of indigenous models to inform our visions and practices.

Depending on the nature of the study, the data base generated from Māori sources can be augmented by other significant sources. Feminist theory and herstories from other women of Aotearoa, particularly our Pākehā sisters; from other coloured women around the world; from indigenous women, whose people have been colonized; in fact from other women wherever they are, all provide an international perspective. Beyond these sources of feminist knowledge are the other vast data bases which document everything else ever written (although usually excluding women).

MĀORI SOCIETY: TE AO TAWHITO, TE AO HOU

An historical analysis is fundamental to an understanding of our society. Critical analysis of the development of our society must include everything that has had an impact on Aotearoa, from the time of creation to contemporary times, and should take into account plans for the future. The tribal basis of Māori society cannot be overlooked in any study of Māoridom. Iwi Māori have suffered different fates at the hands of the colonizers. This iwi focus is particularly relevant in studies of Māori women, as this area is one in which tribal kawa and tikanga differ markedly. Without iwi-based analysis, people may assume that the tikanga which apply to women and women's knowledge are pan-tribal in their origins and impact. They are not. The role of Ngāti Porou women in Ngāti Porou society, as detailed in Apirana Mahuika's MA thesis, for example, provides a fascinating historical analysis which

helps to explain why Ngāti Porou women are so strong, to this day! (Mahuika 1973)

There is no one theory of Māori feminism; there will be many.

TE REO MĀORI: THE MĀORI LANGUAGE

Both oral and written sources in Māori as well as English should be consulted in this work, as much of the history of Māoridom remains in the oral archives of the various tribes. Within Māori oral traditions, there exists a range of rich primary sources of data; 'haka, waiata, tauparapara, karanga, poroporoaki, paki waitara, whakapapa, whakatauki, and pepeha' (Karetu 1975). From these sources an authentic and authoritative Māori data base can be generated from which to study the role and status of Māori women and Māori feminisms.

MĀORI WOMEN'S HERSTORIES

Work for Māori women must be promoted and undertaken by Māori women. People have spoken on our behalf for long enough. In the pursuit of equity, participation is central to empowerment. As the women of the Te Kōhanga Reo movement are finding out through their experiences, there is no substitute for taking personal responsibility for learning - it is crucial for the empowerment of Māori women. Sue Middleton's research, which incorporates women's oral histories, provides an excellent example of how women's herstories 'describe and relate the personal experiences of individuals to structural and historical phenomena' (Middleton 1990). Māori women must be provided with the time, space, and resources· necessary to develop the skills to undertake this work, starting with the exploration, reclamation and celebration of our herstories, our stories as Māori women. The recently published annotated bibliography of work written by or about Māori women, contains over seven hundred references, many of which are biographical or autobiographical (Erai, Fuli, Irwin, and Wilcox 1991).

TIKANGA MĀORI: MĀORI CULTURAL PRACTICES

Since Māori and Pākehā have come into contact, traditional Māori cultural values and practices have been under attack. Some have been buried by colonization, others have survived through adaptation: The reclaiming of traditional cultural practices and the deconstruction of those which have changed since the arrival of the Pākehā are important sources of learning. The role and status of women is one of the major areas in which this work is necessary, and it needs to be undertaken from a Māori feminist perspective. Māori women's analyses of the role and status of Māori women in pre-European Māori society,[9] differ markedly from those undertaken by Pākehā male anthropologists[10] and the Pākehā women whose reconstructionist work is based on theirs.[11]

TRADITIONAL VALUES AND CONTEMPORARY PRACTICES: WOMEN AND SPEAKING RIGHTS ON THE MARAE

I would like to make the case for the development of theories of Māori feminisms by exploring a thorny contemporary issue: the issue of speaking rights on the marae. What I hope this analysis will show, is that in order to understand the debate surrounding the issue, some understanding of Māori language, customs, and cultural practices, and an anti-racist, Aotearoa-feminist perspective are prerequisites. The people able to speak from such a knowledge base are few and far between. And so the misunderstanding continues.

The speaking rights of women on the marae is one of the most misunderstood and abused contemporary issues of our culture and time. Many of those engaged in the debate, and

identified as 'on the Pākehā side', have been accused of trying to analyse Māori culture in Pākehā terms, in order to give the colonization of our culture and people a twentieth century face, in the name of feminism and equality of rights. Those 'on the Māori side' claim that Pākehā ideas have been used to make observations and judgements about the Māori world with little or no attempt to reconcile the different epistemological bases of the two cultures. Those 'on the Māori side' are also accused of using the misunderstanding which surrounds this issue to protect colonized views about the role and status of women and that it is evidence of sexism and Māori male hegemony in the Māori community. Some Pākehā use this 'evidence' of blatant sexism to justify both their ignorance about the Māori language and culture and their refusal to become informed. As you can imagine, this does not go down well in Māori circles! It places Māori women who may wish to talk about this important issue with their whānau, hapū, and iwi, in a very difficult position.

One major concern is the fact that very few people really debate the issue in full. It represents one of the classic examples of cross-cultural misunderstanding, of people 'talking past each other'.[12] People wanting to learn more about this area have been attacked for asking questions about the tikanga and protocol which pertain to the matter of women speaking on the marae. A very defensive mentality has grown around the subject and made it virtually untouchable in many quarters. For women, this practice of being attacked, bullied and ostracized for seeking knowledge is not new. Once it is recognized in these terms, women can learn to develop coping strategies for both the attacks and attackers. For Māori women, this is much more difficult, because there are so few 'Māori, woman friendly' sources of knowledge about speaking rights on the marae, which are authentic and authoritative to Māori.

Critical features of the debate are:

its location on the marae ātea, the central courtyard of the marae complex, directly in front of the wharenui;
the roles men and women play in the rituals invoked during ceremonial procedures used to welcome people onto the marae;
the fact that in most tribal groups men whaikōrero outside on the marae ātea, women do not;
because men do whaikōrero and women do not in most areas, this is identified as an example of sexism, of the denial of women's rights;
from this example, Māori culture and society, by association, are also identified as sexist;
the misunderstanding surrounding this issue is used by public servants to stop Māori women being appointed to a range of positions throughout the public service, a clear instance of 'talking past each other'.

For those totally unfamiliar with the physical layout of a marae, the following is enclosed to provide a spatial organizer for the description and analysis that is to follow.

Sketch plan of a typical marae

Women's Toilets | Men's Toilets

Hāngi Pits

Tankstand

Kitchen

Porch

Dining Hall

Meeting House

° Flag Pole

PAPAKĀINGA

MARAE

PROPER

Houses | Parking

Fence

Entrance
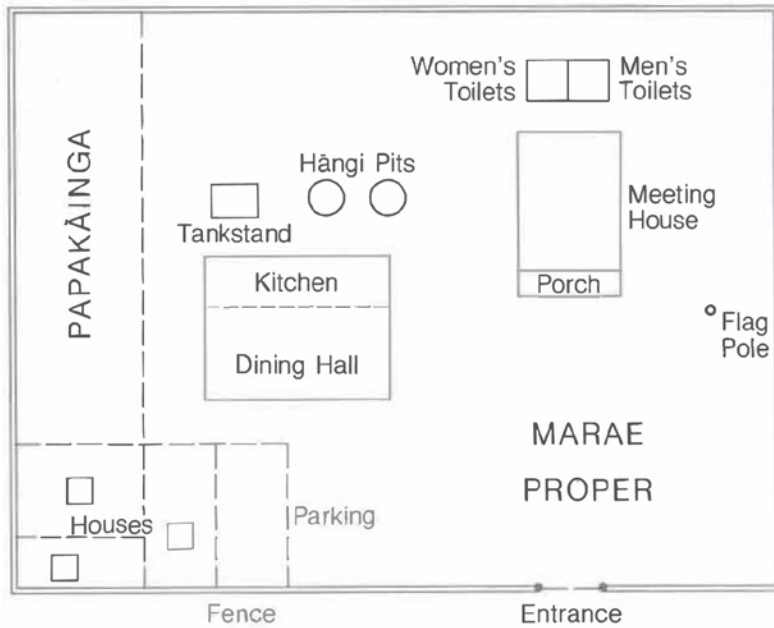
Source: Joan Metge (1976. 228) *Rautahi: The Māoris of New Zealand London:* Routledge and Kegan Paul.

At issue in the debate are at least the following:
What counts as 'speaking' and who has the power to legitimate 'what counts as speaking'?
What 'rights' are we referring to?
What is the location, the marae or marae ātea, and in what contexts is the issue being discussed?
What are the 'rituals of encounter' practised on the marae ātea and what is the role of women during these rituals?
What tribal differences occur in the rituals of encounter practised on the marae ātea and what explanation accounts for these differences?
In what circumstances and for whom has this become an issue?
What are the implications of this analysis for contemporary New Zealand society?

This issue has challenged the marae, a central institution in Māori life and culture, and ideas about the role and status of women.[13] Targeting the marae as it has, this controversy has hit at the very heart of Maoridom and caused great pain. As a result, over the years the subject has become virtually untouchable. It is not debated openly, in an informative way - a hallmark of Māori oral tradition. The debate that does occur is usually carried out under very stressful conditions, and is a minefield of unstated and unexplored assumptions about what is happening, how actions are to be interpreted, and the relative importance of the various actors involved. It is into such a minefield that this writer tiptoes, if it is possible to tiptoe through a minefield as explosive as this one is!

UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES AND FOR WHOM IS THIS AN ISSUE?

The issue of women's speaking rights on the marae ātea has become increasingly prominent during the last twenty years. As the second wave of feminism made its impact on this country in the early seventies, the role and status of women in all sectors of our society was opened to public scrutiny and criticism (O'Neil 1990). In the process, the anger and 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 of some of this feeling.

Ironically, on at least two levels the debate engages in double standards which are seldom acknowledged. At the heart of the matter is the assertion that men whaikorero, that women don't, and that this is an example of sexism, of the denial of women's rights. Here, the principle of equal rights is being argued in the context where male behaviour is used as the norm against which female behaviour is judged. Women weren't doing exactly what the men did, therefore what they were doing didn't count, in its own right. These feminists are proposing that Māori society and culture should adopt the very use of male behaviour which they would not accept for themselves, as a norm for judging female behaviour.

The second level at which a double standard exists concerns the power wielded by the two camps in the debate: the protagonists, with Pākehā society backing them up, used Pākehā power, amassed over the years through colonization and racism, so that they defined what counted as 'speaking'. The Māori community was relatively powerless in its bid to have its own definition of speaking rights validated. This at a time when there was international protest action for the rights of indigenous people to be upheld, and the racism which denied those rights to be exposed!

Another concern has been the development of a *range* of analytic strategies which work effectively with a range of different groups. Failure in this regard has led to some disastrous results. What works with a group of Pākehā feminists, women only, all subscribing to a similar notion of what feminism is, will not necessarily work with a Māori group consisting of a variety of ages and tribal affiliations - men and women, with differing views about the role and status of women! The point may seem trite in the 1990s, but it is still an important one. Many feminists, and I count myself here, have attempted to work through this question with a range of groups using the same methods.

The search for knowledge in such contexts becomes very problematic, at times openly dangerous to one's physical, cultural, and spiritual health. I will never forget the moment when, at a Māori women's hui, organized as part of the 1982 Women's Studies Association Conference and held on a marae in Palmerston North, a young Māori woman stood and asked the Māori males present (who included one of the most revered male kaumātua in the district at the time) to leave.[14] Her position was based on the notion that women should meet in women's only groups, and that men, if present, should know to leave, and be asked to do so if they don't know. The reply given included the statement that the men would not leave, and that she had no right to ask them to do so. We were told in no uncertain terms that we were on their marae, that they were the tangata whenua, guardians of the mauri of the wharenui, and that most of the women at the hui were manuhiri. Kawa pertaining to the roles of tangata whenua and manuhiri at hui on marae was briefly outlined. A short while later, we were informed that the kaumatua had another meeting to attend and that the men had to leave. The role of caring for the house, initially carried out by a male kaumātua, was then handed to a young local woman.

From this incident valuable knowledge was shared by all, and significant learning opportunities created. For a moment, it seemed that perhaps the venue chosen was the wrong one for the hui. In fact, the venue chosen was the correct one, and this incident, though incredibly painful at the time, was proof that Māori feminism is grounded in both Māori culture and the women's movement. Further, that under the kaupapa of whanau development, Māori feminists work with all Māori people, including men, a principle which stands Māori feminism apart from some other expressions of feminism.

Implicit in feminist challenges on this matter are ideas that Māori culture and society are not just patriarchal, but misogynous. Both assertions must be subject to the same kind of thorough research and analysis that is undertaken in any other area of feminist scholarship before conclusions can be reached. For years, conclusions and pronouncements about our culture and society have preceded research and analysis.

For many Māori, having the right to speak on the marae is not an issue, and never has been. It is viewed as a Pākehā women's preoccupation, which is irrelevant for Māori. For a growing number, however, it is becoming a matter of importance, and needs to be carefully worked through.

WHAT COUNTS AS 'SPEAKING', AND WHO DECIDES WHAT COUNTS AS SPEAKING?

This question is pivotal to the whole debate. Māori culture is by tradition an oral culture, with an oral literature. I leave the definition of what counts as Māori literature to an expert:

> Māori literature may be classified tentatively as prose and poetry, though in Māori there is a fluidity between the two. These may be oral (unwritten) and written literature, and there are distinctive regional and descent group variations. Māori prose is of three kinds: traditional oral texts, modern oral compositions and modern written prose. (Dewes 1975)

In this context the following all count as 'speaking', in the category 'traditional oral text': karanga, waiata, tangi, whaikōrero. Protagonists in this debate have recognized only whaikōrero as 'speaking'. The other forms of oral arts, some in which women only speak, have not perhaps been regarded as real speech making, but when women waiata, karanga and tangi, our culture says that we are speaking through legitimate, and highly valued Māori oral arts. Others have denied this, claiming instead that it is only whaikorero which counts as speaking. For Māori, the oral arts cover a wide variety of forms of speaking.

TO WHAT 'RIGHTS' ARE WE REFERRING?

Formal Māori marae procedures are not governed by the principles of democracy which form the basis of the dominant political system in Aotearoa: individuals do not automatically have the right to speak during the formal welcoming procedures on a marae, just as they do not have the automatic right to speak at formal welcoming procedures in Pākehā culture. When visiting dignitaries are welcomed by a city, for example, Joe and Jill Bloggs don't have the right to jump up out of the crowd and take over proceedings, offering their own personal welcomes, just because we live in a democratic society. The speakers for the occasion will be carefully chosen to represent groups involved in the occasion. This point is crucial: when we talk about the welcoming procedure on the marae ātea, we are not considering a routine part of our culture. It is one of the most highly ritualized events, and as such involves only a small group of people, just as in Pākehā culture, where small groups of people are chosen by the people, to represent them.

However, Pākehā culture tends not to have formal rituals of encounter, invoked for all, regardless of status, which parallel the rituals of encounter witnessed on the marae. Certainly, in Pākehā culture, when important dignitaries or royalty visit, we see all sorts of pomp and ceremony. But, when run-of-the-mill Pākehā meet each other, the rituals of encounter are nowhere near as complex as is the case in Māori culture. Observers of marae protocol, witnessing the regularity with which the rituals are invoked, may have mistakenly assumed that their prestige is somehow diminished. This is not the case. Though marae welcomes may occur every day, they remain highly ceremonial occasions in our culture which should be compared with similar kinds of experiences in Pākehā culture. In neither culture do the principles of democracy apply to participation at such times.

WHAT LOCATION IS BEING REFERRED TO - THE MARAE OR MARAE ĀTEA - AND IN WHAT CONTEXTS IS THE ISSUE BEING DISCUSSED?

The following unfortunate[15] comment was taken from a copy of 'He Panui', the Ministry of Women's Affairs newsletter (1988): '...generally speaking, women do not speak on the marae ... ' This introduces an element of ambiguity with regards the meaning of 'marae', a concept which is central to the whole argument. Marae can be used with at least two distinct meanings; firstly as a *whole living complex* (Walker 1975:21); *the traditional meeting place of the Māori people* (Tauroa H. and P. 1989); or secondly, as marae proper, *an open space of ground in front of an ancestral meeting house* (Walker 1975); or marae ātea *the area between the hosts and the guests during a welcome* (Tauroa H. and P. 1989).

To say that women do not speak on the marae, using marae in its first context, is obviously ridiculous. It does not explain why women arrive home after hui on marae with no voices; how jokes, yarns, and other networking rely on hui for their effectiveness; nor does it explain the noise heard on most marae, which is often created by the women! In the above quotation, the marae proper or marae ātea, has become abbreviated to marae, with serious consequences.

Kawa governing behaviour on the marae ātea during formal, ceremonial occasions is usually relaxed after these are complete. For example, during a pōwhiri 'all should refrain from walking about in the immediate area of the marae-ātea during the mihi. One must never walk in front of a speaker. If children are present, they too must be restrained from walking across the marae-ātea at this time' (Tauroa H. and P. 1989). When formalities are over, this area is utilized in more flexible ways, though not recklessly so. People can and do walk across the marae ātea after the formal ritual is complete, but this area is never a free-for-all playground. It always remains a place for dignified contact and conduct. This point is important and will be returned to later.

Kawa governing protocol during formal welcoming procedures does not apply to patterns of interaction in informal situations, only formal ones.

WHAT ARE THE 'RITUALS OF ENCOUNTER' PRACTISED ON THE MARAE ĀTEA AND WHAT IS THE ROLE OF WOMEN DURING THESE RITUALS?

Focusing our attention then on the marae ātea, and not the whole complex known as the marae, let us consider what actually happens there during the formal marae procedure of welcome. The whole process can include up to eight distinct types of ceremony: waerea, wero/taki, karanga, poroporoaki, pōwhiri, tangi, whaikōrero, and hongi (Salmond, 1975). Each of these features is regulated by its own kawa, and in many tribes, though not all, they are gender related. These are karanga (usually women), wero (usually men) and whaikōrero

(usually men). The rest are practised by men and women. The kawa that governs behaviour on the marae is a complex set of ideas which is based in Māoritanga. In order to be able to understand te kawa o te marae and to discuss its meaning and relevance, one must become a student of tikanga Māori and te reo Māori.

Women usually begin pōwhiri with karanga. A woman from the tangata whenua side begins with an opening karanga, call of welcome. 'The karanga constitutes the first words spoken between tangata whenua and manuhiri. It is the first expression of welcome.' (Tauroa H. and P. 1989) The kaupapa of the karanga is crucial to the occasion. Women offer the first call of welcome to all who have gathered, the living and the dead; they make reference to the people gathered and their interconnectedness by acknowledging all the different groups that have come together; they also address the purpose of the gathering, openly referring to the reason that has brought everyone together on this occasion. The karanga from the tangata whenua is replied to from the manuhiri, the visiting side. Following the interchange kaikaranga from the tangata whenua and manuhiri, the pōwhiri moves into its next phase.

In te kawa o te marae, the central focus is not on individual rights or needs; rather, on whanau, hapū, and/or iwi rights and needs, which are of central importance. Individuals speak on behalf of whānau, hapū, iwi and other groups. Their speaking rights are conferred on them by the groups they represent.

WHAT TRIBAL DIFFERENCES ARE THERE IN THE RITUALS OF ENCOUNTER PRACTISED ON THE MARAE AND WHAT ACCOUNTS FOR THESE DIFFERENCES?

As with other elements of protocol, the kawa that relates to women during pōwhiri on the marae ātea varies between tribes. In most tribes women do not whaikōrero on the marae ātea. But, this is not the case for all tribes. Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Kahungunu are two tribal areas in which some women can and do whaikōrero. The explanation for the differing tikanga pertaining to whaikōrero and the role of women lies deep in the history of each tribe. Research into tribal differences in kawa is necessary if we are to make an educated analysis of this issue.

For example, consider Muriwai and the 'kawa wahine' that has developed as a result of her deeds. Muriwai was a sister of Toroa, Puhimoanaariki and Taneatua, of the Matatua canoe. At Whakatane they sighted a beautiful mountain and a harbour with a good landing place. They decided that they should inspect this beautiful place. Muriwai and some of the people were left aboard the canoe. The rising sea and currents carried it close to the rocks. Powerless to act, and recognizing the imminent crisis, Muriwai stood in the canoe, chanted a special karakia, then called out 'e - i! Tēnā kia whakatāne ake au i ahau! - Now I shall make myself a man!' She ordered the crew to paddle away to safety, saving it from sure destruction. Eruera Kawhia Whakatane Stirling was named Whakatane in memory of his ancestress Muriwai. From her deeds is derived the '"kawa wahine", a women's etiquette amongst the tribes descended from Muriwai... high-born women in the direct line from Muriwai have held the right to speak on the marae'.[16] Eruera Stirling's mother, Mihi Kotukutuku, was one of those women. In the book *Eruera: the Teachings of a Māori Elder,* he retells the story of Muriwai's deeds. This deed, he relates, is often incorrectly attributed to Wairaka, the daughter of Toroa.

WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS IN CONTEMPORARY NEW ZEALAND SOCIETY?

During the contemporary Māori renaissance there is a great deal of energy being generated by people seeking to learn about the traditional ways of ngā tīpuna Māori, analysing the impact of colonization on our tikanga and reconstructing, where appropriate, traditional

cultural ways. In this search for knowledge from the traditional Māori world, there is a danger that what we are able to retrieve will be grasped uncritically and accepted as tūturu Māori wherever it is identified as such! New Māori tikanga are emerging everywhere and being incorrectly labelled as 'traditional Māori culture'. At one level there is no problem with this. All cultures are dynamic and continually changing. However, it is clear that many of the 'newly traditional' Māori cultural practices that are emerging serve the interests of Pākehā men whilst disempowering Māori women, in the name of 'Māori cultural practices'.

Unfortunately, when cultural practices are identified as traditional, many Māori people feel unable to view them critically, because they come from a world which we are trying to reconstruct. It is a strange culture that legitimizes the rights of male outsiders over and above the rights of its own women. These new 'tikanga' seem to many Māori women to be new practices of male bonding, not Māori culture, and they should be recognized as such.

The marae is identified as the central domain of Māori life, and, as such, it is an important location in which to consider the patriarchal bias of some of these new, 'traditional' Māori cultural practices.

When we contemplate the development of marae in recent years, it is possible to identify specific examples of change necessary to accommodate the needs of a dynamic culture. We now have tribal marae built outside traditional tribal boundaries, intertribal marae, and multicultural marae (Metge 1976), all adaptations to traditional cultural concepts around which marae were established. Wharenui utilize the latest technology to ensure greatest comfort and design appeal, incorporating the latest technology such as central heating. Some are carved by tauiwi. Styles, subject matter, and building materials depict the changing times. Some wharenui contain taonga from Pākehā culture which promote biculturalism by providing links to Pākehā culture in the wharenui. A beautiful example of this is a stained glass window depicting the arrival of the Pākehā in the wharenui at Parewahawaha, Bulls. When we put koha down these days it is more often than not money. Rarely is it augmented by delicacies which the manuhiri are renowned for, such as sea food.

Some commentators believe that the pace of change is such that the kawa of the marae has reached crisis point (Karetu 1978). Young men are speaking out of turn, before their elder brothers and whilst their fathers are still alive (Rangihau 1975). Indeed, in some well known families, the father and any number of the sons can be heard speaking in their district at the same time! Ironically, some of these very people are also employed to teach others about our culture. Furthermore, they are doing so by requiring that their students adhere to strict traditional tikanga, which they themselves are not practising! Some men are speaking who are not fluent speakers of Māori, they sometimes break into English when their Māori runs out or is insufficient. Pākehā men speak on the marae ātea, some fluent in Māori, some in Māori and English, some in English only, some using speech notes. What feminists might call the bonds of patriarchy are giving tauiwi men participatory rights in our culture over Māori women, simply because of their maleness.

What this 'crisis in kawa' and the changes continuously being made to marae show Māori women, is that our culture can and is being changed daily, and that many of these changes accommodate the needs of men and the links that they have with each other, across cultural boundaries. The role and status of women remains petrified, like a slab of rock, unchanging, immobile, inflexible, whilst everything around us in our culture is rapidly changing. In such a context, where it is accepted that Māori culture is being transformed to accommodate the

needs of a vital, changing culture, legitimate questions can be raised about why it is that the rights and roles of Māori women remain unchanged? When a Pākehā man, who is tauiwi, not a speaker of the language, or tangata whenua in a Māori sense of this word, is allowed to stand and whaikōrero on the marae ātea simply because he is a man, then Māori women surely have cause for concern.

This paper has sought to show that we speak, through various forms of oral arts, according to our traditional ways on marae, and that to state the opposite position is incorrect. But, if the kawa of these tikanga is to change to fit a contemporary context, is there not a logic to the position that the changes should include Māori women before Pākehā men if they are to be accepted as cultural changes and not patriarchal bonding?

In recent times it has become common for Pākehā men to be given participatory rights to everything about our culture from the protocol governing behaviour on the marae ātea to the political power to speak on our behalf.

Another important feature when considering 'location', is that tikanga which are supposed to pertain to the marae ātea only are being applied to situations off the marae ātea over which they cannot exercise the same cultural power. In Māori culture the marae ātea is considered to be the domain of Tumatauenga, the god of war. In areas where women do not traditionally whaikōrero, the gender division of cultural practices is related to the power of Tumatauenga over this site and the need to protect Māori women, and the generations they carry, from the potential danger of forays onto it. However, inside the wharenui the power of Rongo, the god of peace, prevails. Here, in theory, all are safe to speak in any form. So, the argument used to determine male and female speaking rights outside, on the marae ātea does not hold *inside*, according to Māori culture.

Some blatant examples of people taking a tikanga which relates to the marae ātea, and transferring its cultural power to another location in which it has no meaning, are those in which Māori women have been denied jobs at all levels of the public service because 'they can't speak on marae.' Māori women have been denied jobs from school teaching to university professorial positions because of this. In the most ludicrous example that I know of, a Māori woman, employed as a temporary itinerant teacher of Māori, was not permanently appointed to the job when it was advertised because she could not 'speak on the marae'. The job required that the person be a fluent speaker of Māori, which she was…A man with a well known Māori family name was appointed to this job. He could not speak Māori, but he had the qualifications of the right gender and whakapapa!

Cases like this show that not only do men extend participatory rights in our culture to other men before Māori women, but they abuse cultural power off the marae, where it has no control, in order to disempower Māori women. In such cases Māori communities have been used to legitimate a practice which enables Pākehā to discriminate against Māori women, in the name of our culture.

CONCLUSION

It is incorrect to argue that according to traditional tikanga Māori, Māori women do not 'speak' on the marae ātea. Māori women speak on the marae ātea through various forms of our oral arts, including whaikōrero in some areas, during the formal procedures governing, for example, ceremonies of welcome onto the marae.

We are currently watching the evolution of strange new cultural practices in which men are bonding to each other, through patriarchy, to give each other participatory rights across Māori and Pākehā culture, in ways which exclude Māori women. As a result of the dynamic processes of change to which our culture is subject, we could be seeing men karanga, women whaikōrero, both Māori women and women moving through our culture, completely interchangeably. This is not happening. The changes being made to our culture are freeing up the role and status of all men, Māori and Pākehā, whilst petrifying, meaning ceasing to change or develop, the role and status of Māori women. It is also having the effect of petrifying, using the other meaning of the word, frightening, Māori women about their culture.

In their search for the aroha that we are told is a central poutokomanawa of our culture, many Māori women find instead ostracism, rigid role definitions and expectations, and derision. Contemporary expressions of our culture offer little to some Māori women but the shackles of oppression from which others have already freed themselves.

As I hope to have shown through this analysis, a Māori feminist theoretical analysis helps us to see what is really happening to our culture, and challenges us to participate in cultural change in ways which are based in kaupapa Māori. It will be the development of Māori feminist theories, in which the artificial inflation of mana tāne is problematic, which will keep our culture honest to itself and to our people. The development of Māori feminist theories, in which mana tāne and mana wahine are equally powerful, is crucial if our culture is to retain its mana as Māori culture, and not a hybrid version of international patriarchy. The development of Māori feminist theories will challenge us as a people to reconstruct mana tāne and mana wahine in a contemporary context.

When our changing cultural practices focus on the recreation of this partnership, fundamental to whānau development, then the first partnership lost when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed - the partnership between Māori men and women - will be better placed to empower all of Maoridom.

Notes

1 Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988: 155) Volume II: *Future Directions*.
2 In the paper 'Challenges, To Māori Feminists', *Broadsheet* 182, October 1990, I have identified and discussed a number of the major issues that I think face Māori feminists and Māori Women's Studies today.
3 See for example Department of Statistics/Ministry of Women's Affairs (1990).
4 At the Hui Taumata, Māori Economic Summit (1984) the Māori people assembled wrote a kawenata (covenant) of Māori development, a blueprint for Māoridom to work from as it moved forward into the twenty-first century. It stated that the objectives of Māori development were: 1) to strive to achieve parity between the Māori and Pākehā people of New Zealand in the areas of housing, education, land development, employment, business, health; 2) to strengthen Māoridom's development of identity through Māori language and the heritage of the ancestors, the marae, the Māori spiritual pathway and Māori mind, and tribal identity; and 3) to achieve these objectives within the development decade declared by Māoridom at the Hui Taumata. This kawenata was published in Annex D, Board of Māori Affairs Report, 1986.
5 I wish to pay tribute to the influence of Irihapeti Ramsden on my thinking about the need to highlight the reality of Māori women's lives. Since the latter part of 1988 I have had various opportunities to listen to Irihapeti speak, and to discuss ideas with her.
6 See Middleton, Sue 'Towards A Sociology of Women's Education m Aotearoa', in Middleton, Sue (ed.) (1988).
7 See Awatere, Donna (1984) for a full analysis of Māori Sovereignty.
8 Pere, Rangimarie Rose (1991). This work is also published as a paper in Middleton, Sue (ed.) (1988).
9 See for example Papakura, Makareta (1986) and Pere, Rose (1983).
10 See for example Best, Elsdon (1924).
11 See for example Heuer, Berys (1972).
12 This phrase is the title of a seminal work, *Talking Past Each Other,* Dr Joan Metge and Dr Patricia Kinloch, Wellington: Victoria University Press, published in 1978, and regularly reprinted ever since, which discusses the findings of their research into how people from different cultures communicate.
13 See Salmond, Anne (1975) and Tauroa, Pat and Hiwi (1989) for detailed discussions of the significance of the marae and the tikanga pertaining to it in Māori society and culture.
14 For a general report of this hui see Cameron, Kathie 'Māori Women's Hui', in Women's Studies Association (1983).
15 In my opinion it was most unfortunate that the newsletter did not contain a detailed statement about this issue. It chose instead to focus on a complex issue simply, adding to the confusion and misunderstanding surrounding the matter, rather than enabling people to become informed about it.
16 This section is drawn heavily from Stirling, Eruera (1980: 84) and Anne Salmond (1975). Those wishing to read about this famous woman should refer to the original text for a fuller discussion of her deeds.

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Reflections on the Status of Māori Women

Kuni Jenkins - Ngāti Porou

INTRODUCTION

The incentive for presenting this focus on Maori women is to assess our status and how we organise themselves. There is a general paucity of literature relating directly to their activities so collecting and piecing together of evidence is quite a challenge. A lot of the information has been gathered through listening, observing and taking notes which has been rather fortunate for the development of this topic. I have travelled quite extensively recently throughout Aotearoa convening gatherings for Maori women and hence a lot of my data.

I found if I asked direct questions like: "What do you think of the bi-cultural situation?", the response would be meaningless or not elaborated upon. Further probing questions weren't of much help either. At some of the first Hui Wahine (Women's gatherings) that I attended back in 1984 some rather radical attempts were used to shock Maori women into betraying where their sentiments and esteem of themselves lay. The hui required that the men did the cooking and the women assume the rank on the paepae (platform for ceremonial activity), to welcome visitors. Such an approach served to scare away a lot of those women who attended the first hui from the next convention.

Most Maori women have been so conditioned to keep away from anything that smacks of radical feminism - the reason being that feminists are out to usurp the male role. Within Maoritanga, such a move would serve to undermine the already weakened ranks. It is also interpreted as being in direct opposition to the belief that the role of the Maori women is that of wife and mother. Such a position seemed to be unshakeable when exposed to challenge about whether or not this in fact was a traditional Maori belief or a recently assumed one since colonisation.

There are several perspectives which can be taken in order to reflect on the status of Maori women and perhaps cast some light on the initiatives and responsibilities that they have sustained during their evolution. Two particular perspectives

- The Mythical Paradigm
- Some Dominant Maori Women And Their Influence

will be focused on as a way of gaining insight into the role of Maori women prior to colonisation and leading into the present.

THE MYTHICAL PARADIGM

Maori women in their mythology occupy an important role. While biologically the Maori male occupies a position of great physical strength from which to oppress the female, women assume the balance of power in the psychological dominance they achieve through the knowledge they have of the universe. They have the power to control its forces. They enter freely the spirit world and return to their earthly natures with few restrictions or demeanours. They have the power to permit access to forbidden domains such as the underworld or the heavenly portals to those males wishing to travel. They not only controlled the power, they also had the control of resources.

The relation of some of the following myths may be helpful to proving that women did hold a position of status.

THE CREATION MYTH

From the nothingness Rangi (the sky father) and Papatuanuku (the earth mother) create the deities who develop and populate the land, sea and sky. Rangi and Papa (abridged name for Papatuanuku) lived in the permanent embrace of one another supporting and accommodating their large family between their bodies. The children became uncomfortable and struggled for air and light. They decide that their parents must be separated. At the point of separation there is great anguish and despair most vehemently expressed by Rangi. He sends down a torrent of rain, thunder and lighting aided and abetted by one of the sons who remains attached to his father (Tawhirimatea god of wind and storms). Papa is the peacemaker through it all. She guarantees safe lodging and maternal care for her wayward children and hides them from the wrath of Rangi. For this she is regarded with great reverence and respect.

Rangi makes no counter offer. He remains aloft weeping and wailing over his isolation and continues to make life miserable for the family. Papa is turned over face downwards and back to the sky so she cannot see Rangi's misery. By this act papa is the symbol of endurance and long-suffering. She retains for herself the sons who are the deities of the major resources of the universe.

The domains include:

- Tane's territory - the forest. Included here are the trees, the insects, the birds.
- Tangaroa's territory - the sea wherein all the fish and marine plant life are governed.
- Rongo's gardens - the peacemaker of the family with his treasure of kumara, taro and other cultivated foods.
- Tu-matauenga's battle fields - as god of war he defends their territories from invaders.
- Ruaumoko the season changer and earthquake maker - the babe at the breast denied the chance of seeing the sunshine because he was still suckling at the turning over of his mother.

There are other sons responsible for other tasks but these examples serve to satisfy me about Papa's vested interest in the power structure of the universe.

THE BIRTH OF THE HUMAN RACE MYTH

The Genesis story of Adam and Eve finds a parallel in the myth of how Tane created the human race. Mating with one's own flesh for procreation purposes is regarded as incestuous. Adam created Eve by using one of his ribs, but Tane created Hine-ahu-one from the earth. He then mated with her and produced Hine-ti-tama. His incest commences with his mating with this child from whom he produces the first human. Hine-ti-tama is ashamed and flees from the face of the earth to the underworld when she learns of Tane's abuse of her person.

There she remained for eternity with Papa in solace and sombre meditation. Within her self exile she changed to become the goddess of death Hine-nui te-po. Maui, among his many antics tried to conquer her by entering through her vagina to kill her from within (and thus grant mankind immortality). He fails however, because of the twittering fantail whose laughter arouses Hine nui-te-po. She closes her legs on Maui and he dies from suffocation.

I interpret this myth as one that demonstrates both the oppression and the prowess of women. On the one hand she suffers as the handmaiden of man and on the other she finds escape and rehabilitates herself to an existence, albeit remote and macabre, that gives her a power much stronger that she had to start with.

Rona in the Moon is a legend that portrays the selfish nature of woman. Yet is it so selfish not to want to get out of a warm bed in the dark of night to go out to the well to fetch a gourd of water for a wailing, whining child? Rona curses the moon for not shining its light so she could see the path. As she utters her obscenities, the moon comes down and snatches her up from earth to be held captive for eternity. The moral appears to be that women must meet without complaint the needs of her family.

Of significance through Rona's capture is that the moon has become another domain of female occupation.

The Maui Legends give special insight into the position of women. Taranga aborts her last child Maui and throws the foetus into the sea. Maui survives and because of the nature in which he is saved, he achieves demi-god powers which he uses to potential to bring about changes to the forces of nature. Taranga's act demonstrates an attitude of women towards unwanted pregnancies which even in today's modern society still has not found comfortable favour for abortions. Of importance is that Taranga was free to make such a major decision whatever the later moral consequences were.

When Maui wanted to go fishing he had to employ the co-operation of his grandmother. She possessed magical powers and knowledge which Maui needed. He persuades her to lend him her jawbone. Once out fishing, Maui chants the prayers and incantations that she has taught him and follows her instructions of making her nose bleed to have blood to smear on the jawbone hook. Thus Maui is credited with having fished up the North Island of New Zealand. The formula and strategy actually belonged to his grandmother.

Maui's conquest of the sun making it move more slowly across the heavens, wa.s achieved by using the same jawbone of his grandmother. The stories don't detail his instruction but it could be safely assumed that the old lady would betray the secret information Maui would need to enter the domain of the supernatural forces. She no doubt will have advised him of the preparations he would need in the form of weaving very strong ropes and to tell him about the cave of the sun so he could plan a strategy of attack.

In putting out all the fires in his village Maui was seeking the real knowledge of fire-making. he wanted to gain access to that power also. Such knowledge in a primitive culture was supreme as fire provided heat for warmth and cooking as well as an energy source for felling trees. Sure enough Maui's mother Taranga knew who the resource person was - a great ancestress of the family - Mahuika. Maui tricks her into surrendering all her power. Doing so nearly costs him his life. This legend particularly underlies for me the message in the myths about the powerful positions of women.

For Maui their power finally overcomes him when he tackles the goddess of death in his quest for immortality for the human race. I have already described his demise in an earlier paragraph of this essay.

The Legends of Tawhaki revolve around the escapades of the deities as well. He takes his wife from the heavens but unfortunately he offends her by telling her that her child is very smelly. Hapai is offended and leaves him. Tawhaki is mortified and follows her. In order to gain access to the heavens, he is directed to his grandmother Whaitiri who is blind. Tawhaki uses magical powers and restores her vision. In exchange for this good deed, Whaitiri tells him what he wants to know - the path to the heavens. She cautions Tawhaki and the servant that they must be sure to grasp the vine that was anchored into the earth. If not they would be flung back and forth across the heavens and possibly lost to earth forever. The servant makes that mistake but luckily on his backward swing is able to let go of the vine and land back on earth. Tawhaki leaves the servant behind for his grandmother in case he gets himself into any more bother on the trip.

The power of the myths in describing the way the human race organised itself has a very strong message about the role of women. I wonder at the impact of the message contained within them and begin to understand the respect the younger generations towards their kuia (female family elder). The myths actually outline time and time again the supreme authority they held as elder spokespersons of their era. No wonder the kaumatua insist that young people make the journeys home to meet with and talk to their kuia. She should be the fountain of all knowledge. Without such knowledge one is not equipped to face the unknown of the future.

SOME DOMINANT MAORI WOMEN AND THEIR INFLUENCE

Within every tribal area there are notable female figures who are remembered for their rank and deeds. The few I wish to allude to are examples of special leadership of a more modern era than those within the myths. These women existed around the migration periods of Maori history - if such a migration in fact took place.

Wairaka springs immediately to mind as one of those outstanding characters. Not only is she remembered by the descendants of the Mataatua canoe for having saved it from floating out to sea while the men had gone inland, she is also remembered for her great beauty. The town Whakatane is named in honour of the deed of Wairaka when she quit herself like a man (which is the translation of Whakatane) to drag in the canoe. There is also a proverb about her - Na te po i raru ai a Wairaka - which means that Wairaka was confused or made a mistake because of the darkness. This refers to a particular event in which Wairaka became enamoured by a very handsome visitor and told her father of such. He in turn told her to point out this man to him, which she promises to do by putting a scratch on the face of this handsome man during the night. A very ugly man overheard the exchange and during the night, swapped places with the man that Wairaka had hoped to be betrothed to. In the morning, her father (surprised at her choice) arranged the marriage and the poor deceived girl has to marry the ugly man.

Then there is Hinemoa of the Rotorua region who is remembered for her great swimming feat in order to achieve her heart's desire. Against the odds and advice of her people she followed her love. I often think about Tutanekai and wonder why he didn't organise himself to row over and fetch Hinemoa instead of leaving all the initiative to her. Hinemoa reflects the determination and stamina that women are capable of.

Within the Kahungunu area of the Hawke's Bay they sing of their great ancestress Rongomai-wahine even to this day and how she brought to heel the great macho Kahungunu. She had

more than beauty to attract him. She had great mana and prestige. Her rank was of the noblest and she commanded great respect.

Reitu and Reipae are ancestors of the Nga Puhi tribe in the North Auckland region. It is claimed they flew on a meteorite and landed at the place of Whangarei hence named. The significance of mention for these two is that they portray the impossible of flying a meteorite. A similar legend is told in Wellington about a Rongomai whom I'm not sure of as being male or female.

Within the last century dominant Maori women have played a significant role in the settler history of this nation. Of particular note was Princess Te Puea of the Waikato who was responsible for rallying the tribes of the Waikato and re-establishing them in their own territory. The people had become refugees in their own country. Negotiating through the land courts was a futile venture as the courts were prejudiced against her cause.

So she set about raising money to buy some land back. She started off on a few acres of land she had, growing kumara and vegetables which she took to Auckland to sell on the streets. She'd be most impressed to see the 'flea markets' of Otara doing much the same thing except not for the cause she had in mind. Her assistants in her programme were children. Wherever she heard of or found homeless children she would take them in and give them refuge. She was the great benefactor to her area at their greatest hour of need. With few resources, reduced to poverty, Te Puea the great matriarch carved a sanctuary for her people. The Maori palace at Ngaruawahia were redeveloped by her. People throughout the country remember her troupe walking to Gisborne and other places to entertain and raise funds for the re-establishment of the community in the Waikato.

A lot of the measures Te Puea adopted to relocate and stabilise her people, Maori groups are using today. Take the street kids for example. There are many benevolent Maori families trying to care for the destitute as she did. Perhaps the difference is that Te Puea succeeded early in her struggle because she was always clear about her identity and she had support as a member of the Kahui Ariki. Te Puea's struggle matches for me, those of Florence Nightingale and Joan of Arc. She represents the humanitarian giant of our time, here in Aotearoa.

Every time I hear her story or have the opportunity to tell it I wonder why the ensuring generations haven't kept up her momentum. Why hasn't her model of buying back the land, continually working and developing it kept up? Te Puea's land marches were productive in that she came back home after each saga with enough resources and money to build the next stage of her scheme.

The present day matriarch for Maori people would appear to be Dame Whina Cooper. All her life she had been involved and identified with Maori struggles and enterprises. She speaks out on many issues particularly the radical ones and is unafraid of criticism. Within the remote tribal area of the North it is surprising how well informed and abreast with the issues she is. She is the living testimony that age is not a barrier to wisdom and knowledge. There are many more Maori women who have made an impact both in Maori Society and in Pākeha society. Their stories need to be told.

Getting Out From Down Under:

Māori Women, Education and the Struggles for Mana Wahine

Linda Tuhiwai Smith

This chapter critically examines the educational and schooling processes within which Maori women, the indigenous women of New Zealand struggle to resist colonization and maintain cultural authenticity. Schools are important sites of resistance for Maori people. Maori issues in education are contested by the media, by politicians, by educational experts and by Maori people themselves. Maori women who play a critical role in education have been active in keeping Maori educational issues on the national agenda. They have also been active in their attempts to work out viable solutions to the crisis in Maori education. It is this latter role in particular which this chapter will examine.

Maori people have provided a classic example of the failure of schools to deliver equal educational opportunities. Although they have been used to support the critiques of state education from both the radical left and the conservative right, there has been a massive failure by educationalists and political reformers to address the needs of Maori people generally.[1] It is primarily because of this failure that Maori people have become committed to seeking alternative solutions to mainstream schooling.

Maori women have been at the cutting edge of these attempts. Maori feminist struggles are grounded in the world views and language of Maori people. One commonly used Maori term for these struggles is Mana Wahine Maori. The following discussion is located in a specific case-study example of the establishment of a *marae* (a Maori cultural complex) in a single-sex, predominantly white or Pakeha[2] girls' secondary school. It contextualizes the multiple tensions which underpin the struggles for Mana Wahine Maori and the attempts by Maori women to use cultural institutions and frameworks as sites of resistance. It also illustrates specific ways in which education can be used to give new space for Maori women within their own culture and within the dominant white or Pakeha culture.

THE LEGACY OF COLONIZATION

New Zealand is a former British colony and British modes of colonization, including schooling, have had a powerful influence over the ways in which Maori people have been structured out of their 'tino rangatiratanga' or status as sovereign people and into a Pākeha New Zealand society as an underclass, ethnic minority. State schools have been significant sites of struggle for Maori people because of the clear intentions of colonial administrators to use education as an instrument of colonization and cultural annihilation. Suppression of Maori language, knowledge and culture was regarded as a necessary condition for becoming civilized.

Schooling for Maori children was viewed by the more liberal politicians of the nineteenth century as an efficient and humanitarian way for bringing civilization and social control to a population of indigenous people who still had the audacity to believe in the 1860s that they were a sovereign people. It was thought by one proponent of Maori education that it was in fact cheaper to 'civilize Maori than to exterminate them ' (NZPD, 1867). That audacity has remained an important feature of Maori resistance to the ways in which colonization structured a new British society in the Pacific and to the racist ideological trappings which were used to justify attempts to destroy indigenous, Maori society (Simon, 1990).

Maori society still remains a culturally distinct society which has its own ways of defining itself, its members and its universe. Maori women belong to different tribal groupings. Their status and roles differ according to tribe, to age, to genealogical relationships and to individual talents. Specific contexts determine the importance or lack of importance of their gender (Mahuika, 1975). The interweaving of ancient and contemporary, kinship and

non-kinship, traditional and post-colonial, rural and urban, religious and political threads all contribute to a rich and complex pattern of tensions, positions and relationships between Maori women. When these are placed within the wider context of New Zealand Pakeha society this pattern is complicated further. Relationships between Maori women and Pākeha women are equally problematic.

For Maori girls and women the persistent failure of education to deliver equality of opportunity has had far reaching implications for a wider socio-economic crisis in which Maori women often see themselves as 'being at the bottom of the heap' (Nepe, 1989). Maori girls (and Maori boys) leave schools in disproportionate numbers without any school qualifications, many 'leave school' before the legal leaving age is reached and others never really get to school at all. Maori truancy rates are high and rates for expulsion and suspension are also disproportionately greater for Maori than for other groups of children. Others stay at school to go through the cycle of poor results in national examinations and restricted access into tertiary education. School achievement patterns show a wide gap between the rates for Maori and those for Pakeha.[3]

Maori women have high and increasing levels of unemployment. They have one of the highest rates of lung cancer in the world and have high levels of morbidity and mortality with other forms of cancer, heart and respiratory diseases. Suicide rates, admissions to psychiatric hospitals, accident rates and levels of poverty all place Maori women in a marginal position. Similar rates for Maori men are equally disturbing with the exception that Maori women are more likely to be the sole care-givers of children. In the current economic climate where state welfare benefits have been cut back severely and extreme fundamentalist attitudes have been used to justify these measures Maori women are structured even deeper into poverty.

In schools Maori girls are often regarded as presenting serious behavioural problems, many are labelled at an early age as being lazy, recalcitrant and 'too smart for their own good'. Being 'too smart' is usually a reference to girls who have the ability to assert their own will in a classroom, who argue with teachers and who 'defy the authority' of the school. Because a greater proportion of Maori students are streamed or grouped in the lower ranks of their classes at secondary school they are frequently regarded as being troublesome and difficult to teach. Generations of Maori students have left school feeling alienated and 'dumb'. The powerful role of the peer group has been targeted by some educationalists as an explanation for Maori students who do show early signs of success eventually succumbing to the pattern of underachievement. This explanation is simply one of a number of reasons advanced by educationalists and politicians for the failure of schools to deliver educational achievement. Many of these explanations are still driven by notions of cultural deprivation and linguistic and experiential deficits. This victim-blaming ideology is hotly contested by Maori people who accuse schools of failing to educate Maori children and of perpetrating systematic violence against these children through racist policies and practices (Walker, 1984).

Educational and social policies based on a platform of multiculturalism, for example, were dismissed by Maori interests as a ploy for denying difference by denying the historical context in which the legitimacy for Pakeha control was acquired through the illegitimate processes of colonization. Multicultural policies were viewed by Maori as a continuation of the 'divide and rule' strategies of colonization and represented a further attempt to maintain Pākeha domination over social and economic structures by forcing minority groups under the guise of 'multiculturalism' to compete amongst each other for crumbs. Maori people

have argued, for example, that in the New Zealand context biculturalism must be a prior step towards multiculturalism. Other than Maori people the most significant 'brown' ethnic minorities are people from various Pacific nations who share in the same polynesian traditions as Maori. New Zealand's past immigration policies have consistently limited the access of non-British and especially non-white minorities. In most socioeconomic indices it is Maori people who consistently appear as the most disadvantaged and oppressed group in New Zealand society.

It is within this context that Maori women have struggled to escape from the 'down under' of New Zealand society. Maori women have tended to articulate the issues within their own cultural framework. Cultural institutions such as the whanau or extended family and the marae are sites of struggle in which Maori interests are continually reshaped and from which Maori interests contest the ideological dominance of Pakeha society. The work of Pakeha feminists have often been regarded with deep suspicion by Maori women although some feminist groups have actively promoted the issues of Maori women. Maori women have argued, for example, that Pākeha women are as much the beneficiaries of colonization as Pakeha men. Others use the 'bottom of the heap' metaphor to argue that Maori women are on their own and that alliances with other groups such as Maori men, Pakeha women and Pakeha men will always be problematic (Awatere, 1984).

There are tensions between the ways in which Maori women view their realities and their struggles and the ways in which Pakeha feminists have defined feminist projects. This tension is sharply delineated over such issues as Maori male violence or dealing with sexual abuse within Maori families. When attempts are made by Pakeha women to blame Maori men or Maori 'culture' for such issues, Maori women are quick to challenge such remarks as being founded on racist ideologies. Donna Awatere, one of the few Maori women who has written in this area has accused Pakeha women of seeking to 'set Maori women against Maori men' *(ibid)*. Maori women claim the right to define such issues on the basis that in the end it is Maori women who are left to pick up the pieces of a colonized society.

The current term used by Maori women to explain what it means to be Maori women in a Pākeha society and to be women in a Maori society is *Mana Wahine Maori*. *Wahine* means woman. *Mana* is a concept related to notions of power, strength, status and collective acknowledgment of merit. The *Mana Wahine Maori* term is broad enough to embrace a wide range of womens' activities and perspectives. It is a strong cultural concept which situates Maori women in relation to each other and upholds their *mana* as women of particular genealogical groupings. It also situates Maori women in relation to the outside world and reaffirms their *mana* as Maori, indigenous women. Mana Wahine Maori is the preferred Maori label for what counts as Maori feminism. It is a term which addresses both the issues of race and gender as well as locates the struggle for Maori women within two distinct societies.

MANA WAHINE MAORI AND EDUCATION

One site where these multiple interests and tensions, positions and relationships intersect each other is state education and schooling. The impact of schooling was experienced by generations of Maori children across all tribal and regional boundaries. There is a shared memory of these experiences and the impact this has had on Maori knowledge, language and culture. As one woman writes, 'I passionately, passionately hated that school' (Te Awekotuku, 1988) and another one writes, 'We have to speak English. Kui, you must not speak Maori to me again. I will get the strap if I am caught speaking Maori' (Edwards, 1990, p. 33). There is a shared anger and suspicion of schools.

Although increasing numbers of Maori women are involved in education as teachers they are still under-represented in all sectors. There are only three Maori women who hold doctorate of philosophy degrees and there are no Maori women professors in New Zealand universities. In comparison there are at least fifteen Maori men with doctorate degrees and four Maori men are professors. Very few Maori women are principals of either primary or secondary schools and very few are on career tracks which will qualify them to be principals (Taylor, 1991). Where Maori women do have a presence in the educational bureaucracy their effectiveness 'is always problematic and their scope to work for the interests of Maori women is often limited (Smith, 1990).

In an article expressing her frustrations as a teacher Maiki Marks (1984) has written:

> If the teacher is given any extra role in the school by the principal, that role is likely to be to hand on gimmicks and tricks to her Pākeha colleagues on how to control Maori kids. (p. 14)

Marks also comments on the frustrations which occur for Maori teachers when they are part of a system they are unable to change. In her eyes the Maori teacher 'every day faces the victims of the system... the Maori girls'. She calls them the 'saddest victims' who come to school with their 'selves battered and bruised after eight years in the system…They have little confidence. Their behaviour often reflects pain and confusion' (ibid). This hurt, pain and confusion which confronts Maori teachers in their classrooms absorbs them into a wider system in which they too are powerless. There is a contradiction for Maori teachers between supporting Maori students and at the same time supporting the very structures which turn Maori students into 'victims'. Since the early 1980s recognition of this contradiction has helped politicize Maori teachers into making greater demands on schools and on their own respective teacher unions. They have been very strong in their support of alternative educational options for Maori students and have come together with other Maori activist groups to demand recognition of Treaty rights and 'tino rangatiratanga' self-determination.[4]

MULTIPLE ROLES AND MULTIPLE STRUGGLES:

The Development of a *Marae* in a Girls' School

The Marae as a Representation of Difference

It is difficult to generalize about the range of frustrations which Maori women face as educators in state schools. What many of them express in terms of frustration, anger or exhaustion is symptomatic of the deeper structural relations in which Maori women are situated. Maori women have multiple roles not just as women who may be teachers, mothers, partners, daughters and grandmothers, but also as women who are descendents of tribal ancestries, women who may also be expert weavers, healers, kaikaranga (callers), kaiwaiata (singers), women who may be the only member of their community or family with skills to negotiate with the police, the doctor, the nurse or the school principal, women who may also be major caregivers of their children, their nieces and nephews, their grandchildren and other peoples' children. The following case-study provides one example of how these multiple roles, tensions and struggles are played out in a particular context. It was a project in which I was involved as a Maori woman staff member.

The *marae* is one of the few Maori institutions to have survived into this century. It is a complex of buildings and grounds used as a forum for collective rituals and practices. It is where the 'systems of tribal *(iwi)*, sub-tribal *(hapu)* and extended family *(whanau)* are expressed' and where some of the patterns of behaviours which maintain these systems can

be observed (Salmond, 1976). On a *marae* there is usually a meeting house or *whare* which is often carved in traditional style and in which people gather to talk, to sing, to debate, to mourn, to celebrate and to sleep. The *marae* is an expression of collective identity and a site where this identity is often contested and recreated. It is one place where the Maori language is still likely to be heard. As a surviving pre-European institution the *marae* is a powerful representation of Maori identity. It is a forum for public debate and one in which *mana* is defended and claimed.

The School, the Marae and One Maori Woman

The school in this study is a large, urban school which had a roll of 1200 students. It had an ethnically diverse mix of students. The staff at the school consisted almost entirely of Pakeha women.[5] Although there was general support from staff for developing a *marae* at the school the underlying significance of such a project contested some fundamental beliefs held by staff about schooling and about this school in particular. Some staff, for example, held strong beliefs about the importance of school traditions and viewed changes to the school's physical appearance or its operations as challenging the very foundations of the school and undermining educational standards. Some staff saw an absolute distinction between schooling as a site for the learning of 'real knowledge' and schooling as a site of cultural struggle. These staff denied that the school was itself a product and a producer of cultural meanings and argued for the school as a neutral site which should not be used by Maori interests or any other ethnic interests to teach 'culture'. In these arguments Pakeha culture was represented as being non-existent and therefore not present in the school at all.

Staff resistance to the idea was not openly debated.[6] Rather there was an underground debate among certain groupings of staff. The sole Maori staff member at the time felt alienated and marginalized by a debate which she knew was going on but from which she was excluded. Heated discussions and snide comments took place in the staffroom when she had her morning tea and during informal meetings of staff. There were clearly several groupings of opinion amongst the Pakeha women and conflicting submissions being made to the Principal and School Board. As the single 'representative' of Maori people this staff member provided a focus for the debate but was a nonparticipant in it. This was partly because the debate was carried out around her but not with her and partly because she actively resisted attempts to draw her into a discussion in which she was expected to justify and defend her own belief system.

In these initial stages the struggle over the validity of the *marae* took place primarily within the group of Pakeha women staff members. This group of women were setting the parameters of the discussion and defining the relevant issues. This process was seen as being highly problematic by the Principal and she made several attempts to appoint more Maori staff and give them greater control over the development. I was appointed in 1984 as a guidance counsellor but also had a special brief for developing the idea of the *whare* (the meeting house) by converting a humble, downright ugly classroom into a fine cultural institution. There would now be two Maori women on a staff of about sixty women.

THE SCHOOL, THE MARAE AND TWO MAORI WOMEN

The Maori woman already on the staff was older than I. She was from a tribal confederation who could rightly claim to have the school within its area. She was a fluent and beautiful speaker of Maori language and had been a teacher at the school for sixteen years. She was the Maori language teacher and was a member of the 'foreign' languages department. She held no seniority but was expected over the years to teach and be responsible for all

the troublesome Maori students in the school. I was younger, my tribal links were quite different, I was not a first language speaker of Maori. I was also an 'old-girl' of the school and an example for the older teachers (some of whom taught me) of how good the school really was 'if only other Maori girls were motivated'. Also I had been appointed to a senior management position which gave me more pay and status. It was assumed that the two Maori staff would know each other and would 'naturally' get along with each other. But we did not know each other and it took time and effort for us to become good allies and friends.

As a younger Maori woman I have been educated to respect age even when I think my elders are wrong. As a woman from another tribe I have to maintain my tribal mana but respect the tribal mana of the other woman. As a woman whose tribes are from outside the area I am a visitor and have a separate status from those who belong in the area regardless of how long I have lived there. This would be the case even if I had married into the tribe.[7] With my restricted ability in Maori language my ability to negotiate many of the cultural issues was limited. As a younger Maori woman I was in the position of having more seniority and pay than an older Maori woman, a woman who in the Maori world had the same status as my whaea or mother. All of these differences between us needed to be recognized and worked through. We could never be simply two Maori women on the teaching staff.

Although I was appointed as a school counsellor I was also given the brief to develop the marae project further. My first task in this area was to work out a relationship with my Maori colleague. As the younger woman I had to go to her and wait for her to give me support. This turned out not to be so difficult. The other teacher had become so thoroughly disillusioned with the project and the politics involved that she was more than happy to support me. The struggle over the *marae* shifted focus with my arrival from one which involved and was shaped by the interests of the Pakeha women staff to one in which my colleague and I tried to negotiate the wider cultural issues related to having a *marae* in a single-sex, girls' school.

The collective unit for a traditional *marae* is a genealogical unit such as an extended family, a sub-tribe or a tribe. This means that there are always elders and young, men and women, orators and singers and talkers present to support a marae. It is a collective enterprise intended to meet the spiritual, physical and social needs of the people who meet there. The *mana* of the genealogical unit depends on the ability of the unit to carry out its roles in an authentic way, to be hospitable to guests, to defend its group knowledge and traditions.

Locating a *marae* therefore in a school which is owned by the state, which is predominantly of one generation, where its members are not related, where there is only one gender group and where Maori people do not possess *tino rangatiratanga* or autonomy over the concept was just as problematic for Maori people as it was for the Pakeha school staff.

There were issues in which the concerns of some Pakeha women and some Maori women did coincide. One of the hopes, for example, of some of the feminist staff at the school was that the *marae atea*, (the area in front of the actual building) would provide an opportunity for the girls to speak in the fashion of Maori oratory. This was seen by these women as a way of liberating Maori girls from patriarchal structures because many tribes do not allow women to speak during the welcoming rituals which take place on a marae. The fact that in most tribes men do all the talking during this particular ritual is regarded by many women, Maori and Pakeha as a symbol of patriarchal power relations and an example of the co-option of Maori men by Pakeha patriarchal structures (Irwin, 1992).

I have two different tribal affiliations. One of these tribes has had renowned women speakers, the other one has no women speakers. It was thought that at least given one of my tribal backgrounds I would be influential in setting a *kawa (protocol)* which would facilitate women speaking. However, as already outlined the constraints of age, my lack of skill in Maori language and my status as a *manuhiri* or guest in the area did not give me any authority to set kawa. Nor did the other Maori women who were part of the community support for the *marae* feel that they had the mana to do such a thing themselves.

The most that I could do was ensure that it was on the agenda and open for discussion. There was no consensus however, among the women and the community people concerned. The women who wanted speaking rights were ones who themselves could not speak Maori.[8] One very influential Maori woman who was herself a former teacher at the school fully supported the idea of women speaking on the *marae*. When she came to talk to the marae committee she stated that this was her hope and that possibly she would be able to do this herself one day. Her support was very important but, on its own it was not enough.

The issue of *tino rangatiratanga* or control over how the space was to be used, who could visit, who could agree to visits became increasingly problematic. Teachers wanted to use the room to run life skills discussion groups, others wanted to invite guest speakers to it rather than their own classrooms because 'the room was more comfortable'. The school was seen by the Maori staff and Maori students as intruding more and more into a position where it was beginning to determine its own protocols for the *marae* and was making its own selection of Maori cultural practices and behaviours. This was interpreted as trying to gain the 'warm fuzzies' of Maori cultural practices rather than the more significant practices. In saying 'no' to some groups there was always the danger of being accused of excluding Pakeha groups and maintaining a 'separatist' policy.

THE SCHOOL, THE MARAE, MAORI WOMEN, PAKEHA WOMEN: TIME-OUT FOR A REDEFINITION

The tension between the boundaries of Maori cultural values and the school became more obvious as demands for the use of the building grew. A major crisis occurred when a group of top women civil servants arrived for a visit. It was thought by someone, not the Maori teachers, that it would be appropriate to welcome this group of very important women at the *whare*. They were greeted with a formal Maori powhiri by the Principal, the Maori language teacher and her class. The ignorance and arrogance of a number of these women towards Maori cultural practices shocked the Principal, the staff who were present and the girls who had performed. Here was a small group of Maori women welcoming a larger group of white women who were cold and unsmiling, who did not seem to know or care to know what it was they were being given. One or two refused to *hongi* (traditional touching of noses) and several of them ignored the girls in the greetings. This experience was so clearly offensive to Maori women and Maori girls that a stronger policy was developed by the *marae* committee to exert more control over the ways in which the *whare* was used by outside groups.

As the pressure from groups to use the whare mounted some of the younger women who had formed the initial steering group for this project became impatient that the project was becoming bigger and taking longer than they had intended. They felt that the focus had shifted from the Maori staff and students to the whole staff, many of whom were regarded by these former students as being antagonistic to the Maori students in the school and to Maori values and practices. They were particularly concerned that the *whare* might become

bound up in the very school rules which alienated Maori girls from school in the first place. This group of young Maori women were quietly persistent that the *whare* be primarily a safe haven for Maori girls.

One of my tasks was to consult with a wide range of Maori interest groups. While these groups could see the merit of a special cultural presence in the school they were almost all uniformly cautious about a *marae*. For example many people avoided even using the word 'marae' and would select another Maori word such as *whare*. It became very clear that among the people who had given most support to the school including the local tribe there was no overt support for a marae project. There were too many complex issue which had not been resolved at a tribal level and there was a general feeling that the school context was not the best one in which these ideological issues could be discussed or resolved. There seemed to be a consensus among most of the Maori interests that until the school proved itself capable of defending Maori values there was no room for a *marae*.

The silence of the major Maori supporters led to a downplaying of a *marae concept* and a shift towards the development of a simple *whare*. A *whare* is a generic name for a building or house. This did not remove the pressures coming from other interests but it did clarify the different Maori positions and as a simple act of redefinition it gave the two of us on staff a clearer direction about where the boundaries of Maori interests and school interests lay. The cultural message was to abandon any notion of a school *marae* and concentrate on something more achievable and by implication less risky. This resolution allowed us to continue with other tasks. These included the preparation of the Maori girls and fund-raising activities.

We began with a series of group practices in *waiata* (songs and chants). The girls from the local tribes were excused from class to attend *waananga* or learning sessions on their own history and the protocols they would need as the host tribe. Other girls were involved in various supporting activities such as providing the hospitality support for visitors. The girls had started to claim their space in the *whare* at lunchtimes and took some pride in looking after it although they had to be reminded frequently that the rule prohibiting food also prohibited chewing gum. The group of former Maori students who had instigated the project made frequent visits to school to talk to the current students. They had become important role models who would listen to the girls' problems and provide suggestions for dealing with teachers, parents, sisters and boyfriends. Both seniors and juniors would go to the *whare* at lunchtime to talk or sleep or play cards. They would remove their shoes as they would in a meeting house and were beginning to establish the kinds of rules used in more traditional meeting houses. All of this was a major turnaround for the Maori students at the school.

AND THEN, THERE WERE TWO MORE…

At the end of that year my colleague retired and two new Maori women teachers were hired. Both these women came from the local confederation of tribes, were both older and were highly skilled in Maori language and performance. I went on a year's study leave and the two Maori women staff looked after the project. Even though they were linked closely to the local tribe they in fact came from different areas and had very different ways of operating. It was soon apparent that these two disagreed on most things and the other staff had started to see them as a kind of 'good cop, bad cop' combination with the one viewed as being 'good' getting more support from colleagues and the 'bad' one was labelled

as being difficult, unreliable and troublesome. Not only was the staff aligned according to how they viewed these teachers but the Maori students and Maori communities had also become split into groups. It was an awkward year.

When I returned to school it was in a new role. Not only was I responsible for apparently difficult Maori students I was also responsible for apparently difficult Maori staff. Various submissions were made to me by Pākeha staff suggesting strategies for dealing with these two women. The tension between the two staff was eventually resolved by one gaining another position elsewhere. Despite their differences they had both been effective in training a group of Maori girls who were not only highly proficient in a range of cultural skills but very proud of themselves.

The *whare* was officially opened with all the protocols and rituals three years after it had been moved as a building onto the site. Respected elders had opened it at dawn with all the appropriate rituals and many important dignitaries came to speak. The *whare* was given a Maori name and was deemed to have an identity and life of its own. It was no longer a *whare* it had taken on a new name by which the school and the Maori girls would be known within the Maori world.

WHAT DOES THE *WHARE* MEAN FOR MANA WAHINE MAORI?
Many struggles took place around the development of the whare. There were tensions between Maori women and Pakeha women, between the different cultures of school and of Maori society, between the deeper structures of schooling and the interests of Maori and between the different interests and positions of Maori women. These tensions were not merely theoretical constructs but were real enough to the women involved to cause real stress, real pain and at times real excitement.

The relationships between Maori women and Pakeha women were never simple or predictable. The Principal was the most dependable supporter of the Maori women but there were occasions when her political relationships with Maori women outside the school put the whare project in jeopardy basically because she placed herself in the middle of relationships between Maori women. By doing this the Maori staff were caught between their own loyalties to her as the Principal and to their own tribal affiliations or politics. The Principal had a high public profile as a feminist educator and her comments often caused a ripple affect which staff generally had to handle.

With other Pakeha women there were the further complications of curriculum and teaching networks. Maori staff were also members of departments within the school and had to work with other colleagues on various other committees. In formal staff meetings there were always different types of staff alliances. This often puzzled the Maori women because many staff seemed able to situate themselves in a variety of contradictory positions depending on the issue under discussion. In a Maori framework how and where an individual locates themselves publicly is extremely significant and carries with it a number of obligations and responsibilities. As so many Pakeha women appeared to 'jump around' they tended to be viewed as having suspect politics and as being unreliable allies.

The different feminist arguments advanced at various times were also puzzling. Maori issues were frequently caught in the crossfire between differing feminist and non-feminist viewpoints. The whare became a symbol over which feminist perspectives were contested.

The more radical feminists on staff were generally supportive of Maori issues. Their support was seen by other women as a very good reason for not supporting the whare. The liberal feminists supported the whare on the condition that it would improve the behaviour and academic performance of Maori students but were less certain about the implications the *whare* might hold for the ways in which the school might reorganize other areas.

The school was clearly a site of struggle over cultural meanings, values and behaviours. The grammar school tradition of the school represented Pakeha culture in particular ways. There were implicit class values which permeated school life. Standards of behaviour were defined according to these values. As a cultural sub-group the staff were highly educated, high earning, middle class Pakeha women. They spoke standard English, had university degrees, were well dressed, drove nice cars, went on overseas trips and lived with equally successful partners. Many staff sent their own daughters to private schools. They represented a culture which for the most part was quite foreign to the families whose daughters attended the school. It was difficult to talk across the divide of class because many staff had absolutely no understanding of how their students lived. Issues such as poverty or sexual abuse were simply problems for classroom teachers because the students could not concentrate on their work.

The whare project challenged the deeper structure of schooling primarily at the ideological level. The debates about the validity of the whare as an 'appropriate' place to have in a school challenged fundamental and taken-forgranted notions of what a school was and what it could be. Simple matters were often the cause of major crises because they challenged long held assumptions and hidden rules. When visitors are hosted at a *whare* for example they must be fed. The school had several kitchens as part of the Home Economics Department. The whole art of Maori hospitality clashed with the culture of the Home Economics Department and this sometimes led to a series of cross-cultural crises. Many of the staff were frightened to go to the whare in case they should offend. They had worked out powerful reasons for avoiding the whare and were able to transmit this to their own students. Pakeha students for example would claim they were 'not allowed' in the whare and that it was 'only for Maoris' and was 'separatist'. It was only possible to intercede in this if the Maori staff were aware of the situation and we were often not aware.

While the development of the *whare* was occurring within the school there was a wider public debate about educational standards. Teaching Taha Maori (selected aspects of Maori culture) was seen by some sections of the community as the major reason for the fall in educational standards. These arguments and other elements of a Pakeha backlash to Maori issues were also present within the school debate. There was a perception, for example, that Maori girls were getting too much attention from the Principal and that this was not only unfair but racism in reverse. Developing the whare provided a specific symbol for a struggle over ideology. Almost everything pertaining to Maori issues within the school and in the wider social context was assembled into arguments over the validity of the whare.

The *whare* is an attempt to provide a solution within the framework of a state school. It is a visual representation of Maori cultural difference and by its presence it challenges the school at the day-to-day level of organization to acknowledge and cater for cultural differences. However, it is limited in its potential to transform the school in more radical ways because its presence is still marginal and dependent on the work of individual Maori staff to promote, contest and struggle for Maori issues to be addressed. Maori people and Maori political organizations generally support the cultural aspirations which the whare embodies but

would still argue for a notion of *rangatiratanga* which is independent of Pakeha structures. The more radical Maori view holds that there can never be *rangatiratanga* for Maori within institutions which are located within Pakeha traditions.

Developing a *marae* or a *whare* even in the most ideal conditions is not an easy achievement. It is more usual for projects of this nature to take many years because the process of consensus requires time, negotiation, reflection and further time. Nor is it by any means usual for a group of mainly women to develop a carved house and a supporting unit of people to support that house. This does not mean that Maori women have not been involved in the development of quite impressive traditional *marae* rather that their efforts have often been considered so ordinary and normal compared to the 'extraordinary' efforts of the male carvers that they have gone unnoticed (Te Awekotuku, 1991, p. 10). Most visitors to a carved meeting house see the carvings but do not see the woven panel work traditionally done by women or the invisible support work which has occurred in the background. Some Pakeha feminists, for example, have interpreted the issue of speaking rights as an example of patriarchal power over women's voices, however many Maori women would claim that the definitions of power being used in this example are culturally located and whilst in Pakeha society speaking rights may indicate power and status in Maori contexts, real power is held behind the scenes often by women who sit in the background. Many Maori women cling to a vision of the past which claims that in pre-European society gender roles were complementary and work was a genuinely group effort. This remains problematic because of the wide variation in tribal customs and kawa (Smith, 1992; Irwin, 1992).

The relationships between the Maori women involved in the project were always problematic. The staff had the authority of the school to make decisions. However there were other Maori women involved on the periphery who had to be consulted. These included women from the local tribe; women who were former students and teachers, women who were acknowledged for their expertise in *marae* procedures. These women were from many tribes, were of different generations and had different sets of relationships to each other and to the school. Their advice to the committee was grounded in their own educational experiences. This often meant, for example, that the older women were more conservative and upheld the tradition of the school as a reason for not making changes. Other older women had a more radical analysis of their own schooling experience and wanted a complex which would be totally controlled by the community not by the school. Still other Maori women thought that the school was engaging in a window-dressing exercise and were very cynical about the ability of the school to develop a *whare*. Tribal differences were marked each time Maori women gathered as a group in the *whare* itself. It was never certain as to who would call in the visitors, who would speak and in which order, what songs would be sung. Some women would insist on their tribal protocols and would refuse to speak, others would relish the opportunity. It was my role to negotiate the difficult terrain. There was an almost farcical side to some of these negotiations which often meant that I had to crawl discreetly behind people to deliver messages between certain women while they worked out the procedures for the day.

As an attempt to meet the needs of a group of young Maori women in a large secondary school the establishment of a *whare* represents an innovative approach to the problems faced by ethnic minority children in schools. It is potentially much more than that. The placement of the *whare* in a school provides a stark juxtaposition of unequal power relations. The school is big, the *whare* is small; the front of the school is green and elegant, the front of *whare* is concrete and tar. What is significant is that it is there at all. That fact on its own

represents a struggle in which Maori women were active participants rather than passive bystanders. The *whare* has a wider potential to transform the structures by developing alternative pedagogical practices and validating Maori forms of knowledge.

While overt, oppressive gender relations may be absent, other structural and ideological relations of power have to be struggled against even in the context of a single-sex girls school with a predominantly female staff. In a context where Pakeha women were making the decisions there was never a guarantee that those decisions could or would serve the interests of Maori women. Race and class differences tended to struggle against any potentially common interests of gender. The school (as represented by the main body of staff) with its own organizational system and 'the school tradition' was very effective at maintaining control over its own boundaries.

The front lawn was just one example of how school tradition controlled what was on the agenda and what was not. It was one of the few grassed areas in the school grounds and it was very clear that there would never be a building of any kind sited on this patch of grass. The Maori staff would suggest to each other in private that the front lawn was the most appropriate site for a *whare*. When one of the women suggested this idea to the Principal there was absolute silence as if she had broken an unsaid rule which she had of course. The front lawn of this very English grammar school was to remain inviolate.

Another small struggle took place over funding arrangements. Fundraising for the *whare* took place at the same time as the fundraising for a new centennial hall for the school. The centennial campaign was a very professional campaign which was in sharp contrast to the *whare* fund-raising which involved some projects which raised debts rather than profits and which more often than not involved me as the major fund-raiser going to community meetings to compete with other Maori organizations for small amounts of money. Funds raised were invested by the school and controlled by the school. Although these funds were protected for the use of the *whare*, they were also used as a reason for the school not needing to give any money itself to the project.

To the Maori women involved the *whare* would, when developed, give the school *mana* in the eyes of the Maori community. It was not just for the benefit of Maori girls attending the school but would reach out to benefit the school as a whole. Culturally it is believed that *mana* given should be reciprocated in some way. There were many times when we as Maori women thought the school was getting far more than it deserved. At the same time there were other staff who thought the actual *whare* building was rather unattractive (which it was before the renovations) and that it took up 'valuable' space. *Mana* is contested and struggled for within Maori interests but when it has to be contested with non-Maori interests, the struggle takes on the added dimension of a struggle for *tino rangatiratanga* or autonomy.

Sometimes this tension resulted in the Maori women reacting to what often appeared to the Pākeha women as insignificant incidents. Timetabling decisions often upset the Maori staff because of what was viewed as high-handed assumptions being made about space, time and people. For example in the early days the *whare* was seen by timetablers as a 'space' suitable for classes not as a *whare*. The Maori teacher initially thought this was a good idea until it was realised that several classes would be using the *whare* and that this would limit the cultural activities which could take place in the *whare*. This situation was finally resolved by a counter high-handed decision by myself to get rid of the desks which had been put in the room and to lock the room for two days so that no one could enter.

At the times of greatest stress it seemed to the Maori women that the personal and professional resources we had to do our jobs, to fight the battles, to get the community support, to hold the Maori students together, to raise money, to get along with our colleagues and each other were stretched well beyond their means. There were times when the staffroom became a place of enormous stress with no escape from comments or loud-asides being made about individual Maori students or about Maori issues. This does not deny that other women staff were also under stress but that for Maori women the stress was related not just to their individual workloads but to the very fact that we were Maori women among a larger group of Pakeha women in an institution which reified their knowledge and cultural backgrounds.

The life of a *whare* in the school will always be problematic simply because it represents a different world-view. This world-view celebrates and validates cultural difference. The presence of the whare within the grammar school makes the hidden curriculum of schooling more overt and provides a site from which meaningful resistances by Maori women can be mounted. The visibility of the *whare,* especially in its architectural difference ensures that the struggle over cultural boundaries is explicit and specific to what happens in the school itself. Although the *whare* remains marginal in a physical sense it is a powerful representation of Maori identity and a focus for cultural difference which makes the dangers of co-option by Pākeha structures less likely.

In terms of Mana Wahine Maori, the development of a whare by and for Maori women is significant despite its limitations. Within Maori society, Maori women see the development of powerful male roles through the 'capturing' of *marae kawa* by men as a distortion of the traditional relationships between Maori women and Maori men. Attempts by Maori women to reclaim *mana* are fraught with difficulties (Irwin, 1992). The *whare* project was an opportunity for Maori women to work at a solution in a context where Maori men were not a major influence. As a girls' school with mostly women staff there was space for Maori women to make important decisions about their own culture. It is this participation in the definition of what counts as Maori cultural difference which many Maori women would argue is the major challenge for *Mana Wahine Maori (ibid)*.

Finally the worth of the project has to be seen in its impact on the Maori girls who attend the school and the Maori staff who work there. As a postscript the *whare* has become the base of a strong Maori language programme. The name of the *whare* has become synonymous in the Maori community with the name of the school. It has given the Maori students at the school and the non-Maori students who participate in Maori activities an identity and has signalled to the wider Maori community that they are serious about their culture. Maori students have also achieved high examination results and Maori staff numbers have been increased. While these last two factors may not be directly attributable to the *whare* on its own, they do suggest that Maori girls and women still have space and *mana* within this school.

Glossary
Note: In attempting to describe and define the world the way we see it, we are caught with a language other than our own with which to communicate across the world. There are some concepts, however, for which English is inadequate. I have tried to use the closest English equivalent immediately after the word when first introduced into the text. The following are further simple dictionary definitions for the Maori words in this article.

hapu	Collection of whanau, a sub-tribe, will usually have at least one marae and often several.
hongi	A greeting between individuals, in which a person shakes hands and touches both nose and forehead of the other person.
hui	Gathering of people.
iwi	Tribal group.
kaikaranga	Woman who 'calls' people on to a marae. The call generally tells the visitors that they are welcome and often sets out the reasons for the gathering. It is believed that the 'call' is made by women because it is symbolic of the first cry of life when a child is born.
kaiwaiata	People who 'sing' or accompany a speaker; the traditional waiata were chants, but a range of waiata both old and new are frequently sung.
kawa	The formal behaviours and protocols which determine who speaks, when, how and why. These protocols vary across tribes quite considerably
mana	Power, prestige, status.
manuhiri	Visitors or guests who must be welcomed formally, i.e. not tangata whenua.
Maori	Ordinary, normal, now means a 'native person of New Zealand'.
marae	Refer to text.
marae atea	Grass area immediately in front of the whare where formal speech-making occurs, especially where visitors are being received.
Pakeha	A non-Maori, often used to describe white non Maori.
powhiri	Rituals for welcoming visitors, these usually consist of a karanga which calls visitors on to the marae atea, speeches of welcome accompanied by chants from hosts and visitors and hongi or touching of nose and forehead.
tangata whenua	People of the land, the host group.
tino rangatiratanga	Translated to mean shades of sovereignty, self determination, chieftainship, autonomy. Can be applied to individuals or the collective. This was guaranteed in the Maori version of the Treaty of Waitangi.
tipuna	Also tupuna, ancestor, ancestress, one from whom a whanau, hapu or iwi is descended.
waananga	Learning sessions, also means knowledge, whare waananga were once formal institutions for training tribal experts.
wahine	Woman.
waiata	Chants and songs which were composed for many different reasons but which are often heard after a speech is made.
whaea	Mother and/or aunt or woman of the same generation as your own mother.
whanau	Extended family units.
whare	A generic name for a building or room.
whare waananga	House of learning.

Notes

1   Maori education has been the subject of several Parliamentary Select Committee Inquiries, Government Reports and submissions by a wide range of organizations. In the major educational reforms undertaken in 1989 the failure of schools to educate Maori children successfully was used as a rationale for the devolution of state responsibility to local communities. Despite years of reports, research and submissions the participation, retention and achievement rates for Maori students are still significantly behind the rates for Pakeha students.

2   There were several ethnic groups represented at the school and when all the 'others' i.e. non-white groups were added together they represented slightly more than half of the school roll. However, Pakeha students were by far the dominant group and this has been the case since the school opened.

3   New Zealand has national examinations at the end of the third year of secondary school, another set of internally assessed but nationally moderated assessment at the end of the fourth year and national examinations for university bursaries and scholarships at the end of the fifth year of secondary school. As disproportionate numbers of Maori students 'fail' to gain adequate grades in the first set of examinations known as school certificate fewer of them are able to continue at the next levels.

4   One of these Maori groups calls itself Tino Rangatiratanga which is a phrase used in the Treaty of Waitangi which was signed in 1840 between Maori chiefs and a representative of Queen Victoria. In the Maori version of this treaty Maori chiefs were guaranteed their 'tino rangatiratanga' over their lands, forests, fisheries and other 'gifts'. Maori nationalist groups all claim that Maori sovereignty was never ceded to the Crown and that colonial government usurped 'tino rangatiratanga' from Maori people.

5   There was a teaching staff of about sixty women, one full-time male teacher and possibly two more part-time male staff. There was one Maori woman and no staff from any of the other ethnic groups represented in the student body such as Samoan, Tongan, Cook Islands, Niuean, Fijian, Indian or Asian.
6   There were staff meetings which discussed the project but the public nature of this forum restricted the degree to which the issue and many others were debated. It was not a forum in which racist arguments for example were tolerated so these arguments tended to surface in less formal gatherings.
7   A Maori woman retains her genealogical links and these can never be 'owned' by her spouse or vice versa. It also means that a woman from another tribe can not claim descent from her husbands tribe although their children can claim descent from both parents. On death people were expected to be returned to their own tribal area.
8   The marae is one area where a high degree of fluency in Maori language is essential and many second language learners of Maori language still do not have the proficiency to speak in a forum which was and still is the major domain of oral tradition.

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From Head and Shoulders

Merata Mita - Te Arawa, Ngāti Pikiao

The way I see it, if you're a Māori woman and that's all you are, that alone will put you on a collision course with the rest of society and its expectations. And if you flatly refuse to give up your Māori value system for an easier way of life, and you live in a society which is supposed to be bicultural and multiracial but isn't - that's a lie - then you'll be in constant conflict with how that society is run and how it sees itself.

That's been my experience.

Society makes you individualistic and competitive. The Māori value system is to share and nurture, and not to compete. To have a holistic approach instead of taking parts out of the whole. It sounds romantic and idealistic, but that's how we were brought up. I suppose my ideal future is what I have left of my childhood life in my imagination.

I had very humble origins. I was brought up at Maketū in the Bay of Plenty. It was where the Arawa canoe landed, and was steeped in history and much revered. It was famous for fishing. When my father wasn't fishing, he worked for the Ministry of Works. I had a very traditional, very sheltered upbringing. Life centred around our marae. Everyone knew everyone else and the community was very supportive.

We didn't speak much English. We were surrounded by Māori speakers and the language intrinsically has Māori attitudes in it. The Māori way is to make people aware that they are only part of a massive structure that includes the universe - sun, stars, sea, wind, land. It wasn't that we were superior in any way, but we were part of some design. If we followed certain codes of behaviour in relation to what was around us, then we would probably succeed at what we wanted to do. Succeed in the Māori sense, that is.

I was the eldest daughter and third child of nine children, and had a lot of responsibility. When it was time to plant the potatoes or kūmaras, I was expected to stay off school. In the weeding time, the planting time, the harvest time, I never went to school. That was secondary to how we managed to eat. And if my mother was ill or had to go away, I stayed at home.

I identify very strongly with being a woman from Te Arawa tribe and particularly Ngāti Pikiao, our subtribe. There was no question but that was a wonderful thing to be. I always had this quiet, fulfilling feeling about being part of Ngāti Pikiao. Being Māori was nothing to be ashamed of. I've never lost the security I got from that upbringing, and the very strong sense of identity. It made me, if you can say such things. I never had to have a crisis about who I am, where I came from or where I am going.

We didn't have much contact with Pākehās. There was a Pākehā shopkeeper, butcher, postmistress and Pākehā teachers. I saw that Pākehās owned stores and taught Māori kids. That they held positions of authority. But they were positions of authority *outside* my community. It was like two worlds co-existing, this very safe and secure Māori world that I

lived in, and another world outside with different social patterns and an order of authority that clashed with my own.

At Te Puke High School I found Māori kids who didn't have the same pride in their identity that I had. They seemed to have a kind of shame. I was lucky not to have that, and it affected my attitudes at school. I achieved because I never doubted that I was someone of worth, and eventually wound up head prefect, which was a first for a Māori kid. I just walked right into it.

I first became aware of racism at that school. My sister had a Pākehā boyfriend whose parents asked him not to see her on the grounds that she was Māori. That shocked me. I thought, they think they're better than us!

As head prefect I became more aware of the resistance in Pākehās because I had much more social contact with them.

They were very courteous and polite on the surface, but I felt the undercurrents. I didn't define it as racism then and it didn't make much impression on me. I thought, they're actually not better than us, because I've been to their homes and you don't get much to eat. They don't know correct hospitality. In Māori terms they were hopeless failures!

I had no idea what to do for a career. A Teachers' College selection panel came around and told me I was suitable. When the time came I got on the railcar and went to Auckland. There was a gulf inside me and I thought, I'm leaving for something that I know not. And it was exactly that. I had terrible difficulty adjusting to Teachers' College and being away from home. The first year I had all sorts of illnesses.

Auckland was so fast. I'd lived in a close community where we smiled and talked to anyone who was Māori. But when I smiled at people in Auckland they looked away. They'd lost that rural easiness. I found it cold, hostile and very forbidding. I was alienated in the classes, too. It shocked me that the Māori presence was so invisible. I'd thought there would be lots of us meeting up at this place and it would be all right. It wasn't.

I boarded with a family where the wife was from Maketū. But her way of coping with marrying a Pākehā was to become like one. So it was difficult to live there and extremely difficult at the college. I didn't think I'd last the distance. I hated everything. I concentrated on my work because it took me away from anything outside. I presented a front, but behind it was an awful sense of isolation at the time. I didn't cry. I'm not a tearful person. I just withdrew and became very quiet and watchful. And I realised I was watching a system designed to turn out teachers. We came here to be moulded in to something and were then sent out to perpetuate that system. I got quite cold about it. I was already at odds with the system.

The only time I had a sense of belonging in Auckland was at the University Māori Club, where out-of-town people like me seemed to go. I clung to those sessions to make them last as long as possible. There was a sense of community there, but it was different. Everyone smoked and drank a lot, and went out most nights. It seemed to be such high living. I wasn't used to any of that. I was very unhappy. I wanted to go home all the time.

But whenever I made noises about coming home, my family would say there was no work there for someone as bright as I was supposed to be, and they didn't want me to become

a labourer. Going to Training College from Maketū was quite something. That feeling came from the whole community, and every time I went home, people would say, how wonderful, isn't that lovely, keep it up, dear. In the end I developed almost a sense of obligation. So much was expected of me that it seemed worth the sacrifice.

I came out of Training College at 19 and went to Kawerau to teach. It was just a place I picked out of the book. At Kawerau College I found I was given classes that were predominantly Māori or Pacific Islands and which needed English as a second language. The kids were described as unteachable, socially maladjusted, surly unco-operative. I was stuck with those kind of kids a lot of the eight years I taught there. It was obvious I kept getting them because I was Māori. There were other Māori teachers, but they were assimilated. They were successful in the Pākehā world, which I wasn't. They'd given up on tradition and a Māori value-system. I hadn't. I still measured my success in Māori terms. They were critical of me because they had become super-Pollies, super-browns. They tended to assess me almost as they did the unteachable kids.

I had to think what I would do, because the school curriculum didn't work for these kids at all. They were running riot around the school, getting into trouble, being threatened with expulsion, talking openly about sex and parties. It was also absolutely necessary for my survival as a teacher, because I was inspected on the same criteria as other teachers, without the kind of kids I had being taken into account. So I had to find something that would work for them.

I started to do things to make them feel more at ease with being at school. I made up a curriculum that was fully integrated and took into account that these kids had a survival problem, not only in school but out of it. I'd take them to the bush and we'd do painting and social studies up there, and I related the maths and everything else to what they were familiar with – hunting, fishing, looking after younger kids.

We'd gather eels and freshwater crayfish and watercress, and I'd fight to get access to the cooking room, where it was feared these little animals would run around and make a mess. I got huge doses of disapproval. But no one else knew how to teach these kids and I was left much to my own devices - the headmaster said he didn't care what I did as long as I kept them out of trouble.

I found the most important thing was not to be authoritarian. From where I stood, a Māori with a Māori system of values, that was the most important ingredient for success. I didn't lord it over them and make them look stupid. I treated them like a family and the classroom like a family home - a whānau - where I was friend, tutor and mother. I had a real concept of aroha, which didn't fit easily into the classroom. I realised from that situation that to be a Māori woman with traditional Māori values was to be in conflict with society, because that's not the way it operates.

But the kids started to like school. For once they had something called success on their score cards. They were really proud, and put me on a pedestal. They'd bring me gifts of puha and watermelon. Someone had listened to them! They felt better about themselves.

I first used a movie camera at that school. I got the idea from the kids. They were very keen on art and anything visual. They saw in pictures and tended to talk in pictures and liked drawing pictures. Because they couldn't express or define themselves in literary terms, other people had problems understanding them. I didn't.

One of them had a camera and photographed a lot of the work. They loved that, and it just developed from there. The next thing was the moving picture. I heard about a second-hand Super 8 camera and bought it with my own money. The school regarded that as being way out, even silly. They couldn't equate that kind of technology with learning or with what they called dumb kids. But the Super 8 added another dimension to the kids' work. Instead of writing an essay, they had to write a script, act it out, film it, edit it. I paid for the film to be developed. It was the only way to get it done. By then I'd acquired a reputation for being somewhat unorthodox. I wasn't really. I was simply trying to make a system work that was failing those kids.

Using the 8 mm camera gave me ideas, but next up was 16 mm at about 10 times the cost. I just filed the thought away in my head.

That was the first time people started to take notice of what I did. Two of the teachers were enlightened and supported me. Others were suspicious and very disapproving, and some were actively hostile. Those attitudes didn't make teaching any easier.

The time with those kids was a humbling experience for me. But for them I would have been like some of the teachers I criticised, one of the super-Pollies going to the top. Like being the first Māori head prefect. That path was open to me. It's an easy one and a lot of people take it. So I was grateful that those kids made me realise that what looks like success is very hollow. I had the same origins as them, yet by some quirk of fate I'd ended up somewhere where they weren't going to get to.

I dropped a lot of my arrogance and high expectations of people and learned to accept them much more on their own terms. I learned not to be judgmental about even simple things like hygiene or people committing crimes. Before then I was like everyone else - judgmental and selfrighteous. I owe those kids a lot. At the time it was a real struggle and I wondered what the hell I was doing. But it was the beginning of something very valuable for me.

Hokianga Waiata a Nga Tupuna Wahine:

Journeys through Mana Wahine - Mana Tane

Margie Hohepa - Ngāpuhi

Just as history is not the whole story, her stories, the stories of tupuna wahine, their lives, their compositions also maintain their meanings in the wider contexts of those who they lived with and loved with.

How do I reach, do I connect myself to my tupuna wahine no te Hokianga? Is it through lines of descent (ascent?) leap-frogging from mother to grandmother to great grandmother and so on until I am poised, breathless (better than a work out at the gym) at the peaks of Papatuanuku, the mother-whaea of them all. Sounds okay, but as an itinerary, it comes unstuck at destination number one. For, as my birth certificate so clearly states, my mother is not a Maori. So back to replot a much more potted path, that picks its way through passion, through power struggles and through the odd murder.

For me, mana wahine is part of something that also recognises and incorporates mana tane. That I can stand here as a Maori woman is because my tupuna wahine had relations with men! (Or maybe they knew a few things that Western medicine has only lately discovered.)

Who I am is also inextricably located within my roles and relationships with others, including my father and grandfathers, my brothers, my sons, my husband. I am wahine Maori, I am mokopuna, I am tamahine, tuakana, teina, whaea, hoa wahine. And I look forward (though hopefully not in this century) to being karani. We draw our descent from both male and female ancestors, through the way they connected to and from each other.

Through their words my tupuna whaea often confronted and reflected upon these many relationships they had with men. Whether they were considering the merits of potential lovers as Paakiri did, in her waiata whaiaipo, Tera Whanui, ko Atutahi, or whether they were lamenting the loss of a husband as Maria Romana was when she composed E Haki moe roa, the powerful, the passionate and the compassionate natures of their relationships with tupuna tane wash over me each time I read or hear them.

Paakiri a woman carver and tattooist from Mangamuka, taught along with other men and women, by Kohuru a tohunga from Otaua, a younger brother of my ancestress Kuiawai. Her waiata discusses the physical merits of three recently tattooed men.

Ka kai ra, e aku kanohi
te kuru mata rerehu
No Te Paewa, me ko Takaroa,
I have feasted my eyes on the exquisite lines of Te Paewaa and Takaroa but decided to give them all a miss and go home.
Au ki te iwi – I return to the tribe

Maria Romana of Te Mahurehure, was a noted singer and orator in the early part of this century. She held speaking rights in Hokianga and across to Waitangi. She wrote this tangi apakura for her husband, Haki Moeroa Romana a tohunga from Waima. Haki was described as a man of few words, this was Maria's domain.

E Haki, moe roa maranga mai ki runga
Tenei o iwi ka u ki uta
Nga tai pakipaki ki waho o Moehau
Nga tai whakahokihoki naana koe, i hari mai e.
Kua tae ra koe ki runga o Whaengenge...

Again, through my father, I have met with and come to know the women, whose often fiery relationships I am an heir to. And it doesn't surprise me, much, to find that my link to powerful mana wahine no Te Arawa, involves a turbulent relationship which ended in perhaps what could be considered a Maori interpretation of cremation. Kua tae ra koe ki runga o Whaengenge refers to Haki arriving at the urupaa, Whaengenge. Whaengenge, previously the paa site of a powerful tupuna wahine of Waima and her husband, Waima's Pākeha, Katete. Maraea Kuri, one of the highest ranking women of Hokianga, who had accompanied her father Moka on musket buying trips to Australia. Who was purported to, having caught sight of 15 year old convict Katete or Cassidy; son of an Irish doctor, accused spy for the Sinn Fein, sentenced to five years hard labour. Having seen him, asked her father to buy him for her.

Maraea was to wait. Wait until Cassidy, arriving in Hokianga after serving out his time, was traded up the river to be Waima's Pākeha Maori. And Maraea's husband. Happily ever after. Well, at least until rumours of his visits to a Pākeha widow in Rawene reached Maraea. After that he took residence in death behind the fireplace. So many an argument, so my father recalls, between my grandfather and his sister, would end with "Well what do you expect from descendants of a murderess!"

Not all our relationships end in death. And so too it was for tupuna wahine. Sometimes they just upped and left. At one time, there were at the mouth of Waima River, two paa. These represented the degree of struggle over resources and power our tupuna wahine were involved in. In one paa, Otahiti, lived a tupuna tane Te Kiripuute. Next to Otahiti was Whakataka Paa, built by women who had moved out en masse to escape what some of us might now call male hegemony.

Samuel Marsden is said to have visited Whakataka, where he saw, among other things, breech tattooing being done. And referred to the old women leader whose husband (who happened to be Te Kiri puute) had probably died. He was wrong. He was seeing, first hand, sisters who were doing it for themselves.

But when it comes down to it, celebrating our tupuna wahine is an inclusive celebration, not an exclusive one. It stretches through us to our daughters and to our granddaughters, born or yet to be born. We are also celebrating our whaea as mothers and warriors. As daughters and lovers. And through that we celebrate our fathers and our sons, and ourselves.

E Haki Moe Roa

E Haki moe roa maranga mai ki runga
Tenei o iwi ka u ki uta.

Nga tai pakipaki kiwaho o Moehau
Nga tai whakahokihoki naana koe, i hari mai e.

Kua tae ra koe ki runga o Whaengenge
Tahuri mai o mata, titiro ko o iwi eei.

Tu mai i kona, mihi mai i tua ra
Maku koe e ringiringi ki te wai roimata.
Hei pono te mahara tena ra koe
Kei te koingo mai ki te hau kainga.

He tangi ra na o iwi e
E Haki he aha ra, i tangihia e.

Ko te ngaro i nga tau he ngaro hoki mai
Ko te ngaro i to tinana, he ngaro, a oti atu eei.

Na Maria Romana
Te Mahurehure

The Marginalisation of Māori Women

Patricia Johnston and Leonie Pihama

COLONIALISM

New Zealand was annexed at a period when ideologies of the 'superiority' of particular races over others were very influential. In particular, notions of the development and evolution of races provided major theoretical foundations from which Maori were viewed. Two clear philosophies existed in relation to the evolutionary process. The first was the ideas advocated by the Church and the notion of 'divine' order. Writings from the bible were used to justify in more than one country the belief that the 'black man' was placed on this earth to serve the 'white man', and that it was the prerogative of the 'white man' to rule. Growing out of these beliefs were a number of systemic philosophies which enforced the taken-for-granted positionings of whites over 'inferior' blacks. These beliefs further maintained the conceptions of the second philosophy of the evolutionary process, Charles Darwin's 'Natural Selection' process, in which his "studies of the natural world were used to support the development of the notion that natural selection provided an explanation for the social order of human beings."[1] In time, humans were categorised according to their levels of development that were presumed to be indicative of the evolutionary process and civilisation. In these belief systems, Maori were located within the lower ranks of the hierarchies.

Iris Marion Young has stated[2] that difference not only conceives of social groups as mutually exclusive, categorically opposed, and in terms of Other, but also in terms of one occupying a superior position.

> The meaning of difference submits to the logic of identity. One group occupies the position of norm, against which all others are measured. The attempt to reduce all persons to the unity of common measure constructs as deviant those whose attributes differ from the group-specific attributes implicitly presumed in the norm. The drive to unify the particularity and multiplicity of practices, cultural symbols, and ways of relating in clear and distinct categories turns difference into exclusion.[3]

Differences for Maori, therefore, were not only in terms of colour and 'civility', but were also applied to support the positions of Maori into localities of inferiority. Beliefs about racial differences became influential in maintaining the superior/inferior relationship. By virtue of biological transmission, each group was designated as having distinctive attributes and dominant groups as sharing no attributes with those defined as Other.[4] This is a particularly problematic idea in that worthwhile and "valued" characteristics are attributed solely to those of the dominant group.

In New Zealand, the ways in which 'difference' and 'race' have been defined has significantly contributed to ho Maori are perceived, the ways in which Maori knowledge, language and culture have been constructed, and the ways in which Maori have been treated-according to their 'differences', differences which are negative and which have their roots in colonial rule and racial discourses.

THE NOTION OF RACE

'Race' is defined differently within differing contexts resulting in its definition being contested and challenged. The use of the term is highly problematic. David Pearson points out that the meaning of race has changed considerably over time; from being a term used to classify plants, animals and persons of common lineage,[5] race was then constructed to include ideas that described the biological transmission of 'physical/psychological and cultural characteristics'.[6] This latter construction has also contributed to and supports racial hierarchies that endorse the supremacy of particular 'races' over Other 'races'. Furthermore,

the difference between 'races' is seen as an unchangeable position. In fact, Wetherell and Potter argue, such differences are social constructions:

> Ideology works in the main by confusing the social with the natural, mistaking surface appearances, skin colour and other physical characteristics, the phenomenal forms of social relations, for the essential underlying causes. Thus. New Zealand's intergroup problems [are seen as] natural racial differences, whereas Miles would argue that the real causes of current conflicts lie in the economic and political organisation of New Zealand society.[7]

Misconceptions about race, about the physical differences and the psychological and cultural characteristics which presumably affect the performance of particular groups, are still widely based in New Zealand. Maori are constructed in opposition to Pākeha, a constructed duality which predominantly locates Maori in deviant and inferior locations. That the construction of dualities is very much a part of a relationship associated with dominance and subordination, what Martin Marger refers to as "power-conflicts."[8] Power-conflicts are about the unequal "power" associated with the position of subordinate groups. In this relationship, subordinate groups pursue their interests from a position of "power deficiency"; therefore, their interests and aspirations are generally ignored or reinterpreted according to the beliefs of the dominant group. The differences between Maori and Pākeha have been exacerbated by the fact that Pākeha have control over the context in which changes can take place for Maori. Difference is defined for Maori, not in terms of unequal, power-relations, or unequal social, economic and political positions, but in terms for Maori which emphasise only language and culture.

What has come to 'count' as 'difference' are those differences which distinguished Maori from Pākeha; that is, physical characteristics, the language and the culture. Although the struggle for Maori in terms of their differences has often been defined both historically and contemporarily in terms of perceived racial characteristics, these beliefs have played a major part in how Maori are viewed today.

DIFFERENCE AND GENDER

Young's analysis from gender is particularly useful for highlighting the position of 'otherness' and difference.[9] She contends that the classifications between men and women are based on the superior/inferior hierarchy emphasising the mind-body dichotomy in which women are positioned as the Other group. Josette Féral takes this position one step further and suggests that women do not merely become the Other, but become his Other, and end up getting caught in the endless and enduring circle of his representation.[10] The point that both Young and Feral are making is that women are not only portrayed in opposing positions to men, but also in positions where men are not. "Men are rational, women emotional, men are rule-bound contractors, women are caretakers, men are right-brainers, women are left-brainers,"[11] and so on and so on. These dichotomies have traditionally helped to legitimise the exclusion of women from privileged male places.

Throughout New Zealand's history, women were treated differently from men because the colonists brought with them specific ideas about the roles and positions that women should occupy. These roles were predominantly linked to Victorian ideas about possession. For Maori women and girls, the disestablishment of their own power-bases both historically and contemporarily, can be directly linked back to colonial rule. Pakeha men dealt with Maori men. The roles proffered for Maori women were mainly those of servitude, as either maidservants for Pakeha households or "good wives and mothers" for Maori men.

What has been shown so far is that the position of difference for Maori is one that is identified and controlled by Pakeha. The saying that we as Maori women are more disadvantaged because of compounded oppression associated with being woman and being Maori, is true-this is our reality. Maori girls and women have been made invisible through being written out of historical accounts. Colonisation has had, and continues to have a major impact on the ways in which Maori women's realities are constructed. For Maori women there have evolved colonial discourses based within ideological constructions of race and gender which serve to define Maori women in line with particular roles, expectations and practices based in ideologies of both racial and sexual inferiority. The colonial discourses that espoused hierarchical social ordering in terms of race and sex impacted more than twofold on the position of Maori women, and in particular on the ways in which Maori women were perceived by early colonial settlers and the colonial administration.

A range of colonial mechanisms operated to marginalise Maori women on the basis of their race and gender. Maori women were viewed as 'savages' and 'sexual objects', in situations that were often misinterpreted by Pākeha people. An example cited by Anne Salmond in *Two Worlds* outlines the eurocentric perceptions placed on events and actions involving Maori women:

> The red ochre and oil which generally was fresh and wet upon their cheeks and foreheads [was] easily transferable to the noses of any one who should attempt to kiss them; not that they seemed to have any objection to such familiarities as the noses of several of our people evidently shewed, but they were as great coquettes as any European could be and the young ones as skittish as unbroke fillies.[12]

According to Salmond, Banks "greatly enjoyed his love affairs in Tahiti" and so may have assumed that sex would be available in Aotearoa. Such an assumption could be read into the reference of Maori women as flirtatious (coquettes, skittish and akin to 'unbroke fillies'), all of which hold strong sexual reference. Furthermore, Banks defines the actions of Maori women in line with his own cultural assumptions, and his own sexual fascinations, and therefore fails to take into account cultural intricacies of greeting processes, in particular the Hongi. A second example highlighted by Anne Salmond refers to an encounter between Maori women and Surville's French crew:

> The women now approached the sailors 'making all the gestures that are not made especially not in public, going as far as drawing aside the bird skin that covers their nakedness and showing everything they have.' This behaviour was interpreted by the French as 'lasciviousness', but under the circumstances of extreme hostility it was more likely to have been the whakapohane, an expression of intense derision and contempt.[13]

What was seen by Surville and his crew was interpreted solely in terms of their own sexual codes and therefore the perceptions of Maori women presented by these men were constructed within their cultural expectations, through their definitions. What was, for the Maori women, a ritual encounter and a cultural expression of contempt, was written into 'western' history as an event which highlighted the 'native women' as lustful and sexually available.

The intersection of race and gender has for Maori women culminated in dominant oppressive ideologies providing complex assertions of inferiority. What is different is abnormal, inferior, subordinate to what is the norm. These assertions are further complicated by assimilatory

agendas that espoused a sense of sameness but which, in practice, meant difference. Assimilation through the denial of Te Reo Maori and Tikanga was crucial in order for the colonial force to fully realise its agenda of social control, in turn, critical for the successful alienation of Maori land. Pākeha schooling was to play a key role in the assimilation process, and incorporated an 'attack' on Maori people that sought to deny Te Reo me nga Tikanga Maori, and replace them with particular types of Pākeha knowledge and practice. Validating the thrust of assimilation and social control was the assertion of the social ordering of races, which was expressed in statements such as the following made by early medical observer Arthur Thompson:

> It was ascertained by weighing the quantity of millet seeds the skull contained and by measurements with tapes and compasses that New Zealanders [Maori] heads are smaller than the heads of Englishmen, consequently the New Zealander [Maori] are inferior in mental capacity. This comparative smallness of the brain is produced by neglecting to exercise the higher faculties of the mind, for as muscles shrink from want of use it is only natural that generations of mental indolence should lessen the size of the brains.[14]

The colonial discourse in relation to race was clearly one which located Maori people in an inferior position; hence, early settlers maintained a belief in their racial superiority that was to permeate all aspects of New Zealand society as the colonisers increased their dominance within the country. Discourses pertaining to race were the dominant ideological expressions of the time, however there also existed the less explicit gender assumptions. As the majority of the early visitors to Aotearoa were European men, they carried with them ideological beliefs pertaining to the roles and expectations of women; these beliefs, however, were based fundamentally in terms of their relationship to European women and in the colonial context extended to the incorporation of race ideologies with regard to Maori women. Colonial ideologies pertaining to women located them as chattels, as the property of men, and therefore of lesser status. Furthermore, Fry highlights the debate surrounding what was considered different levels of intelligence of women and men; this debate centred upon an attempt to construct ways of validating colonial ideologies of women's inferiority:

> For many years, there had been fascination with theories concerning the different mental capacities of men and women. The 'cranium theory' which had set out to prove that women's brains were smaller, lighter and less convoluted than men's were now [1880s] out of date. More fashionable were the gynaecological theories which dwelt on the dangers of upsetting bodily functions in adolescence.[15]

There existed then two different rationales for the use and legitimation of cranium measuring techniques. One espoused the inferiority of Maori people, on the basis of race and racial characteristics, and this then served as justification for acts of cultural genocide and land confiscation. The second espoused the inferiority of women, on the basis of sex, this serving as justification for the denial of access to a range of spheres. Hence, for Maori women, the overall impact was a denial of crucial cultural aspects and a redefinition of their roles within Maori society.

Clearly the historical construction of what counts as difference has served, in terms of both race and gender ideologies, to place Maori women on the margins. The representations of Maori girls and women within these ideologies incorporated both gender and racial assumptions as framed within dominant belief systems, and provided the basis for the

subjugation of Maori women. Hence the marginalised position of Maori women may be directly linked to the construction and maintenance of those discourses which locate Maori women as 'Other'. Glynnis Paraha has explored ideological themes which endorse European/Pākeha definitions of Maori women,[16] such as those of early European writers like J.L. Nicholas.

> Though the savage does possess all the passions of nature, pure and unadulterated and though he may in many instances feel stronger and more acutely than the man of civilised habits still is he inferior to him in every other respect: the former is a slave to the impulse of his will, the latter has learned to restrain his desires; the former stands enveloped in the dark clouds of ignorance, the latter goes forth in the bright sunshine of knowledge; the former views the works of his creator through the medium of a blind superstition, the latter through the light of reason; the one beholds nature and is bewildered, the other clearly looks through nature up to nature's gods.[17]

Nicholas locates the 'savage' in binary opposition to those characteristics deemed necessary to the "man of civilised habits." Maori have been constructed within dominant discourses as being outside of, and other to the norm. Normality has been defined as synonymous with the dominant group.

Our differences as defined within dominant ideologies play a key factor in the ways in which we were, and are seen in Pakeha society. Discourses related to difference as a negative construct are not fixed, but rather shift in their articulation in order to continue to meet the needs of those who control their construction. That is, in order to serve the interests of those who define and control power within this country and internationally.

For Maori women seeking to engage with dominant ideologies, part of the problem is the continually shifting ground and the multiple representations of ideologies. Various institutions serve both to define and legitimate dominant discourses within Aotearoa, and Maori women struggle inside and outside organisations that are active in legitimating our oppression. Examination of some of the key historical events in the establishment of Pakeha schooling systems within Aotearoa provide a range of examples of the ways in which ideologies of race and gender intersect and how that intersection culminated in the marginalisation of Maori women and the denial of access to critical decision making processes.

Colonial discourses related to Maori girls and women have, on the whole, been constructed by Pakeha anthropologists, whose interpretations have been framed within both androcentric and eurocentric paradigms, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith notes:

> Fundamental to Maori women's struggle to analyse the present has been the need to reconstruct the past conditions of Maori women. Those who first wrote about Maori society at the time of early contact between Maori and European were not Maori, neither were they female. Consequently, Maori women were either ignored or portrayed as wanton, amoral and undisciplined creatures. Maori society was portrayed as a hierarchy based on gender, and by being left out of the accounts, Maori women were portrayed as being excluded from participation and determining tribal policy.[18]

These frameworks then portrayed Maori women through a colonial gaze which was entrenched in a European patriarchal belief system and, therefore, the presentation of Maori women was located firmly within racist and sexist ideologies. According to Smith, Maori women belong to the group of women in the world who have been historically constructed as 'Other'. As women we have been defined in terms of our differences to men, as Maori we have been defined in regard to our differences to the coloniser. As Maori women we have been defined in terms of our differences to Maori men, Pakeha men and Pakeha women.[19]

Such a statement clearly articulates the complex relationships within which Maori women operate in the world and through which Maori women have been historically defined and constructed through colonial dualisms. As previously noted, these placed great emphasis on the constructed dualisms of 'savage and 'civilised', 'heathen' and 'christian', 'immoral' and 'moral', and have served ultimately to validate the position of the dominant group.

The first schools established by the missionaries focused upon two key agendas, civilising and christianising Maori people. For Maori girls an integral part of those agendas was to ensure the internalisation of gender expectations.[20] Through the 1847 Education Ordinance, the Crown provided its support to the existing missionary schools by creatinga national system of Native schools, whilst at the same time legitimating the structures and curriculum under missionary control. Governor George Grey viewed it as expedient to retain the existing system rather than establishing a totally new one.

As the first piece of legislation related directly to the development of a State system of schooling, the Education Ordinance may also be viewed as the first legislative expression of Pakeha male control of the system. Management of each school was placed in the hands of the bishops, superintendents, and heads of the various churches, positions which could only be held by Pakeha men.

Legislation and policy moves contributed significantly to the marginalisation of Maori women. The 1867 Native Schools Act explicitly alienated Maori women from key decision making processes within their communities. Sections five and six stated that in order for a Native School to be established within a Maori community there was required a "memorial of any considerable number of the male adult native inhabitants of any locality or district." If the request was deemed valid the Colonial Secretary would then call a meeting-of the male adult native inhabitants, who would determine whether a school would be established, and would elect a District School Committee. Clearly, Maori women were denied access to the decision making involved and the ongoing development of schooling within their areas.

The selection of knowledge and development of curriculum areas contributed significantly to the assimilation agenda, in particular the intention to 'domesticate' Maori girls. Schooling became a site through which the colonisers could reproduce selected knowledge forms that validated reality as constructed by them.[21] Instrumental in this process was the writing and construction of history as observed by the coloniser. This has meant that the history of Aotearoa has been written through the eyes of the dominant group, involving a process of selective amnesia and based upon dominant group assertions of difference. An outcome of this has been that Maori women have been made invisible. Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes:

> Maori women in particular have been written out of historical discourses not just in the years after colonisation but also from the centuries prior to Pakeha settlement. Schooling has served to legitimate selected historical discourses

through its curriculum, pedagogy, assessment and organisation. This process has turned Maori history into mythology and Maori women within those histories into distant and passive old crones whose presence in the 'story' was to add interest to an otherwise male adventure. Women who were explorers, poets, chiefs and warriors, heads of families; founding tipuna or ancestors of various hapu and iwi have frequently been made invisible through processes of colonisation, such as education.[22]

Clearly those aspects of Maori women's realities that the coloniser sought to reject were those which were viewed as incompatible with the gender roles and expectations that were desired. The ways in which gender inequalities were accentuated differed for Pakeha women and Maori women. For Pakeha women, a strong emphasis on their role in ensuring the survival and purity of the race developed. For Maori women the focus was on assimilation, of using Maori women as a vehicle for the transmission of what was considered appropriate knowledge and appropriate ways of living. Young Maori women were expected to learn the 'appropriate' values and skills of 'civilised young ladies' and this task was linked explicably to the expectation that they would then pass on such knowledge to those in their iwi and in the future to their children.

Selected from a range of Inspectors' reports and letters the following statements outline the marginalisation of Maori girls and women occurring systematically through the imposition of 'domestification' and assimilation agendas in Pakeha schooling. The curriculum was the key process through which these were imposed.

Hon. Sir. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st May, which arrived during my absence from Wellington, or I should sooner have complied with your request concerning the return of St. Josephs Providence.

The sanitary state of the Pupils is quite satisfactory. They are taught English, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Needlework, &c. As the principal object of this establishment is to form good Houseservants, the eldest girls are employed in cooking, cleaning, washing, ironing, &c., &c.
<div align="right">J. Viard Catholic Bishop, July 1857.</div>

They [the Maori girls] make up their own clothes, and are taught to wash and iron, and to make bread and confectionery, to cook, milk &c. They have also learnt a variety of useful accomplishments, such as worsted embroidery and crochet work, admirable specimens of which were exhibited.
<div align="right">St. Anne's School, Freemans Bay.[23]</div>

Unite education with industrial training; prepare the boy or girl for the position you expect them to fill in life, and under such management there is reason to believe that our exertions will not be thrown away; the schools will become centres for the promotion of Christianity and civilisation amongst the surrounding tribes.
<div align="right">Otawhao School. [24]</div>

Miss Taylor superintends the washing, cooking, cleaning of the rooms &c., assisted, so far as this is possible, by the girls . . . The girls' clothes are made by the girls themselves, and are cut out in the establishment; their cost is consequently only that of the material; whereas in the case of the boys, the clothes must be purchased ready made, and thus the cost is proportionately larger.
<div align="right">Letter from Mr Tancred to J.C. Richmond 1867.[25]</div>

The Native Schools Code (1880) retained the assertion of colonial ideologies in terms of assimilation and social control agendas, and with regard to the industrial curriculum and make-up of committees. The code removed explicit requirements that a school be requested by the "native male adults," but it continued the more insidious ideological assumptions that those on school committees would be men and that those appointed to take charge of the schools would be "a married couple, the husband to act as master of the school and the wife as sewing mistress." A memorandum attached to the Native Schools Code upon its distribution included the following:

> Besides giving due attention to the school instruction of the children, teachers will be expected to exercise a beneficial influence on the Natives, old and young; to show by their own conduct that it is possible to live a useful and blameless life, and in smaller matters, by their dress, in their houses, and by their manners and habits at home and abroad, to set the Maoris an example that they may advantageously imitate. John Hislop, Secretary,
> Education Dept, Wellington, June 4, 1880.[26]

The placing of schools within Maori communities is compared by Linda Tuhiwai Smith to the story of the Trojan Horse.[27] The intention, as outlined clearly by Hislop's memorandum, was to contribute to the assimilation of Maori people through a process of Pākeha people modelling what was defined as appropriate behaviour. Smith notes that, like the Trojan Horse, Native Schools were taken into the community to provide a vehicle through which to infiltrate Maori society; it was crucial, to successfully attain social control, that Maori people "came to believe in a new natural order of things based on their participation in their own cultural oppression".[28] Furthermore, the 'Trojan Horse' strategy became an essential process through which to construct common-sense beliefs through which to provide justification for the cultural and gendered oppression of Maori women.

When Native Schools were established they represented a highly visible way that Pākehatanga seemed to be. The "master and bis wife" then provided models of what was considered appropriate roles for men and women, roles which modelled men in leadership positions and women in the supportive, domestic role. These constructions of what was deemed appropriate behaviour, were then further reinforced through the curriculum. Examples of the 'domestification' agenda for Maori girls and women are evident throughout official documentation. The following statements provide examples of the intent, post-1880:

> Hukarere and Mangakahia perhaps stand first amongst schools for excellence in needlework. I think that in future all girls that are not fully up to the very moderate standard requirements in this subject should be sent back, no matter how well their own other work may have been done.
> James H. Pope.[29]

> Attention is given more especially, however, to the industrial and domestic branches of education, the aim being to equip the Maori children for the work in life for which they are best suited. Senior free places for girls take the form of nursing-scholarships.
> Extract from the fortieth annual report of the Minister of Education.[30]

> In the girls' boarding schools prominence is given to practical and useful training, and thus in addition to the ordinary school subjects, instruction is

given to the following subjects: Needlework and dressmaking; cookery and domestic duties; first-aid and nursing, hygiene, care and rearing of infants; preparation of food for infants and for the sick. In the general work of the institutions the girls take a prominent part.

<div align="right">John Porteous, Senior Inspector.[31]</div>

The definition, within dominant discourses, of gender roles as related to Maori people, was part and parcel of a process of redefinition of roles within Maori society that was intended to ensure that the 'progress' of Maori people was conducive to the expectations of the coloniser. Senior Inspector, John Porteous cited the placing of schools in Maori communities as instrumental in the "civilisation and general uplift of the Maori race" and the Pakeha teachers "served as exemplars of European family life."[32]

Historical documentation highlights the multiple ways in which the intersection of ideologies of race and gender has impacted on Maori women, in particular the locating of Maori women within limited definitions based upon colonial belief systems. Dominant discourses promoted forms of gender roles and expectations for Maori women which were based upon prevailing colonial beliefs related to both race and gender, as the colonial intentions for Maori women clearly differed to those articulated for Pakeha women. The difference was one of inferiority, Maori women were deemed inferior not only to Pakeha men and Maori men, but also to Pakeha women. Maori women were not solely to be 'home-makers' or 'house wives'; rather, the intent for Maori women was their involvement in service to Pakeha people, as domestic servants.

The imposition of colonial ideologies has had a major effect on the position of Maori women today. Maori girls and women continue to experience the brunt of dominant discourses of 'difference'. In order to analyse the present position of Maori women, it is therefore crucial to provide a critical analysis of the ways in which colonisation operated to construct Maori women in subordinate roles, subordinate to Pakeha men, subordinate to Pakeha women, subordinate to Maori men.

For Maori girls the implications of our historical experiences are such that we have been denied access to Te Reo Maori me nga Tikanga, our language and culture. We have been denied access to the credentials and qualifications that would provide Maori women with options other than those of domestic and service workers. We have been denied access to full participation and input into the wider society. We have been denied access to full participation in policy formation and key decision making for our own people. Colonial discourses have operated on the whole effectively to lock Maori women out of crucial positions-positions which impact on our day to day lives and the lives of our people.

Recently Maori women lodged a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal in relation to the marginalisation of Maori women and in particular the denial of input into decision making or participation in key structures and committees. The fact that Maori women have had to take such a claim is an indictment on the ways in which Maori women's voices have been made invisible.

From Maori women, who have experienced the brunt of colonial oppression, there are growing oppositional discourses which seek to shift the analysis from one of 'Other' to that which positions Maori women at the centre. These are not new, but are grounded fundamentally in a resistance movement which has struggled for recognition of our rights

as Maori women, as Tangata Whenua. For some time Maori women have struggled to gain a voice within this society and have on the whole been made invisible, silenced, marginalised. For Maori women in a colonial setting (we avoid using the term post-colonial since we believe that this country remains very much colonial), much of our 'selves' has been denied, and hence, for many Maori women there is an ongoing struggle to centre ourselves, to deconstruct colonial representations and to reconstruct and reclaim knowledge about ourselves. Maori women have been struggling with such a process from the margins, and many have said that in order fully to realise such a process we must locate ourselves in the centre. This includes an inverting of dominant discourses that define Maori women as 'Other'. In seeking to make ourselves visible and to create space for Maori women's stories, opinions, and voices to be heard, we must provide forms of analysis that ensure that issues of race and gender are incorporated and their intersection engaged with.

This paper has sought to engage in such an analysis. There is much other work that needs to be undertaken, not least the reviving of - Maori women's stories which highlight constructions of Maori women as defined by ourselves and located within our cultural paradigms. There is a vast number of Maori women's stories and analyses which must be brought into this Te Ao Marama, the world of light. Stories of culture, stories of our history, stories of who we are and where we come from, stories of Maori women in all aspects of Maori society. It is these stories that provide the basis for the reconstruction of our present position, and which will challenge and contest dominant Pakeha definitions and discourses related to Maori women. And it is Maori women who will ultimately ensure this, as it is we who have the most to gain; we gain knowledge about ourselves.

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This was originally presented as a paper at the Confronting Racism Conference, Sydney University of Technology, December 1993.

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20   Smith (1992); R. Fry, *It's Different for Daughters: A History of the Curriculum for Girls in New Zealand Schools, 1900-1975*, (Wellington, NZCER, 1985).
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24   AJHR 1862 E4.
25   AJHR 1867 A3.
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The Negation of Powerlessness:

Māori Feminism, a Perspective

Ripeka Evans

There is a void in our conceptual topography as Maori Women. The void has been created by the internalisation of powerlessness as a consequence of emergent power cliques which are a reflection of dominant power relations. In the clamour to fill the void of Mana Whenua, the quintessence of the Maori psyche - Mana Wairua maintains barely, by virtue of Mana Wahine.

He tau pai te tau	The year is good
He tau ora te tau	A year of well being A year of peace
He tau ngehe te tau	A year for women
He tau mo te wahine	We must seek that which will be of greatest benefit
Rapua he purapura e ora ai te iwi.	for people.

Ko tenei whakatauki, no Tawhiao mo tana Tuawahine - anei nga kupu, anei te timatanga o taku korero.

This whakatauki was quoted by Tawhiao in remembrance of the deeds of one of his Tuawahine who had ordered the slaying and skinning of her pet dogs so that the tribe could be fed and kept warm. It was a chivalrous act of a woman who sacrificed her treasures for the greater good. It was an act deserving of honour from no less than a King.

The background to preparing this paper has been nearly twenty years of involvement in political activism and Maori development. This paper is part of an ongoing effort to find some explanation for how and why we are responding to what is happening to us as a people. Further it looks at our own context and how we as indigenous people have been forced outward to bond with other indigenous peoples against the closing ranks of the power culture within. The paper analyses events and actions in women's political leadership, Maori economic development and broadcasting. It challenges the gatekeepers of Maori thinking within and outside of Maori society.

As a consequence of the debasement of our own culture there has been an erosion of our power and status as a people and as women. A void has been created and a new set of power relations has emerged. The new power relations are dominated by cliques which accommodate to political pragmatism and are largely a revision of Maori ideologies.

In this paper I want to look at the linkages between Mana Wahine, Mana Whenua and Mana Wairua.

MANA WHENUA
In a submission to the Waitangi Tribunal during the Muriwhenua Claim in 1987 Dame Mira Szaszy provided a thesis on the interrelatedness of women and land.[1] In it she analysed linguistically and literally the reproductive process and its parallels in Maori social groupings and organisation.

The reproductive process itself is the means of whakapapa and the foundation of Maori existence and endurance, hence the linkage between individuals - he tangata, whanau - the family or extended family and the birthing process, hapu - the sub-tribe and a state of pregnancy and iwi - the tribe and one's bones.

The critical link between women and tribal sustainability is self-evident and epitomised in the famous whakatauki "He Wahine, He Whenua - E Ora ai te Iwi" meaning "By Women and Land, People are sustained". However, one should not draw the conclusion that it is from the relationship between women and land alone that women derive their mana or status in

Maori society. If Mana Whenua is taken as a metaphoric and generic reference to resources, Maori women have inherent fights and status and, as such, an established basis from which to claim benefit.

In our early mythology the deeds of the Goddesses Mahuika, Muriranga-whenua, Hine Nui-Te-Po and Hine Ahu-One provide a blueprint for the feminine dimension of the divine. Hine Ahu-One in particular, the first being created was not only human and divine but also a woman. In waka descent stories, the deeds of Nga Tuawahine such as Kahutianui were recognised by virtue of their chiefly status. In her case the continuance of her chiefly line was further recognised by the naming of Ngati Kahu after her.

Mana Whenua is therefore the means by which political and inherited rights are underscored through legal recognition and economic development.

MANA WAHINE

In the context of this paper the term Mana Wahine signifies the process of self-determination by which we determine our social and cultural future and give effect to our status as tangata whenua - as Maori women. There is a link between Mana Wahine and Mana Tangata insofar as Mana Wahine denotes practices and procedures in exercise of self-determination which are peculiar to women. Such practices and procedures are collectively performed by women or as part of Maori social groupings or activities which contribute to the self-determination of Maori as Tangata Whenua.

MANA WAIRUA

Mana Wairua deals with our mental and spiritual well-being, the two waters of balance between negative and positive epitomised in a sense of belief in something greater than humanity. The destruction of Mana Wairua was a prerequisite to successful colonisation. It was replaced by Judeo-Christian beliefs and practices. The twin pillars of European society, the church and the family, provided the value system for establishing the state and the judiciary. Collectively, once the land wars were over, the church and European nuclear family, the state and judiciary, sought the destruction of Mana Whenua, Mana Tangata and Mana Wairua.

Of all the efforts to maintain our status as a people, it is Mana Wairua, that sustains Mana Wahine. The vesting of the continuance of people in women "te whare tapu o te tangata" - is really the only basis by which we can be assured of the ultimate persistence of Mana Wairua. Despite adopted and adapted spiritual practices and beliefs, the ancient and pluriform system of beliefs and values has been largely reduced to cultural dregs, so much so that now there is a belief amongst our own people that Judeo-Christian beliefs and teachings existed in Aotearoa before the missionaries came.

LEADERSHIP

In recent studies of Maori Leadership, Professor Ranginui Walker and Professor Hirini Mead[2] along with a group of kaumatua advisers to Te Puni Kokiri, defined leadership models and decision making. The studies were in response to the capture of leadership roles and resources by a recent wave of Maori leaders defined as "sub-altern". The study is a radical statement and yet it is not so radical when compared with the marae-based challenges issued to conservative Maori leadership about the Treaty of Waitangi in the 1970s and 1980s.

The study looks at Maori leaders who have featured in interaction with government. There is mention of Mahuika's thesis on women leaders in Ngati Porou.[3] However, from my own knowledge the Maori Women's Welfare League, Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa, Te Reo Maori and Nga Tamatoa are all organisations in which women played an important role. Of the thirty government and non-government organisations which are Maori by membership or task, three are known to be significantly controlled by women. The study is resoundingly androcentric. It is a disappointment in terms of Ranginui Walker's earlier work *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*,[4] in which there is distinct recognition of the role of Maori female leadership. In that respect it is a way that our men have come to adopt Pākeha values when analysing our own society.

On the issue of political leadership alone, it is not generally known that at least three Maori women signed the Treaty of Waitangi, but it is true. They were:

> Ereonora - the wife of Nopera Panakareao from Te Rarawa who was also of chiefly rank and was from Ngati Kahu.
> Topeora - of Ngati Toa and Raukawa descent. According to her iwi she was a niece of Te Rauparaha and also his military strategist. She was the General and he was her hatchet man. His escape from death was engineered by her - hence the famous haka "Ka Mate, Ka Mate".
> Te Rau o Te Rangi - of Te Whanau Wharekauri and Ngati Toa, she was a tupuna kuia who swam from Kapiti Island to the mainland with her baby strapped to her shoulders to warn her people of invaders from Kapiti.

Tania Rei has recorded a whakapapa of Maori women's political involvements since the Treaty focusing on the critical role which Maori women played in Kotahitanga and women's suffrage.

> In May 1893, a motion was put before Kotahitanga by Meri Mangakahia of Te Rarawa, on behalf of women seeking the fight to vote and to stand as members of Kotahitanga. In spite of not gaining these rights until 1897, Maori women organised themselves to tackle the problems they were experiencing…. Mangakahia's motion was also the catalyst for the formation of Nga Komiti Wahine, tribally based Maori women's Committees, throughout the country.[5]

Maori Women's Suffrage was not universally supported within Maori ranks. An alliance with the Women's Christian Temperance Union was required in order to get the vote for Maori women through. Maori women joined the Union in droves and were required to subcribe to the rules and regulations of the Union in return for the Union's support. The rules were an assortment of pious demands based on the Union's Eurocentric view of women and families, but the highest price extracted for their support was that Maori women should revoke the tradition of ta moko. I can think of no more fitting manner in which to celebrate suffrage than to begin again the tradition of ta moko.

Maori female leadership has changed as much as male leadership since the end of the second World War. The end of the War signalled a vastly different Maori society precipitated by the shift of Maori from rural areas to the cities. This move was led by Maori women who sought employment in the towns and cities while the men went off to War. It is said that a vacuum was created in Maori leadership as the result of the attraction of Maori men into the Maori Battalion during World War II. The efforts of the Battalion and the price they paid for "citizenship" of their own country have been recalled ad nauseam. However, I am not

satisfied that the Battalion did deplete the total Maori leadership potential. Even if the Second World War had not occurred, the shift to the urban areas was inevitable and with it a new type of social order was required. The emergence of Maori female leadership was the ultimate solution to the leadership vacuum.

The leadership which did emerge from the post-War era was largely through the Maori Women's Welfare League. The League was established in 1951 largely to facilitate the implementation of government social and economic policies arising from the changed social conditions. The League was established with the assistance of the Secretary for Maori Affairs, Rangi Royal, and for many years all administrative assistance for the League came from the Department of Maori Affairs. Until the establishment of the Maori Council in 1962, the League was the authoritative voice of Maori in dealing with government. And deal with government it did - across a vast array of social and economic issues.

The establishment of the Council saw the beginning of the dichotomy of power and development in Maori society, with the Council men moving politically to collaborate directly with conservative Pakeha political forces in order to establish a power clique which pushed the League and women's voices into the background.

With the exception of intermittent periods of inspired leadership from the League, and a more focused approach to social, welfare and educational issues from such Presidents as Mira Szaszy and Elizabeth Murchie, the League's visibility on high profile political issues became more by way of annual conference remits.

The emergence of the feminist movement in the 1970s coincided with the re-vitalisation of Maori protest focused on the Treaty of Waitangi, land and language.

MAORI FEMINISM

The Maori protest movement of the 1970s and 1980s was largely feminist-led. From the momentum created by the feminist movement and the land/language/Treaty protests, we forged a consciousness and dialect of Maori feminism. There was a distinct difference between what we called white feminism and Maori feminism. The difference lay in the fact that Maori feminism was grounded in the identity and creation of this country, grounded in the rivers, lakes, mountains, seas and forests, grounded in the war and peace between tribes and families, grounded in the whakapapa of generations of families, tribes, waka, Gods and Goddesses, grounded in notions and concepts of time and space that required reclamation, and if the price was a re-fashioning of Maori society than so be it.

We marched against our own people in order for the Treaty to be put back on the agenda. We marched in the hot sun along those sticky tar sealed roads as our people drove by on holiday - not just literally but in terms of consciousness they were on holiday, they just didn't want to know about the Treaty. The old people say that Waitangi is where the waters weep I used to wonder about the double innuendo as we braced ourselves each year for the yet another rebuke on our own marae.

We sang at the Pakuranga Rotary Club once, the only necks that weren't red in the gathering were mine, Donna Awatere's and Waka Nathan's. Donna had been invited to sing Schubert Leider. They had arranged a grand piano on the stage and welcomed us, inviting us to speak about Maori education and for Donna to sing. We spoke about Maori education and the Treaty and the room warmed up. Then we sang:

How much longer must we wait
for the fights that we should have
guaranteed us to Waitangi to our seafood and our land
and how long will you treat us as though we can be ignored
can't you see that we are angry
we are angry and we won't wait any longer

When we had finished and went out into the foyer to join the club for supper, Waka Nathan ignored us and the President of the Club thanked us for coming and proceeded to joke about how we should have sung a real song and could even have done the karanga. It wasn't so much the embarrassed ignorance that stuck in my mind as the idea that protest wasn't a real song and that karanga was the only legitimate form of Maori women's expression.

This kind of obsession continues to plague our own men and Pākeha people. The notion that female oratory should be restricted to rituals of encounter stems from a belief in a divine ordinance that the marae area belongs only to men. This notion pervades practices and procedures which are entrenched in non-marae situations. It is not just the debate about speaking rights on the marae which is the issue, but more the fuel which this powerful metaphor of restricted rights adds to Maori male hegemony - how it doubly oppresses and entrenches, how it silences and vaporises, how it extinguishes the collective voice of women.

There are two areas of Maori development which I wish to turn to now: Maori broadcasting and Maori economic development.

MAORI BROADCASTING

Maori broadcasting grew out of the struggle for the retention of the language. Some of the key advocates included Cathy Dewes and members of Te Reo Maori in Wellington and Nga Tamatoa in Auckland and Wellington. Broadcasting was seen as a means to achieving greater exposure of the language; education was the other means of achieving the language objective.

In the early days of petitions and protests outside Avalon Studios in Lower Hurt and Parliament Buildings, there were at times no kaumatua or kuia to support us. Our demands were so mediocre: "five minutes of Maori on television", but you would have thought we were asking for the moon. There was pushing and prodding, and finally a small number of men entered the holy grail and began making a few items and the odd whole programme about Maori issues. After another push for more programming, Television New Zealand established a Maori News Programme, "Te Karere", in 1983 followed by a Maori Programme Department in 1986. Meanwhile Radio New Zealand had expanded Maori radio reporting and sponsored the establishment of Aotearoa Radio.

Since 1988 there has been an unprecedented growth in the number of tribal and urban Maori radio stations; all severely limited by demographics, and the rule of the majority that the minority should have resources which reflect audience size and language programming. Coupled with the squeeze on resources is the lack of experienced Maori language broadcasters. Either way it is not an easy order to fin. When compared with the commercial expansion of mainstream broadcasting, Maori broadcasting is a drop in the ocean.

Mainstream broadcasting still tends to skirt around the edges of Maori issues and exposure. At one end of the scale the bland journalistic coverage of Maori issues continues to harden,

and to legitimate the attitudes of Eurocentric white New Zealanders; at the other end, the all pervasive Anglo-American culture that dominates our electronic literature serves to reinforce the notion that Maori is not a populist culture.

MAINSTREAM MEDIA COVERAGE

In my view there have been four phases of media coverage of Maori issues over the last twenty years. To a large extent these phases have reflected the state of Maori politics.

Through most of the sixties and the early seventies, Maori were a form of exotica, scarcely reported on at all. There was very little coverage and what coverage there was tended to be small, liberal, unsympathetic and absurdly condescending.

During the seventies, Maori affairs became a significant political issue and were much more reported. This period coincided with significant social, demographic and political changes in New Zealand and in Maori politics where a whole new generation of people, that the media called activists, came in and demanded to be heard. Maori activism in the 1970s put Maori affairs on the agenda. The political demands of Maori activism were in one sense treated seriously by the media but, in another, were totally manipulated by the then Prime Minister Muldoon's game of divide and conquer with the Knights and Dames of the Brown Table, playing their authority (largely Crown given) off against our perceived lack of authority.

By the end of the seventies there was a virtual bi-partisan consensus about Maori affairs on what one might describe as the battle of the slogans - Maori land, honour the Treaty, language in schools. The ideological battles had been waged and to some extent won. The massive military eviction of Bastion Point in 1978, which at the time felt like a miserable defeat, in fact became an asset for an as yet unsettled victory. Bastion Point will always stand as a monument to the defeat of the oppressive dictatorship of those Muldoon years.

The third phase in Maori affairs coverage began post-Springbok Tour 1981, when the demand for translating fulsome feelings into action subsequently translated into an important shift in ultraconservative Maori consciousness and, as a result, Maori media and mainstream media coverage shifted too.

The fourth and current phase of mainstream media coverage of Maori affairs has seen an increasing proportion of fundamentally unsympathetic material which is only offset by the Oasis of Maori media coverage Mana News.

In major national politics, with the exception of the big Treaty-based resource claims centred around three or four Maori leaders and their people, Maori affairs has become irrelevant again. There is a number of reasons for this irrelevance, and I want to canvass some of them. One of the effects of the creation of the Ministry of Maori Development and Maori units within government departments has been to take a lot of issues out of public debate, and to reduce the political heat on Ministers. I'm not debating whether Te Puni Kokiri and Treaty or Maori Units are a good thing or not, but the absence of this debate is cruelly affecting questions of funding, settlement and strategy.

I don't think, incidentally, that it's a bad thing that the tone of some of the reporting is critical and sometimes even cynical.

To question the Minister for Maori Affairs and his policies is not to attack Maori. To look critically at the structures of Maori organisations - such as Maori Trust Boards and other

Trusts and Incorporations, or at the performance of some Maori leaders, is not necessarily to be hostile to Maori interests. Sunlight can in fact be a very good disinfectant. This comment is particularly true of Ministers, bureaucracies and political organisations. However earnestly they believe they are doing their best, they are not themselves the clients.

In the mainstream media, there is very little discussion about Maori economic development. It is quite clear that a number of imagined solutions to Maori affairs are operating without any regard to the law of economics. We are sustaining communities in the far north, in Hokianga and other areas which are utterly dependent on technology, directly or indirectly (EFTPOS machines for benefit payments), where there is no real work, very little production, no economic base and little provision to plan for one. Now to be sure, the economies of doing so have to take into account the wider social costs of failing to do so, and are not to be taken as saying that Maori should follow the labour market; rather, simply, that this ought to be a subject which ought to be allowed to be discussed.

I have two fears here. First that what is occurring is accentuating dependency on government subsistence and subjugation to the government's will and, second, that one day the tap might turn off, leaving Maori in fact far worse off than they were.

Governments and bureaucracies remain addicted to the idea that the only legitimate Maori social groupings are the whanau, hapu and iwi. The administration of such groupings at local levels leads to an enormous overload of bureaucracy that ends up turning people off involvement. Some of the most bizarre executive decision making processes are used, when elsewhere they are entirely discredited.

The greatest neglect by mainstream broadcasting over the years has been the lack of coverage given to the role Maori women have played at both the practical and political levels in almost all programmes that have been successful. There are good reasons why Maori women play such an important role, but they are not often remarked on. There are also reasons why the media expects and assumes that men speak for Maori communities but they are not so good. The focus on men is due to the laziness of the media in relation to actually looking at the leadership structures of Maori communities.

A few of the people who have become prominent in Maori affairs have backgrounds that journalists simply will not talk about, of personal violence and violation particularly directed at Maori women. They have not had their credentials as representatives of Maori opinion scrutinised, but they retain status because the media gives them status and therefore gives them brokerage power in Maori affairs. There has been a silence about these issues essentially because many journalists have been unwilling to criticise personally - they have done neither Maori women nor journalism a service by doing this. It is a complex issue to deal with, but it should be dealt with - the whole community knows these cases, there is just a patent lack of volunteers to take up the story. A reluctance to write critical material in such fields may come from a well-meaning but mistaken idea that criticism doesn't help or might even make the problem worse. It may also come from fear of allegations of Maori bashing and further attacks from colleagues or politicians.

All too often we have a massive attitude problem, particularly if it's accompanied by demands that unpleasant truths be suppressed in order to shift the focus from change to maintenance of the status quo - a status quo that is quite disastrous for Maori women.

MAORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In 1986 I was part of the team which established the MANA Enterprise scheme. The scheme was introduced through a tribal delivery system and sought the establishment of small businesses in an effort to create employment opportunities for Maori.

When establishing the scheme we intended that the scheme should benefit Maori women and men, however when the funds were distributed at tribal or regional level the recipients followed the old boys' club pattern of distribution in the organisation.

In 1987, the then President of the Maori Women's Welfare League, Georgina Kirby, took up the issue of women's participation in the programme. The Past Presidents and current President of the League formed a Women's Development fund and began receiving and distributing funds to Maori women to establish or expand a business. Of the total $70 million provided to the MANA programme from 1987 to 1992, MWDF has received $1.3 million. 100% of the women's businesses funded in 1987 and 1988 continue to survive, and some are also expanding.

In 1986 the Federation of Maori Authorities was formed comprising the majority of Maori Trusts and Incorporations set up under the Maori Affairs Act. The Trusts and Incorporations have traditionally been land based and a recent estimate of their asset value was $666 million with term liabilities of $56 million. The Federation is unable to supply gender specific statistics about shareholding or management of the Trusts and Incorporation "save for the odd woman here and there".

The Maori Development Corporation, established in 1987, to promote Maori investment is owned 50/50 by government and Maori authorities; it acts both as an equity partner and as a broker of deals with Trusts, Incorporations, Consortiums and other businesses. There is one woman Director on the Corporation, and one woman Trustee on the Poutama Trust, which is wholly owned by the Corporation. There are no women Managers in the Corporation.

The Crown Forestry Rental Trust was established in 1989 as a result of the Crown forestry assets sales programme. The Trust was set up to hold land rentals until claims on land had been heard. Once the Claims had been heard, funds would be disbursed to successful claimants.

To date the Trust has invested approximately $40 million annually since 1989. Interest from the investment of funds is applied to the administration of the Trust, and research by claimants. With the exception of research funds disbursed to claimants, and the administration funds used for the Trust, the vast majority of the approximately $120 million of funds invested by the Trust remain locked up.

There is no gender-specific data available about Maori women stakeholders in Crown forests. There are no Maori women Trustees on the Rental Trust and, on the small administrative staff of the Trust, Maori women hold secretarial positions.

Settlement of Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries claims has delivered Maori a major stake in the fishing industry. Through the 1989 Pre Settlement deal, and the 1992 Post-Settlement deal, Maori will control 10% of the country's fishing quota, have a 50% share in the country's largest commercial fishing company and are guaranteed 20% of all new species quota.

Of the thirteen Commissioners on the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission, which was established to oversee the process of distribution of the benefits from the Settlement deals, two are women. During the violated process for the appointment of iwi mandated nominees to the Commission, there was an active collusion of Maori and non-Maori self interest which ensured that Maori women were blocked from appointment to the Commission.

WHO GETS THE BENEFITS

The assets and interests held by these organisations total in excess of $1 billion dollars. The power and decision making process of these organisations is in the hands of a small oligarchic menagerie of Maori men, politicians, bureaucrats and lawyers. Maori women are "on the outside looking in", and yet of all the Trusts and Incorporations I have ever dealt with the majority of shareholders are women.

In the waves that were created to break open the Treaty debate in the 1970s and 1980s, it was women who featured largely. Maori women university graduates have accounted for the majority of the marked increase in Maori university graduates. There is no system of guarantee of a place for Maori women within our own institutions, or within the new organisations which have evolved to manage our assets. Any talk of structural change sends some of our Maori men into a tail spin about "cultural correctness" and "making waves". There is high powered selective amnesia about just what it takes to make change.

WAITANGI TRIBUNAL CLAIM

Recently I participated in the presentation of a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal seeking a declaration about the exercise and recognition of the rangatiratanga of Maori women. The claimants include the Maori Women's Welfare League, all the past Presidents of the League, Lady Rose Henare, Mabel Waititi and Mrs Cooper from Ngati Hine and myself, Donna Awatere and Paparangi Reid.

The claim is the first of its kind to be placed before the Tribunal. We reminded the Tribunal at the presentation that there was a perception amongst our women that the claims and settlement process, and the Treaty debate, had been captured by resource issues. I am not saying that resource issues are not important, but the Tribunal needs to be mindful not to let the sexy issues eclipse issues of status. For me the claim is more than just about rangatiratanga, it goes to the heart of the matter of governance. It goes where no claim has gone before.

The outcomes and the remedies sought will no doubt be debated throughout and beyond the claim.

The circumstances giving rise to the claim are the cumulative effects of colonisation in one sense and, in another sense, a direct result of the Crown as the so-called Treaty partner establishing and controlling processes that ensure that Maori women do not share in the benefits of Maori development.

BEYOND THE NEGATION OF POWER

In the search for resolution of our dreams and visions as Maori women there is a need to address political, economic and social aspirations. Personally, I believe that the ultimate solution to the state of powerlessness amongst Maori women lies in political empowerment. The Chairman of the Waitangi Tribunal remarked recently: "there are few branches of the

law so mixed with power politics as that governing the standing of indigenous people." I would add to this that "there are so few branches of our own law as indigenous people so mixed with power politics as that regarding the standing of women."

For many years I have debated the issue of women speaking on the marae - amongst Maori women, with men, with the odd inquiring Pākeha and, more fruitfully, with many indigenous women. I have often wondered at times whether the exclusion from speaking on the marae has become a deeply internalised acceptance of powerlessness. If oppression is the negation of liberation, I wonder if Maori women are unwittingly entrapped in the negation of the negation - acquiescence in our own oppression? If we remember that speaking on the marae is a metaphor for our status and power relations in wider society, then if we ignore the need to speak out and to challenge, then we continue to acquiesce.

In the clamour to obtain resources, and to reinstate Mana Whenua, we must be careful that we don't one day look around to find an empty bag in our closet called Mana Wairua - our sacred essence as a people vanished, empty and in Te Puea's words "E tu moke mai ra."

Ripeka Evans

This paper was delivered on 10 August 1993 in the Auckland University Winter Lecture Series.

Endnotes:
1   Mira Szaszy, Oral Submission to the Waitangi Tribunal in Support of the Claim by Muriwhenua. Office of the Waitangi Tribunal, 1987.
2   Papers written for Te Puni Kokiri, Ministry of Maori Development (1993) were withdrawn by the Ministry, and Walker's paper has since been republished as: R. Walker, "Tradition and Change in Maori Leadership," Monograph no. 18. Research Unit for Maori Education, University of Auckland, 1993.
3   A. Mahuika, "The Female Leaders of Ngati Porou," MA Thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, 1979.
4   R. Walker, Ka Whawhai Tontt Matou: Struggle Without End, (Auckland: Penguin, 1990).
5   Tania Rei, Maori Women and the Vote, (Wellington: HUIA Publishers, 1993).

Māori Women:

Caught in the Contradictions of a Colonised Reality*

Annie Mikaere**

I. INTRODUCTION

It is often assumed that, according to tikanga Māori, leadership was primarily the domain of men and that men in Māori society exercised power over women. However, evidence abounds which refutes the notion that traditional Māori society attached greater significance to male roles than to female roles. This article begins with a discussion of the position of women in Māori society before colonisation. It then considers the position of women under English law, and examines the effects that law had on Māori women as a result of colonisation.

II. TIKANGA MĀORI AND MANA WAHINE

The roles of men and women in traditional Māori society can be understood only in the context of the Māori world view, which acknowledged the natural order of the universe, the interrelationship or whanaungatanga of all living things to one another and to the environment, and the over-arching principle of balance. Both men and women were essential parts in the collective whole, both formed part of the whakapapa that linked Māori people back to the beginning of the world, and women in particular played a key role in linking the past with the present and the future. The very survival of the whole was absolutely dependent upon everyone who made it up, and therefore each and every person within the group had his or her own intrinsic value. They were all a part of the collective; it was therefore a collective responsibility to see that their respective roles were valued and protected.

Māori cosmology abounds with stories of powerful women, some of whom have been given a contemporary face through the work of Robyn Kahukiwa and Patricia Grace.[1] The tales of Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga are particularly instructive as to the influential roles that women held. Maui acquires fire from his kuia, Mahuika. It is with the jawbone of his kuia, Muriranga-whenua, that he fishes up Te Ika a Maui (the North Island) and makes the patu with which to subdue Ra (the sun). And it is to his ancestress, Hine-nui-te-po, that he eventually succumbs when he fails in his quest to attain immortality.

Perhaps the most powerful indication that there was no hierarchy of sexes lies in Māori language, as both the personal pronouns (ia) and the possessive personal pronouns (tana/tona) are gender-neutral. The importance of women is also symbolised by language and concepts expressed through proverbs. Rose Pere has written on the association of positive concepts with females, pointing to the description of women as whare tangata (the house of humanity), the use of the word whenua to mean both land and afterbirth, and the use of the word hapu as meaning both pregnant and large kinship group.[2] Pere has pointed out that the common saying, "He wahine, he whenua, e ngaro ai te tangata" which is often interpreted as meaning "by women and land men are lost", also refers to the essential nourishing roles that women and land fulfil, without which humanity would be lost.[3] It should be remembered too that the earth is Papatuanuku, the ancestress of all Māori, and that land is of paramount significance to Māori socially, culturally, spiritually, politically

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and economically. Papatuanuku also played a key role in instructing her son, Tanemahuta, where to find the human element and how to make Hine-ahu-one so that humankind could be created.

Pere describes her childhood as being full of very positive female models, and how her elders set the example of men and women respecting and supporting each other, and working alongside one another. She considers her Māori ancestresses, prior to the impact of Christianity, to have been "extremely liberated" in comparison to her English ancestresses. She points out that Māori women were not regarded as chattels or possessions, that they retained their own names upon marriage, that their children were free to identify with the kinship group of either or both parents, that they dressed in similar garments to the men, and that conception was not associated with sin or child bearing with punishment and suffering but that these were seen to be uplifting and a normal part of life.[4]

Pere also points out that assault on a woman, be it sexual or otherwise, was regarded as extremely serious and could result in death or, almost as bad, in being declared "dead" by the community and ignored from then on.[5] Instances of abuse against women and children were regarded as whanau concerns and action would inevitably be taken against the perpetrator. Stephanie Milroy has noted:

> In pre-colonial Māori society a man's house was not his castle. The community intervened to prevent and punish violence against one's partner in a very straightforward way.[6]

Traditionally, therefore, the whanau was a woman's primary source of support. Her "marriage" did not entail a transferral of property from her father to her spouse. She remained a part of the whanau. Even if she went to live with her husband's whanau, she remained a part of her whanau, to whom her in-laws were responsible for her well-being. They were to ensure that she was well-treated and to support her. In cases where misconduct was shown, divorce was relatively simple so long as the correct procedures were followed. Divorce carried no stigma, and any issues as to custody and ongoing support of children were sorted out within the whanau context.

The absence of distinction between private and public domains in the context of family arrangements protected and affirmed women. Kuni Jenkins describes the interaction of a couple and their children with the rest of the whanau in the following terms:

> In her cultural role the Māori woman was part of a community. The home unit was part of the whole kainga. Grandmothers, aunts and other females and male elders were responsible for rearing the children of the kainga. The natural parents were not the sole care-givers. The routines of the whanau were such that couples could not be isolated to lead independent lifestyles. Their communal living required constant contact and interaction with other members of the tribe in a concerted effort to keep the affairs of the group buoyant and operational.[7]

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4   Supra note 2, at 56-57.
5   Ibid, 57.
6   Milroy, S "Domestic Violence: Legal Representation of Māori Women" (unpublished paper, 1994) 12.
7   Jenkins, K "Reflections on the status of Māori women" (unpublished paper, 1986) 12.

This form of social organisation ensured a degree of flexibility for women not possible within the confines of the nuclear family. The presence of so many care givers, and the expectation that they would assume much of the responsibility of child rearing, enabled women to perform a wide range of roles, including leadership roles.

Api Mahuika has written specifically on Māori women and leadership.[8] Noting the widely-held assumptions that Māori women did not fulfil leadership roles in traditional society, he goes on to show that, with regard to his iwi, such assumptions are inaccurate. His account is instructive, not just for the wealth of examples that he provides, but because of the way he gleans information about the role of women from waiata, haka, whakatauki, iwi histories and the naming of hapu and iwi. It is vital, for reasons that will be discussed later, that our attempts to build a picture of Māori society before the arrival of the first missionaries and settlers are based on Māori sources of information.

Māori culture was an oral culture. Waiata, haka, and whakatauki were therefore the primary means of transmitting knowledge, the vehicles through which ancient concepts and beliefs have been passed down to us today. That women played an important role in the maintenance and transmittal of iwi history and knowledge is clear from the numbers of waiata tawhito that have been composed by women. *Nga Moteatea*[9] is full of such waiata written by women, some of whom were clearly quite prolific composers. It seems entirely logical that those responsible for the physical survival and continuance of the iwi should also play a significant role in the survival of its history and therefore its identity.

The naming of hapu and whare tupuna after women is a clear indication of the significance of those women. There are many such instances across a wide range of iwi.[10] Iwi histories that have been handed down orally from generation to generation present a picture of a society where women and men featured in all aspects of life, and fulfilled all manner of roles. It is clear from such histories that Māori women occupied very important leadership positions in traditional society, positions of military, spiritual and political significance. Jenkins refers to a number of dominant Māori women whose stories have continued to influence later generations. She includes Wairaka, who is said to have saved the Mataatua canoe from floating out to sea; Hinemoa, who seized the initiative and swam across Lake Rotorua in order to be with Tutanekai; and the legendary Rongomai wahine of the Hawkes Bay area.[11] The feats of these women are recorded vividly in oral histories; the fact that waiata continue to be composed about them today is a reflection of their enduring power and influence.

The People of Many Peaks[12] gives some examples of women of mana who lived between the years 1769 and 1869. One woman who came to the attention of the earliest settlers as a leader was Hinematioro of Ngati Porou, whose mana was recognised from Poverty Bay to Hicks Bay. Another was Rangi Topeora, of Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa descent. She was a signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi, a powerful landowner, and a prolific composer of waiata. Her mother, Waitohi, was Te Rauparaha's sister, a leader in her own right and a known military strategist.[13] Heni Pore of Te Arawa[14] epitomises the adaptability required of Māori leaders during the latter half of the nineteenth century. She fought against the British

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8   "Leadership: Inherited and Achieved" in King, M (ed) *Te Ao Hurihuri* (1975) 86.

9   Ngata, A & Jones, P *Nga Moteatea* Part I (1928); Part II (1961); Part III (1970).

10   The hapu with which the writer is primarily affiliated, for example, bears the name of a woman, Pareraukawa.

11   Supra note 7, at 8-9.

12   Orange, C (ed) *The People of Many Peaks: the Māori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography,* Vol 1, 1769-1869 (1990).

13   Ibid, 13-14 (Hinematioro), 328-329 (Rangi Topeora), and 353-354 (Waitohi).

14   Rei, T *Māori Women and the Vote* (1993) 14.

troops in support of the Kingitanga during the 1860s; she also fought in the battle of Gate Pa at Tauranga in 1864. Along with her husband, she managed a hotel at Maketu for a time and was later a staunch supporter and member of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, becoming secretary of the Ohinemutu branch in 1896. She was also a licenced interpreter and was very involved in land and other social issues. As more is written about such women, a picture emerges of Māori women from all iwi performing leadership roles of all types, alongside the men.

III. THE STATUS OF WOMEN UNDER ENGLISH LAW

The position of women in English law was derived directly from their status in Roman law:

> The term [family] was invented by the Romans to denote a new social organism, whose head ruled over wife and children and a number of slaves, and was invested under Roman paternal power with rights of life and death over them.[15]

According to the English common law, the head of the family (the husband/father) was in control of the household, "women and children were chattels to be used and abused by the paterfamilias as he chose".[16]

As girls reached adulthood and married, they changed from being the property of their fathers to being the property of their husbands. Any property that a wife brought to a marriage was immediately vested in the husband, and he could do with it whatever he liked.[17] She either had no legal personality at all,[18] and simply existed to enable the legal person of the household to act effectively in the market,[19] or, at best, she was incapacitated, only a partial person.[20] Male ownership of the children meant that a mother had no rights whatsoever to her children. And a wife had virtually no legal means of ending the marriage in a way which would enable her to keep the children or to regain any former property or to get any upkeep from her ex-husband for herself or her children, no matter what the reason for the divorce.[21]

The vestiges of this common law approach have remained apparent in many aspects of New Zealand law. Until comparatively recently, the marriage ceremony concluded with the couple being pronounced "man and wife", he retaining his independent personality, she losing hers and being declared "in service" to him. The notion of illegitimacy and the law's condemnation of it were also reflective of common law principles, whereby a woman's reproductive powers could only be exercised in legal connection to a man, thereby creating property (children) for him. Until 1985, rape could not be perpetrated in New Zealand law by a husband against his wife.[22] This stemmed from the notion of the wife being his property. To the present day the frequent inequities in division of matrimonial property,[23] as well as the continued trivialisation by the law and law enforcement agencies of domestic violence,[24]

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15   Quoted in Scutt, J *Even in the Best of Homes* (1983) 9.
16   Ibid, 11.
17   Ibid, 12.
18   For an example of this view, see Blackstone, W *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1809), Book I, ch 5.
19   Naffine, N *Law and the Sexes: Explorations in Feminist Jurisprudence* (1990) 104.
20   Minow, M *Making All the Difference* (1990) 127-128.
21   Supra note 15, at 15-18.
22   As a result of the Crimes Amendment Act (No 3) 1985, it is now possible for a husband to be charged with the rape of his legal spouse (see s 128(4) of the Crimes Act 1961).
23   *Walsh v Walsh* (1984) 3 NZFLR 23 and *Haslam v Haslam* (1985) 3 NZFLR 545 are two Court of Appeal decisions which highlight the judicial undervaluing of a wife's contribution to the marriage partnership.
24   See Busch, R, Robertson, N and Lapsley, H *Protection From Family Violence: A Study of Protection Orders Under the Domestic Protection Act* (1992) and Busch, R and Robertson, N "I Didn't Know Just How Far You Could Fight: Contextualising the Bristol Inquiry" (1994) 2 *Waikato Law Review* 41.

reflect the extent to which common law attitudes about the role of women continue to pervade the legal system.

IV. THE IMPACT OF INTRODUCED LAW ON MĀORI WOMEN

When the missionaries and early settlers arrived in Aotearoa, they brought with them their culturally specific understandings of the role and status of women. Jenkins describes the conflict in values and the British reaction as follows:

> Western civilisation when it arrived on Aotearoa's shore, did not allow its womenfolk any power at all - they were merely chattels in some cases less worthy than the men's horses. What the colonizer found was a land of noble savages narrating ... stories of the wonder of women. Their myths and beliefs had to be reshaped and retold. The missionaries were hell-bent (heaven-bent) on destroying their pagan ways. Hence, in the re-telling of our myths, by Māori male informants to Pākeha male writers who lacked the understanding and significance of Māori cultural beliefs, Māori women find their mana wahine destroyed.[25]

It is posited that this re-telling of Māori cosmology led to a shift in emphasis, away from the powerful female influence in the stories and towards the male characters. The Maui stories became focused almost solely on the exploits of this male demi-god, his kuia being made nearly invisible in the process. The account of the creation of the first woman, Hine-ahu-one, metamorphosed into a tale uncannily similar to the biblical myth of Adam creating Eve from his rib; Tanemahuta became the main figure in the story with Papatuanuku's essential role virtually silenced. Smith has referred to the Māori women within these stories having been turned into "distant and passive old crones whose presence in the 'story' was to add interest to an otherwise male adventure".[26]

The female figures in Māori cosmology were not the only target for missionary zeal and redefinition at the hands of the settlers. Their paternalism also coloured their perceptions of the Māori women they found around them. Linda Smith notes:

> Māori women were perceived either in family terms as wives and children, or in sexual terms as easy partners. Women who had "chiefly" roles were considered the exception to the rule, not the norm... Māori women were considered attractive in the absence of a pool of white women. Their autonomy was interpreted as immorality and lack of discipline. Christianity reinforced these notions by spelling out rules of decorum and defining spaces (the home) for the carrying out of appropriate female activities.[27]

Aside from being regarded as the wives and children (the property) of Māori men, or potential bedmates for white men, Māori women were also sometimes regarded by the settlers as potential sources of land and economic security.

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25   Jenkins, K "Working paper on Maxi women and social policy" written for the Royal Commission of Social Policy and quoted in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy* (1988) Vol III, 161.

26   "Māori Women: Discourse, Projects and Mana Wahine" in Middleton, S & Jones, A (eds) *Women and Education in Aotearoa* 2 (1992) 34. Berys Heuer provides a classic example of the damaging effects of these male-centred reinterpretations of Māori creation stories in *Māori Women* (1972) 55: "Culturally, the role of women was made clear in the account of their creation. The first woman was formed out of a mound of earth and impregnated by her male creator with a life spirit. From this, woman was regarded as being a passive receptacle for the dominant life spirit".

27   Ibid, 48-49.

The concept of women as leaders and spokespersons for their whanau, hapu and iwi would have been beyond the comprehension of the settlers or the Crown representatives who were sent to negotiate the Treaty of Waitangi. They could only conceive of dealing with men: "Māori men were the ones with whom the colonisers negotiated, traded and treatied".[28] The fact that the Treaty was signed predominantly by men, sometimes pointed to as a reflection of pre-colonised Māori society's attitudes towards women, is more an indication of the influence of Christianity and the fact that those seeking signatories largely ignored the possibility of women signing. This approach has been recorded as having angered Māori women, thus leading the missionaries to allow some women to sign.[29] There were also occasions where Crown representatives refused to give in to pressure for women to be allowed to sign, probably losing potential male signatories as a result.[30] Thirteen women have so far been identified as having signed the Treaty[31] whereas it was once said that only three or four had done so. There may have been many more but because Māori names, like the language, are generally gender-neutral it is difficult to tell how many more women were involved. Over time, people have come to assume that they were all men. This is one area which requires a great deal more research.

One of the most damaging effects of colonisation for Māori women was the destruction of the whanau. It was clear right from the outset that Māori collectivism was philosophically at odds with the settler ethic of individualism. As Māori had their cultural and economic base wrested from them[32] and as they were ravaged by introduced diseases[33] their social structures were inevitably undermined. The disruption of Māori social organisation was no mere by-product of colonisation, but an integral part of the process. Destroying the principle of collectivism which ran through Māori society was stated to be one of the twin aims of the Native Land Act which had set up the Native Land Court in 1865, the other aim being to access Māori land for settlement.[34] Not only was the very concept of individual title to land destructive of collectivism,[35] but the massive land loss brought about by the workings of the Native Land Court[36] meant that, as the Māori population stabilised at a low point towards the end of the century and began to grow,[37] Māori found that they had insufficient land left to support themselves. Whanau were eventually forced to break into nuclear families and move to towns and cities in search of work.[38]

The Native Land Act 1909 declared Māori customary marriages to be valid for some purposes only and required Māori to undergo legal marriage ceremonies. These provisions, coupled with the parliamentary debates of the time,[39] signalled a renewed determination on the part of the state both to redefine and intrude into the whanau. The remoulding of

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28 Ibid, 49.
29 Orange, C *The Treaty of Waitangi* (1987) 90.
30 Idem, where it is noted that Major Bunbury refused to allow a Ngati Toa wahine rangatira to sign at Cloudy Bay. Her husband also refused to sign.
31 Rei, supra note 14, at 8-9.
32 First the land was taken through confiscations carried out pursuant to the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 and later via the operations of the Native Land Court, established by the Native Land Act 1865. Later, seas and waterways were taken through legislation beginning with the Oyster Fisheries Act 1867.
33 Pool, I *Te Iwi Māori: A New Zealand Population Past, Present and Projected* (1991) chapter 5.
34 These twin aims were spoken of by the Hon H Sewell, NZPD Vol 9, 1870: 361.
35 For an account of how the principle of collectivism was undermined by the law, see the *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Native Land Laws* (1891) AJHR, G-1, xi.
36 Simpson, T *Te Riri Pākeha: White Man's Anger* (1986) 168-173.
37 Supra note 33, at 101.
38 Ibid, 153-154. Pool refers to the migration of Māori workers, from rural areas to smaller centres such as Pukekohe, as having taken place throughout the first half of the twentieth century. However, the most significant urban migration took place in the decades immediately following the Second World War, being described as "perhaps the most rapid urbanward movement of a national population anywhere, at least until the end of the sixties" (ibid, 154).
39 The adoption provisions and parliamentary debates concerning them, discussed below, are further evidence of this desire to remould the whanau.

the whanau into a nuclear family arrangement had been on the missionary agenda since their arrival:

> Māori marriage was the despair of the missionaries. They made it a high priority for elimination and they preached hell-fire and brimstone to the sinful pagans who continued to practise it. They refused to accommodate or tolerate Māori marriage as being an alternative to their idea of the nuclear family and its demands on the colonial wife to be subservient, lacking in initiative and obedient to her husband. She had to prize highly her role of housewife and mother and believe it to be God's will… the Māori female had to be domiciled very quickly to the values of the new regime that had arrived to civilise her.[40]

The deliberate destruction of whanau and hapu structures and the forcing of Māori women away from their whanau and into the Pakeha model of the nuclear family left them vulnerable in a host of ways. They became dependent on their husbands as breadwinners, while they became increasingly isolated as care givers at home. Some women were expected to work both outside and in the home, as economic hardship required them to contribute financially while Christian values about what constituted a good wife and mother compelled them to maintain that role as well. Such values also meant that husbands became increasingly the head of the family, wives feeling obliged to remain with them no matter what.

The Church schools trained Māori girls to domesticity, to become good wives in the context of a nuclear family situation. Hukarere Protestant Girls' School was established in 1875 by the Bishop of Waiapu, William Williams, "with the thought of providing good Christian wives for the boys of Te Aute".[41] The denominational schools were actively discouraged from becoming too academically orientated, the Director of Education arguing in 1931 that the aim of Māori education should be to turn out boys to be good farmers and girls to be good farmers' wives.[42] In 1906 the Principal of Hukarere described the daily routine of the girls as covering all aspects of domestic work, including cooking, washing, ironing and mending clothes.[43] Judith Simon notes:

> Māori girls were thus being fitted, not only for manual labour but also to fulfil the subordinate domestic roles deemed, within European culture, as appropriate for females.[44]

However, attempts to set in place colleges for the specific purpose of giving Māori girls domestic training did not eventuate. The proposed colleges met with widespread Māori opposition on the basis that Māori girls should not be trained as servants.[45] Nevertheless, autobiographical accounts of Māori women indicate that some of them did take up employment in Pākeha households[46] while others found that their being Māori disqualified them from being hired.[47] Sandra Coney notes that Māori women moved into domestic positions in hotels and institutions in large numbers in the period following the Second World War,[48] this doubtless reflecting the urban migration that was taking place at that time.

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40 Supra note 7, at 12.
41 Barrington, JM *Māori Schools in a Changing Society* (1974) 164.
42 Strong, TB "The Problem of Educating the Māori" in Jackson, PM *Māori and Education: Or the Education of Natives in New Zealand and its Dependencies* (1931) 192. For a general discussion of how the schools were discouraged from focusing too much on academic subjects, see Barrington, ibid, chapter 7 and Simon, J "The Place of Schooling in Māori-Pākeha Relations" (Ph D Thesis, University of Auckland, 1990) chapter 4.
43 Supra note 40, at 176-177.
44 Supra note 42, at 100.
45 Coney, S "Māori women shun domestic service" in Coney, S *Standing in the Sunshine* (1993) 225.
46 Stirling, A and Salmond, A *Amiria* (1976) 32-3.
47 Edwards, M *Mihipeka: Early Years (*1990) 131.
48 Supra note 45.

V. ADOPTION: A SPECIFIC EXAMPLE

The aggressive application of adoption laws to Māori provide an insightful illustration of how the assimilationist policies of the coloniser have affected the heart of Māori society, the whanau, and of the effects on women in particular.

In New Zealand adoption grew out of the desire to encourage couples to care for destitute children by giving them the security of knowing that birth parents could not return to claim their children at a later time.[49] The process evolved to serve a range of purposes, and was based upon the following underlying common law premises concerning the family and the respective roles of men, women and children. To constitute a real family, a married couple should have children; what is more, a married couple deserved to have children. Children should not be raised outside of a "real family" situation, that is, two parents who were married. A woman's sexual activities should only be exercised with reference to a single man, within the context of marriage (and therefore owned by him). A woman's reproductive capabilities could only be legitimated if owned by a man in the context of marriage - hence the stigma of illegitimacy, from which the child had to be protected. Children were property, and could be owned by only one set of parents. It was therefore possible to substitute one set of owners (adoptive parents) for another set of owners (birth parents); so long as the issues of ownership were resolved finally, no other issues arose.[50]

Māori had no institution which paralleled adoption.[51] While it was relatively common for children to be given to someone other than their birth parents to be raised, there was no substitution of parents, no sense in which a mythical nuclear family had to be recreated. The child was born and remained a child of the whanau. The child had an absolute right to know his or her whakapapa. Reasons for giving a child to someone other than birth parents to raise included the strengthening of whanau structures through the securement of enduring bonds, benefiting couples without children, and providing relief for those under stress.[52] Most importantly, there was no expectation that such arrangements had to be permanent: "There is no property in children. Māori children know many homes, but still, one whanau".[53] And there was absolutely no stigma attached. If anything, whangai children were often considered especially fortunate. Pere, who was raised until the age of seven by her grandparents, refers to herself as "a grandchild who was truly blessed and loved".[54] Whangai children were generally regarded as special, often having been chosen by elders on the basis of their talents and their potential.[55]

Initially, Māori whangai arrangements had been recognised as valid adoptions by the law, although, from 1901, it became necessary to confirm such arrangements by order of the

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49   Rockel, J and Ryburn, M A *doption Today: Change and Choice in New 'Zealand* (1988) 7.
50   See especially Sweeney, M "Between Sorrow and Happy Endings: A New Paradigm of Adoption" (1990) (2) *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* 329; Shawyer, J *Death by Adoption* (1979); and Else, A A *Question of Adoption* (1991).
51   While it is common for the Māori concept of whangai to be paralleled with adoption, it is argued that the two concepts are so fundamentally different that they cannot and should not be spoken of as being similar in any way.
52   Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, *Puao-te-ata-tu* (1988), Appendix 22-23.
53   Ibid, 23.
54   Supra note 2, at 57.
55   For an illustration of such an arrangement, see Stirling, E and Salmond, A *Eruera: The Teachings of Māori Elder* (1980) 88-93; see also Pere, supra note 3, at 46.

Native Land Court so as to enable such matters as succession to land to be recognised.[56] Confirmation of the existence of such a relationship did not create the relationship, but merely acknowledged it. This changed, however, with the enactment of the Native Land Act 1909, which provided that, in order to create the legal relationship between adoptive parents and children, an order of the Native Land Court had to be granted.[57]

The Attorney-General of the time addressed the Legislative Council at length on the 1909 Bill. He considered that, while adoption had been an important feature with Māori, it was "growing less with the advance of the race". The Act was to prevent the adoption by Māori of Pakeha children, a prohibition which remained in force until 1955.[58] This, according to the Attorney-General, was necessary in view of the numbers of "indifferent European parents" and "heartless European mothers" who were abandoning their children or imposing upon the "generosity and goodness" of "good-hearted" Māori women who possessed a great deal of "human tenderness". The prohibition was considered necessary due to the fact that "owing to the condition some of the Māori people live in" the children were not "living in a way we should consider proper for European children". So strongly did Parliament feel about the undesirability of Māori raising European children that further legislation was passed to enable such children to be forcibly removed and placed in "industrial schools".[59]

What led such children to be given to Māori families is not clear, although it is known that some settler families gave children to cement ties with their neighbours.[60] It is also easy to imagine how difficult it might have been for any single Pakeha mother to keep and raise any children she had - and how Māori may well have been only too happy to take such a child in. The characterisation of Māori women as "earth mother" types who longed to do nothing else but care for other people's children, even if the standard of care was considered to be inferior, says much for the prevalent view of Māori women. The utter condemnation of the Pakeha who were giving their children to Māori women is also interesting. Clearly the notion of simply substituting one set of parents for another did not apply to Pakeha children when the adoptive parents were Māori! There may also have been the fear that Māori had not yet fully reconciled themselves to the nuclear family model, which was considered to be the only civilised family arrangement possible. Or perhaps it was felt that single Pakeha mothers were being allowed to get off too lightly by simply giving their children to Māori, who judged neither them nor their babies as "illegitimate".

From 1915 the law began moving towards closed adoption, restricting access to adoption records and information, but Māori were exempted from these requirements. Māori Land Court hearings remained open and details of Māori adoptions were published in both the *Māori Gazette* and the *New Zealand Gazette*. There was a clear understanding on the part of the judges that openness was a vital part of the Māori concept of adoption.[61]

However, the 1955 Adoption Act brought virtually *all* adoptions under a uniform scheme of closed adoption, to be administered by the Magistrates Courts. The only exception was where the child and at least one applicant were Māori (which at that time included only

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56   Native Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1901, s 50.
57   S 161.
58   The ban was imposed by s 164 of the Act. a section that was not reenacted in the 1955 Act.
59   All of the phrases quoted in this paragraph are taken from Dr Findlay's address on the Bill, NZPD Vol 148, 1909: 1275.
60   Supra note 52, at 23.
61   Else, supra note 50, at 179.

those who were "half-caste" or more):[62] such adoption could still go through the Māori Land Court process. Many Māori simply refused to participate and continued with informal arrangements but, in doing so, risked having their children removed by the Child Welfare Officers.[63]

The 1962 Adoption Amendment Act required *all* adoptions to go through the Magistrates Courts process. Strong sentiments of "one law for all" were expressed by the proponents of the amendment,[64] as opposed to arguments that equality was not the same thing as uniformity.[65] The Māori MPs objected strongly to the mainstreaming of adoptions, and were particularly critical of the Magistrates Courts for their refusal to grant adoption applications to aunties, uncles or grandparents, on the basis that the child was closely related to the adopters.[66] The Attorney-General made a point of rejecting the notion that older relatives should adopt children, instead praising young Pakeha couples who were prepared to adopt Māori babies.[67]

From 1962, therefore, there were three ways in which Māori children could be adopted. First, there was adoption through informal means, without the involvement of the courts or legal recognition. This continued to constitute the vast bulk of cases. Secondly, there was legal adoption, assisted by Māori welfare officers, who would generally try to ensure openness and to keep children within their kin group. A Māori welfare officer would typically become involved where the birth and adoptive parents either knew or were related to one another and sought their assistance in order to legalise a pre-agreed arrangement.

Problems arose through the third of these means, legal adoption facilitated by child welfare officers. These welfare officers were contacted by homes and hospitals when children became available for adoption. A common situation was where a single (and usually young) woman who was living in an urban environment, cut off from whanau and too whakama to contact them, had become pregnant. The birth mother was generally "worked on"[68] by the officers who argued that her child would be better off with a stable couple who could offer financial security. The shame associated with illegitimacy was emphasised to convince the woman that her whanau should not be informed and that she would be selfish to keep her child. She should look to marrying in the future, within which context further children would be acceptable. Children, like parents, could be replaced. There were also cases where the father of a child was Māori and the child was given up for closed adoption, either without the father's whanau ever knowing about it or even against the whanau's requests to be allowed to adopt the child.[69]

The matching up of Māori babies to adoptive parents was also of extreme concern. Baby girls who did not "look Māori" were relatively easy to place, but boys were more difficult and dark babies especially so. The authorities had a system of "matching for marginality"

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62   Māori Affairs Act 1953, s 2.
63   Else, supra note 50, at 18l.
64   One who took this view was the Attorney-General, Mr Hanan, who insisted that"... in this country we are two races but we are one people ... Despite the differences of our cultural heritage, for the future the rights of the children and the obligations of the parents should be identical" (Else, ibid, 183).
65   Eg Mr H Mason (Else, idem).
66   Ibid, 182.
67   Ibid, 183.
68   For some powerful examples of the pressure put on birth mothers generally to give up their babies for adoption, see Shawyer, supra note 50.
69   Else, supra note 50, at 188-189.

so that Māori babies would often end up with adoptive parents who were considered marginal in some way. Alternatively, such babies could end up in a series of foster homes or be institutionalised. All of this was considered preferable to living with the stigma of illegitimacy or the less civilised option of remaining within the whanau.[70]

Closed stranger adoption has been subjected to major criticism as its long term effects, particularly on birth mothers and their children, have been made apparent. Else has referred to it as "a social experiment with unknown and uninvestigated outcomes, conducted on a massive scale".[71] In that closed stranger adoption is based upon common law principles which relegate women and children to the status of men's property, it is hardly surprising that its consequences have been particularly devastating for women who have exercised their sexuality outside of marriage and for the products of such behaviour, their children.

But for Māori women and children, the ill-effects of closed stranger adoption are merely part of the complex web of oppression resulting from the aggressive assimilationism of the coloniser. The consequence of assimilationist policies (of which the imposition of closed stranger adoption was but one) has not simply been the perpetuation of the subordinate position of women and children, for such subordination was never a part of tikanga Māori. It has been the near-destruction of the Māori social fabric, and its replacement with a set of values and philosophies founded on white male supremacy.

For Māori, the expunging of lineage and irrevocable trading in parental rights[72] has meant even more than a lifetime of loss and grief for both birth mother and child; it has resulted in the loss of generations of irreplaceable taonga to the iwi concerned, and the stripping of cultural identity for the children involved and all their descendants. While the Adult Adoption Information Act 1985 enables contact to be made between birth mothers and their children under limited circumstances, there are nevertheless numerous Māori who will be unable to re-establish the connections under the legislation. They will remain lost to their iwi forever. And while there is now a greater degree of acceptance of openness in adoption practices, the law itself remains essentially unchanged.

Issues of openness aside, stranger adoption flouts tikanga Māori insofar as it entails a refusal to acknowledge the responsibilities and rights of whanau, hapu and iwi with respect to their children. Yet Else makes the chilling observation that stranger adoption is "back on the political agenda".[73] The law's denial of the Māori person's inextricable connections with his or her whanau, hapu and iwi has long been a matter of concern for Māori:

> The prevalence of Western opinion in influential areas of law ... affirms the view that the Māori is to be treated as an individual and that the communal orientation of Māoridom is without value or relevance.[74]

The law continues to allow only the birth parents to have input into any adoption decision, unless they are unmarried, in which case the father's consent is required only if he is a guardian or if the court deems it expedient to seek it.[75] Durie-Hall and Metge point out

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70   Ibid, 80, 190.
71   Ibid, 197. Damning criticism has also come from Shawyer, supra note 50, and from Sweeney, supra note 50.
72   Supra note 52, at 23.
73   Supra note 50, at 201. Else also has this to say: "Because adoption is seen as an almost free substitute for state assistance of all kinds, it tends to be promoted when New Right philosophies of maximum self reliance and minimal aid to families prevail" (at 202).
74   Supra note 52, at 22.
75   Adoption Act 1955, s 7.

that no other relative has a recognised right to be consulted or to make a counter claim.[76] As recently as 1989 the Family Court denied a paternal grandmother standing to apply for the revocation of an interim adoption order in respect of her grandchild, Inglis DCJ finding that she did not fairly come within the category of "any person" in section 12 of the Act. She was therefore denied even the opportunity of making the argument that her mokopuna should be raised within the whanau.[77] The following statement, made in 1986 by the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, encapsulates Māori dissatisfaction with the way in which adoption orders are made:

> We do not think cases involving Māori children ought to be determined solely in accordance with Western priorities, or that those who do not have a Māori experience or training, are adequate arbiters or advocates of the best interests of the Māori child. We do not think the law should be weighted to denying the facility of Māori communities to care for their own in the way they best know how.[78]

This observation applies beyond the issue of adoption, throwing down the challenge to the assimilationist policies of the past and present. Before Māori women and children can be restored to their rightful place within whanau, hapu and iwi, an essential first step is the restoration of Māori philosophies, Māori law. Control from those located outside the culture, well-intentioned or otherwise, is what has brought about the demise of the whanau and the consequent destruction of mana wahine. It is only through a transferral of power back to Māori that the difficult task of formulating strategies to deal with the destruction wrought by colonisation can begin. A vital part of that process will be the restoration of a belief system that recognises the intrinsic value of both men and women, encompassed within the framework of whanaungatanga.

THE POSITION OF MĀORI WOMEN TODAY

Colonisation is not a finite process; for Māori, there has been no end to it. It is not simply part of our recent past, nor does it merely inform our present. Colonisation is our present. This final section seeks to explore what it means to be a Māori woman in Aotearoa today. What is our colonised reality?

The last two decades have seen increased statutory mention of Treaty principles and Māori perspectives.[79] It might be argued therefore that, while the law has been both destructive and neglectful of Māori in the past, Māori perspectives are now being incorporated into the law and that this should surely lead to improvement. Such a view is simplistic, however, and ignores the context within which such measures were made and are implemented.

Throughout the 1970s Māori protest over Treaty grievances had been gathering momentum, as Jane Kelsey describes:

> Māori grievances over the theft of land, suppression of culture, dishonouring of the Treaty of Waitangi, and denial of economic and political self-determination had become the focus of high-profile protests, frequently led by powerful and articulate Māori women.[80]

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76 Durie-Hall, D and Metge, J "Kua Tutu te Puehu, Kia Mau" in Henaghan, M & Atkin, B (eds) *Family Law Policy in New Zealand* (1992) 54, 71.
77 Re Adoption 17/88 5 FRNZ 360, 371.
78 Supra note 52, at 24.
79 Eg Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, where the Treaty is referred to throughout the Act; State Owned Enterprises Act 1986, s 9; Long title to the Environment Act 1986; Conservation Act 1987, s 4; Māori Language Act 1987, Preamble; Resource Management Act 1991, s 8; Te Ture Whenua Māori (Māori Land) Act 1993, Preamble.
80 Kelsey, J Rolli Back the State: Privatisation of Power in Aotearoa/New Zealand (1993) 233.

These protests[81] forced Māori grievances into the public consciousness and into the arena of national politics. In both 1972 and 1984, Labour's election platform included a promise to deal with Treaty grievances. Such undertakings led to the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 and, during the years 1984-1987, to "the heyday of Treaty revival".[82] Kelsey notes how these years saw references to the Treaty become "commonplace in political, academic, legal, bureaucratic and, to some extent, public discourse".[83] Yet despite the proliferation of Treaty rhetoric, the legislative provisions incorporating Treaty principles were weakly drafted, and usually subject to interpretation by non-Māori decision-makers. And as the Treaty became increasingly unpopular with the electorate, it was gradually sidelined, both in legislation and in the courts.[84] Kelsey describes the dilemma of government (both Labour and, after 1990, National) as:

> how to convince sufficient Māori of their goodwill to relieve the pressure from the state while reassuring an increasingly insecure Pākeha population and economic interests that their economic and political power was secure.[85]

However, just as significant as the debate on the effectiveness or otherwise of the legislative provisions incorporating the Treaty, is the fact that Māori women as an identifiable group with particularly pressing needs have remained virtually invisible to the law. One example is the Health and Disability Services Act 1993, which implements the recent health reforms. Section 8 lists as one of the Crown's objectives in the delivery of health care " the special needs of Māori and other particular communities of people for those services". There is one Māori director on each of the fifteen Crown Health Enterprises; two of them are women. The health status of Māori women is acknowledged as being particularly poor,[86] and yet our needs remain legislatively invisible and we remain largely invisible in the significant bodies operating within the new structure.

Māori women remain largely absent from consultative and advisory bodies set up by the Crown to provide Māori input into decision-making processes. The continued determination to negotiate with Māori men while ignoring Māori women, 154 years after the signing of the Treaty, is the gravamen of a claim recently lodged against the Crown before the Waitangi Tribunal.[87] According to Denese Henare:

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81 For further discussion of the particular groups and events of the times, see Walker, R *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End* (1990) 209-236.

82 Supra note 80, at 235.

83 Idem.

84 For a careful analysis of the way in which the Labour government dealt with the incorporation of Treaty principles in a range of policy areas, and of the way the courts handled such provisions, see Kelsey, J *A Question of Honour: Labour and the Treaty 1984-1989* (1990); and Kelsey, supra note 80, chapter 21.

85 Supra note 80, at 243.

86 Health statistics in respect of Māori women have been gathered, published and commented on in Pomare, E and de Boer, G *Hauora - Māori Standards of Health: A Study of the Years* 1970-84 (1988); Ministry of Māori Development, Ka Awatea (1991) 36-41; Māori Women's Welfare League, R*apuora: Health and Māori Women* (1984); Spoonley, P *Racism and Ethnicity* (1988) 26-27; Broughton, J and Lawrence, M *Nga Wahine Māori me te Kai Paipa* (1993). Some of the negative indicators referred to by Broughton and Lawrence include the lung cancer death rate (3.6 times higher for Māori women than for non-Māori women), the likelihood of death from coronary heart disease (3.5 times higher for Māori women in the 25-44 year age group than for non-Māori women in that age group) and the likelihood of death from respiratory disease (4.6 times higher for Māori women in the 25-44 year age group than for non-Māori women) (ibid, 11).

87 Lodged in July 1993, the Particulars of Urgent Claim allege that " (the] Crown's actions and policies have been inconsistent with its obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi to protect and ensure the rangatiratanga of Māori women as individuals and members and leaders of tribes and families. These actions and policies have resulted in an undermining of Māori women so that their status as rangatira has been expropriated due to the Crown's failure to accord Māori women status and power within the political, social and economic structures it has created" (para (h).

Māori women [have seen] that injustice and said to each other, "... There's something wrong with the way the Crown continues to perpetuate this attitude of no value in Māori women"[88]

Such dismissiveness on the part of the Crown does little to affirm Māori women at a time when the pace of economic change has impacted on Māori with extreme harshness.[89] Many Māori women are forced to work both outside and in the home, while others are not so fortunate as to find paid employment at all. Often isolated from the support of whanau, both physically and culturally, Māori women are particularly vulnerable to overwork, ill-health, and domestic violence. And public characterisation of these problems is frequently unhelpful, viewed through the simplistic, distorting lens of racism.

An illustration of such distortion is provided by a comparison of the popular perception of two successful films that have come out of the New Zealand film industry over the last two years. "The Piano" is the story of a mute Scottish woman with a daughter who is sent by her father to Aotearoa/New Zealand to marry an early settler. Against a backdrop of breath-taking scenery, she is subjected to mental cruelty as well as physical and sexual abuse. Her husband sells her piano, her only means of communication and the one thing aside from her daughter that she cares passionately about, to the neighbour for a piece of land. The neighbour acquires the piano in the knowledge that she wants it back desperately and informs her that she can buy it back from him with sexual favours. When he eventually decides that he can no longer require such terms, he returns the piano without full "payment" (proving that abusers are basically decent men), whereupon she begins to spend time with him of her own accord (proving, apparently, that women really do mean "yes" when they say "no"). Her husband, upon discovering this liaison, punishes her by cutting off her finger with an axe.

"Once Were Warriors" is a gritty film about an urbanised Māori nuclear family for whom unemployment, alcohol, crime, poverty, domestic violence and tragedy are features of daily life. The husband is a heavy drinker and physically violent, both in and outside the home. The eldest son joins a gang, another is taken into care after getting into trouble with the law. The eldest daughter is raped and commits suicide. There is absolutely nothing of beauty in this film, no pretty scenery, no stunning cinematography. It is harsh and brutal.

It is extraordinary that the two films have been so widely regarded as having nothing in common, other than their phenomenal success. In fact, while very differently packaged, the two films have a great deal in common. Both perpetate stereotypical views of Māori. "The Piano" portrays Māori men as child-like but strong, useful for carrying the piano over impossible terrain and assisting with fencing, but otherwise to be merely tolerated. "Once were Warriors" also portrays Māori men as child like, inherently violent and unable to cope with the pressures of urbanisation through any means other than their fists. Both films are about very strong women struggling to make their way within the context of the nuclear family and common law expectations about the roles of men and women within it. Both films are harrowing tales of abuse.

However, only one is a tale of hope. The woman in 'Once Were Warriors" is able to leave her abuser, reject the nuclear family model and return to the safety of her whanau; the best available option for the woman in "The Piano" is to leave the abuser who physically mutilated

88 Henare, D "Carrying the Burden of Arguing the Treaty" in Ihimaera, W (ed) *Vision Aotearoa: Kaupapa New Zealand* (1994) 126.
89 Kelsey, supra note 80, at 339-343.

her for the one who subjected her to sexual abuse, to move from being the property of one to belonging to the other. Return to Scotland to the father who had clearly married her off as something of a liability is not an option. Even if it were, she would simply revert to being his property, liable at any moment to be traded to yet another man in marriage.

The vast majority of viewers and reviewers seem not to have seen these particular points of similarity and difference between the two films. "The Piano", a film reflecting the coloniser's racism and entrenched tradition of oppression of women, is transformed in the public eye into an erotic love story set in beautiful nineteenth century New Zealand. "Once Were Warriors", a film which reveals the devastating effects of colonisation on some Māori, particularly some Māori women, is primarily perceived as reinforcing the stereotypical views about the violence of Māori men.[90] That the Māori woman in "Once Were Warriors" is struggling inside the oppressive family framework that the settler woman had to deal with over a century and a half before in "The Piano", is a powerful indication of the destructive impact that common law principles of family have always had on Pakeha women and now, as a result of colonisation, on Māori women too.

In view of the fact that women, both Māori and Pakeha, must now deal with the gender inequality perpetuated under Pakeha law, it may be assumed that Māori women's interests would be best served by joining forces with Pākeha feminists. Linda Smith concedes that the feminist struggle is relevant for all women in Aotearoa/New Zealand.[91] However, she goes on to observe that " [o]ur rage as an oppressed group is directed at dominant white structures which sit over us, and so encompasses white women as much as white men".[92] And Leah Whiu expresses the dilemma of forming an alliance with Pakeha feminists with absolute clarity: "What affinity can we share with white women if they refuse to acknowledge and take responsibility for their colonialism?"[93] She points out to these women:

> It seems to me that my struggle necessarily takes account of your struggle. I can't ignore patriarchy in my struggle. Yet you can and do ignore the "colour" of patriarchy, the culture-specificity of patriarchy. And in so doing you ignore me.[94]

This is not to suggest that Pakeha feminists have nothing to offer Māori women in our struggle against patriarchy and colonialism. So long as they resist the temptation to define Māori culture and practices in terms of their own culture-specific understandings, and accept their responsibilities as a relatively privileged group (relative to Māori women that is) to promote changes sought by Māori women, their insights into the workings of white patriarchy may well be of use to Māori women. This commonality of interest should not, however, disguise the differences in experience. Māori women's interests are, in the end, our own:

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90   Irihapeti Ramsden has this to say about such stereotypes: "What does the warrior imagery achieve for us? It does validate the colonial takeover and sustains it. It also reinforces the symbolism of Māori as an aggressive people, randomly violent and savage and fulfils the expectation of those behaviours in television programmes such as *Crimewatch*. It has the converse effect of making non-Māori appear rational, dispassionate and civilised" ("Māori Policy, Māori and Government Objectives", address to the Hui Whakapumau: Māori Development Conference (August 1994) 9). She also observes that: "An analysis of the normal annual activities of any precontact Māori communities would probably reveal that people were more heavily involved in gardening, food preservation, the production of complex technical and art forms, and making and rearing babies, than in conflict ... It would not have fitted the Victorian world view to report that they had invaded a country of artists, agriculturalists, astronomers, lovers and parents who had fought to retain their precious things" (at 10-11).
91   Supranote26,at 47.
92   Ibid, 48.
93   Whiu, L "A Māori Woman's Experience of Feminist Legal Education in Aotearoa" (1994) 2 *Waikato Law Review* 161, 164.
94   Ibid, 168.

> Our struggle as Māori women is our own struggle. To lose control of that struggle is to lose control of our lives. We are not in a position therefore to simply endorse or graft on to the projects of white women. We have to develop according to the reality and logic of our lives.[95]

Perhaps the most debilitating legacy of colonisation for Māori women is the effect it has had on our perceptions of ourselves. Earlier in this article, examples were given of the sorts of leadership roles that women had performed traditionally. It is clear that female leadership roles did not end with colonisation. Māori women were active in Te Kotahitanga and the Women's Christian Temperance Union.[96] And during this century there have been countless Māori women who have come forward to take the lead in difficult times. Henare has pointed out that:

> if you look at the work over the last twenty years in terms of the contention for the treaty, language and social issues, Māori women have been at the forefront.[97]

And for every woman who has become a national figure, there are countless others who are considered leaders at the iwi or hapu level.[98]

This raises a vital question: with this wealth of historical evidence showing clearly the leadership roles that Māori women have performed over time, why has it become so common for people to assume that leadership in Māori society is traditionally a male preserve and that female roles are considered to be of less value than male roles? No matter how numerous they have been, how diverse their skills and fields of leadership, and how wide-ranging their iwi affiliations, for some reason the achievements of these women have been marginalised as being "exceptions to the rule", the rule being that only men could be leaders. The facts give the lie to any such rule of male leadership, relegating it to the category of yet another stereotype. As with any stereotype, it is unfounded. And its potential to become a self-perpetuating truth makes it extremely harmful.

It is contended that these changes in perception of the role of women have come about as a direct result of colonisation. With the deliberate destruction of traditional Māori philosophies and values and the attempted replacement of them with those of the missionaries and the settlers, Māori have been "caught in the contradictions of a colonised reality".[99] We are not alone in this. Aroha Mead recently made the following observation:

> [t]he sexism which has occurred in Māori society originates more from colonisation than heritage, and it is a problem as common in international indigenous societies as is alienation of lands and resources. Māori leadership has got to work this through and de-programme all that does not rightfully belong within our Iwi histories.

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95 Smith, supra note 26, at 48.
96 Rei, supra note 14. Te Kotahitanga was the Māori Parliament established in 1892.
97 Henare, supra note 88, at 126. Examples include such women as Te Puea Herangi, Whina Cooper, Tuaiwa Rickard, Nganeko Minhinnick and Mira Szaszy.
98 In 1993, Nga Kaiwhakamarama I Nga Ture conducted a poll amongst Māori to find out who they considered to be Māori leaders. The responses indicated that, for most Māori, leadership is located firmly at the hapu and whanau level (62% of those named were leaders at hapu/marae level or hapu spokespersons at iwi level), with only three commonly recognised national Māori leaders gaining a significant degree of recognition (over 10%) outside their iwi borders. They were Professor Mason Durie, Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu, and Dame Mira Szaszy.
99 Smith, supra note 26, at 48.

Māori women, as we all know, are the backbone of Māori society and that isn't only because of our ability to bear children. It is unfair, soul destroying and a tragic waste of much needed skill, energy and commitment, to continue to deny Māori women their rightful place in Iwi/Māori decision making.[100]

The challenge for Māori, women and men, is to rediscover and reassert tikanga Māori within our own whanau, and to understand that an existence where men have power and authority over women and children is not in accordance with tikanga Māori. Such an existence stems instead from an ancient common law tradition which has been imposed upon us, a tradition with which we have no affinity and which we have every reason to reject.

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS:

haka	chant, the performance of which achieves collective preparedness and unity of purpose
hapu	extended kin group, consisting of many whanau
iwi	people; descent group, consisting of many hapu
kainga	community
kuia	elderly female relative; elderly woman; ancestress
mana	prestige; standing
mana wahine	women's status
mokopuna	grandchild; descendant
tikanga Māori	Māori law; Māori custom; Māori philosophies
waiata	song
waiata tawhito	chants recording iwi histories and knowledge
whakama	ashamed
whakapapa	genealogy
whakatauki	proverb
whanau	kin group
whare tupuna	ancestral house; focal point for hapu meetings and event

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100 "Maori Leadership", address to the Hui Whakapumau: Maori Development Conference (August 1994) 3-4.

What Counts as Difference and what Differences Count:

Gender, Race and the Politics of Difference

Patricia Johnston - Ngāi Te Rangi, Ngāti Pikiao, Ngāti Whakaue
Leonie Pihama - Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Mahanga

The difficulty of defining a politics of difference is the difficulty of bringing together an assortment of ideas and beliefs about what 'difference' is. It seems that the debates about difference are as controversial as they are numerous, because the notion of difference is political. How difference is constructed, how it is defined and how it is used in given situations is both contested and challenged. Predominantly, however, difference is often employed in contexts which serve to uphold the interests of groups and individuals - that is, dominant groups and individuals over 'others'.

This chapter will discuss two positions in relation to the notion of difference. In the first part of this chapter, *what counts as difference* will be distinguished from the second position of *what differences count.*

The first position locates the debate of difference within an international context while also addressing the notion of difference in New Zealand. *What counts as difference* for us as Māori women are those differences which are defined in New Zealand by the dominant group, Pākehā, and which have attracted an oppressive character. Historically, and unfortunately in contemporary times as well, Māori women are constructed in oppositional localities of inferiority which do not serve our interests. We recognise the complexities of these constructions in that our position is not just defined in terms of dualities associated with Pākehā men, but also in terms of the dualities associated with Pākehā women and Māori men.

The second position of difference - that is, *what differences count* - relocates Māori women from a site which is marginal and peripheral to one of centrality. From this position, the experiences of Māori women are viewed as central to any form of analysis of our location within Aotearoa. It will be argued that Māori women's discourse of difference is framed within cultural constructions.

WHAT COUNTS AS 'DIFFERENCE'

Difference has been constructed in ways which set up groups and individuals in oppositional contrasts to each other. The significance of difference has been examined widely in international literature, and while we will touch on some of these constructions, these are merely the tip of the iceberg in relation to what actually exists 'out there'.

There are a variety of views about what 'difference' is and how it is defined. Nicholas Burbules and Suzanne Rice (1991) make these points in relation to the difference debate. Using Saussurian linguistics as their example, they propose that it is the difference between two 'signifiers' that allows them to serve as different. An O and a Q demonstrate that the only difference between these letters is that one letter possesses a small mark which the other does not. In the English language, the existence of this mark is significant, but if the same mark was added, say, as a flourish at the end of a word written in cursive script, it may not constitute a significant difference at all. The difference would also not matter for those who do not read the English language. Difference is therefore arbitrary and meaningless in relation to itself until there are signifiers to determine what that difference is in the first place. The point is that what difference means - that is, what counts as difference - is only significant in a system where such differences matter.

Jacques Derrida has coined the term *differance* to identify what he calls the 'different sort of differences'. Differance, however, is not constructed in terms of differences as oppositions, as is usually the case, but in relation to how differences are related to each

other. '[Differance] is a structure and a movement no longer conceivable on the basis of the opposition presence/ absence. Differance is the systematic play of difference, of the traces of difference, of the spacing by means of which elements are related to each other' (Derrida in Burbules and Rice, 1991: 400). Derrida makes two points on this. Firstly, that difference is often constructed in terms of dualities, without any understanding of how those dualities operate in relation to each other. Secondly, difference is also closely associated with the absences that groups and individuals are purported to have. Let us examine these points more closely.

On the basis of perceived racial characteristics, Māori are often seen to possess particular traits which are translated to mean deviancy. The assignment of Māori to a 'racial category' labelled as Māori is one which our court system continuously practises, regardless of whether 'blood-ties' actually exist and regardless of whether a person considers themselves to be Māori or not. A number of years ago an interesting incident happened to a friend of mine, when he was arrested for being asleep in a bar. He related how during the processing period the arresting officer listed him as Caucasian because of his blond hair and blue eyes. When he gave his name, however, Caucasian was crossed out and Māori was pencilled in. The notion of *differance* as proposed by Derrida would challenge the external and formal assignment of persons to membership of a sociological category or position in the social structure by virtue of some characteristic that they might possess. In this instance, the assignment of Caucasian to Māori was made on the basis of perceived 'racial' characteristics - that is, it is Māori who commit crimes in New Zealand. *Difference* would recognise the application of identification by individuals to a group, and all that it signifies to the subject. The point is that a theory of difference that identifies from the 'outside' and attempts to classify people through perceived differences must fail from the view of *differance* because it excludes the active processes of group identification. What Derrida maintains is that while difference may recognise the considerable number of differences between, for example, men and women and Pākehā and Māori, it is *differance* that unravels when the differences matter.

Iris Marion Young also uses a useful theoretical position in relation to defining difference. Young explores the position of group differences as 'absolute otherness, mutual exclusion and categorical opposition'. She comments that the:

> . . . meaning of difference submits to the logic of identity. One group occupies the position of norm, against which all others are measured. The attempt to reduce all persons to the unity of common measure constructs as deviant those whose attributes differ from the group-specific attributes implicitly presumed in the norm. The drive to unify the particularity and multiplicity of practices, cultural symbols, and ways of relating in clear and distinct categories turns difference into exclusion. (1990: 168)

> Let us examine this comment more fully in relation to identity and other.

IDENTITY AND OTHER

The recognition of difference is to highlight two dichotomies: an identity of oneself in relation to the identity of an Other. Young addresses the notion of Other in relation to positions of dominance, subordination and oppression through the formulation of a 'self'and thus a 'self identity'. She further outlines that where the social relations of groups is one of privilege and oppression, Otherness furthers the exclusion of oppressed groups because the privileged

groups are neutral, and exhibit free, spontaneous and weighty subjectivity. On the other hand, dominated groups are limited, imprisoned in a given set of possibilities. By virtue of the characteristics the dominated group is alleged to have by nature, the dominant ideologies allege that those group members have specific dispositions that suit them for some activities and not others. Using its own values, experiences and culture as standards, the dominant group measures the Others and finds them lacking, as excluded from and/ or complementary to themselves. Group difference as Otherness thus usually generates dichotomies of mind and body, reason and emotion, civilised and primitive, developed and underdeveloped (Young, 1992: 13).

Young's example for gender highlights the position of difference as Otherness. The classifications between men and women are based on the superior/inferior hierarchy, emphasising the mind-body dichotomy in which women are seen as the Other Group. Josette Feral (1980) takes this position one step further and suggests that women do not merely become the Other, but become *his* Other, his Unconsciousness, and end up getting caught in the endless and enduring circle of *his* representation.

The point which both Young and Feral are making is that women are portrayed not only in opposing positions from men, but also in positions which men are not. 'Men are rational, women emotional, men are rule-bound contractors, women are caretakers, men are right-brainers, women are left-brainers (Young, 1992: 13), so on and so on. These dichotomies have traditionally helped to legitimise the exclusion of women from privileged male places.

Michele Barrett also examines the concept of Other in regard to the feminist debate. She identifies two categories which women occupy. The first is as a group in contrast to men - what she refers to as the 'straightforward sexual difference' (1989: 38). Within this differentiation is a body of language, culture and 'symbolic' order which privileges masculinity and therefore men. Barrett, however, rejects this classification because it is based in the paradigm of difference between men and women as groups rather than the differences among women as a group (the second of her two categorical distinctions).

Alison Jones does not reject the first construction but points out that women being 'different' from men was in fact a construction designed by men themselves - the same idea which Josette Feral supports. What has changed, however, is the notion of what that difference actually means.

> Radical feminists did not reject the idea of our difference-from-men as fundamental. What we did was change the meaning of our difference. We inverted the usual dualism which posited man as superior and central, and women as inferior and marginal. Women were still what men were not (we were nurturing, they were aggressive), but what we saw as our qualities and knowledge were seen positively. (Jones 1990: 88)

Jones, like Barrett, also focuses on the differences between women as a group. The differences in this category are explained in terms of opposing frameworks and dichotomies for women: i.e., lesbian/heterosexual; working class/middle class; Māori/Pākehā - dichotomies which created many problems for the feminist movement because women were no longer portrayed as a single unified group. Barrett relates that the achievement of this type of analysis is that it criticises and deconstructs the 'unified subject whose appearance of universality disguised a constitution constructed specifically around the subjectivity

characteristics of the white, bourgeois man' (1989: 43). This exploration includes rethinking through some of the old explanatory concepts - such as women, oppression and patriarchy - because such concepts are considered too totalising, 'glossing over the complexity, fragmentation and unevenness of how power works, as well as avoiding the diversity and complexity amongst and within women' (Jones, 1990: 91). Christine Di Stefano points out that this diversity simultaneously upholds and deconstructs the notion of difference and gender, but in terms that cast suspicion on difference as an artefact of the very system of domination to which it is opposed. While this strategy has appeal theoretically, it is a strategy that is also complex and unnerving, inhabiting a constantly shifting ground of emerging and dissolving differences (1990: 67-68).

The difficulties experienced between women as groups resulted in Jones outlining a third approach to the notion of women and difference - the approach of difference within women (as individuals). She states:

> While I am not altogether sure it is a 'better approach' a new 'postmodern' feminism is developing which amongst other things, represents an attempt to rethink difference; to give new meanings to the terms which feminism has traditionally struggled with; to explore and construct new feminist discourses. (1990: 90)

This includes the understanding that 'women' or the 'feminine' is understood in terms of masculine (other) and 'in terms of difference within itself as we experience a fragmented, contradictory and multiple set of possibilities and limitations as women' (ibid.: 91). Jones's example of an old Māori kuia readily discloses some of the possibilities and limitations. A Māori woman may be positioned both as powerful and authoritative as a kuia or kaiako within her own community as well as relatively powerless and with little status as an elderly working-class woman in the mainstream market economy (ibid.: 92). In this particular example, however, we would never consider a kuia as being anything else but powerful and authoritative, regardless of the context in which she is located. What this point serves to illustrate is that 'what counts as difference' is very much defined from a particular position, a particular viewpoint. Although the meaning of 'women' shifts to take on board different meanings in different situations, those meanings and the positions women occupy are determined not only by the context individuals and groups find themselves in but also by who is making that definition in the first place.

Iris Young further locates the 'Other' debate within the relationship of racism and colonialism - contexts which operate through oppression, and which occur in similar oppositional and exclusive conditions as those relating to gender. Young states:

> The privileged and dominating group defines its own positive worth by negatively valuing the Others and projecting onto them as an essence of nature, attributes of evil, filth, bodily matter; these oppositions legitimate the dehumanised use of the despised group as sweated labour and domestic servants, while the dominant group reserves for itself the leisure, refined surroundings, and high culture that mark civilisation. (1992: 13-14)

Other is portrayed as savage, lowly and barbaric, occupying positions of 'low culture' and being uncivilised, while the portrayal of the dominant group is an oppositional position - one of civility, 'high-culture', superiority. What Young states is that not only does difference

conceive social groups as mutually exclusive, categorically opposed and in terms of Other; it also conceives them in terms of superiority and inferiority. This conception also means that each group has its own nature and shares no attributes with those defined as Other - a problematic idea because worthwhile and 'valued' characteristics are attributed as belonging solely to the dominant group. In the New Zealand context, the defining of 'difference' and 'race' has played a major part in the ways in which Māori have been constructed and treated according to their perceived differences. Young states that the oppressive nature of difference constructs one group as 'normal' and the other group as deviant. The position of deviancy is one in which Māori have particularly been defined.

Māori are measured against criteria which are both set up by and support Pākehā interests. The unequal position of Māori in New Zealand society is posited as being based upon the differences between Māori and Pākehā and not on a structural system which supports Pākehā interests and aspirations, Significantly, ideas about 'race' had an impact on the resultant positioning of Māori as subordinate.

The term race has varied meanings and is defined differently within differing contexts, so that its definition is also contested and challenged. The use of the term 'race' in the New Zealand context is problematic, because as David Pearson points out, the meaning of race has changed considerably over time. From being a term used to classify plants, animals and persons of common lineage (1990: 7), race has now been constructed to include ideas which describe the biological transmission of 'physical/psychological and cultural characteristics' (Wetherell and Potter, 1992: 17). This latter construction has also contributed to and supported racial hierarchies which endorse the supremacy of particular races over others. Furthermore, the differences between races are seen as unchangeable, although such differences are social constructions:

> . . . . ideology works in the main by confusing the social with the natural, mistaking surface appearances, skin colour and other physical characteristics, the phenomenal forms of social relations, for the essential underlying causes. Thus New Zealand's intergroup problems [are seen as] natural racial differences, whereas the *real* causes of current conflicts lie in the economic and political organization of New Zealand society. (ibid.: 17)

Misconceptions about race, about the physical differences, and the psychological and cultural characteristics which presumably affect the performance of particular groups, are still widely based. Māori are constructed in opposition to Pākehā, and predominantly in deviant and inferior positions. However, we can see that the construction of dualities is very much a part of the duality associated with dominance and subordination - what Martin Marger (1985) refers to as 'power-conflicts'. Power-conflicts are about the unequal power associated with the position of subordinate groups. In this relationship, subordinate groups pursue their interests from a position of 'power deficiency'; therefore, their interests and aspirations are generally ignored or reinterpreted according to the beliefs of the dominant group. The differences between Māori and Pākehā have been exacerbated by the fact that Pākehā have control over the context for which changes can take place for Māori. Difference is defined for Māori not in terms of unequal power-relations, or unequal social, economic and political positions, but in terms which emphasise only Māori language and culture.

What has come to count as 'difference' are those differences which distinguish Māori from Pākehā; i.e., the physical characteristics, as well as the language and culture. Although the

struggle for Māori in terms of their differences has often been defined both historically and contemporarily in terms of perceived racial characteristics, these beliefs have also changed over time with the attributions of difference taking on other constructions and significances.

First of all, difference is applied in ways which are not complimentary or positive for Māori or their interests and aspirations. Even though such differences were framed within an analysis which focused upon 'racial appearances', such differences are now viewed as common sense. In particular, definitions of Māori by the dominant group serve to reinforce stereotypical negative beliefs about Māori, their culture and their language. The inequalities which continue to be a reality for Māori today are still framed within these stereotypes and myths. Māori are often portrayed as 'lazy, unintelligent, dirty, preferring manual and outdoor labour, violent and always breaking the law' (Cosedine, 1989: 172). On the basis of these 'common-sense' ideas, the explanation of, for example, Māori educational underachievement is located within arguments which blame Māori students for their lack of motivation and lack of intelligence while blaming their parents for being unsupportive.

Secondly, the assimilation of Māori into Pākehā cultural norms has been played out historically through the legitimation and reinforcement of Pākehā culture and the English language throughout every institution and facet of New Zealand society. In schools, in particular, education sought to 'eradicate' Māori language and culture because they were perceived by the dominant group as being not only different but also inferior. Māori were therefore denied the right to exercise their culture and language except at the most non-consequential levels which did not impinge on or challenge the 'normality' of New Zealand society as defined by the dominant group. At all levels in society, the cultural differences of Māori were ignored and denied on the basis of discerned inferiority and as a means to achieve assimilation. As Martha Minow has observed, 'to be different was to be deviant' (1985: 202).

Thirdly, there is what Minow refers to as a 'difference dilemma' - the double-edged risk of either ignoring or focusing on differences (ibid: 157). According to Minow, black minority ethnic groups in the United States are stigmatised through the schooling system, and this results in their receiving unequal educational treatment. By focusing on, or ignoring, the differences between these minority groups and the dominant 'white culture' whose 'cultural capital' exists in the schooling system, Minow highlights the dualities associated with the difference dilemma situation.

In the first instance, ignoring 'difference' supports the interests of the dominant group through the process of assimilation. Martin Marger refers to assimilation as the cultural, structural, biological and psychological levels of dimensions which result in one ethnic group invariably taking on board dimensions of another, or rather the dominant, group.

(Cultural assimilation is the adoption of another group's cultural traits; i.e., religion, language, diet, etc. Structural assimilation refers to an increasing degree of social interaction based at two levels: primary [those interactions that occur within small and intimate groups like clubs, or among close friends with the same interests, etc], and secondary [the access to power and privilege within a society's major institutions]. Secondary structural assimilation is often referred to as integration. Biological assimilation is the intermarriage of distinct ethnic groups [amalgamation] to such an extent that no distinctness remains. Psychological assimilation is a change in self-identification in which individuals perceive themselves as part of a wider society, rather than as a member of an ethnic group.)

By ignoring differences, the dominant group's 'norms' are portrayed as the standards and goals which ethnic minorities are convinced they have to strive for in order to achieve. It is often the perceived differences of the minority groups which are seen as the reason for their failure to successfully assimilate within a given society. The problem therefore becomes 'a problem' for the minorities. They are blamed for their own 'inadequacies' (i.e., victim-blaming) and their own downfall. Interestingly enough, in the 1960s in New Zealand, the reasons given for Māori educational underachievement were located in the cultural background, social relations and home life of the Māori community (Smith, 1985: 2). Māori were blamed for their own educational failure, and this blame was inextricably linked to their 'Māoriness'. Cultural difference, in particular, became a term synonymous with 'cultural deprivation', so not only were Māori culturally different, but this difference came to mean they were also culturally deprived.

The second point which Minow makes about 'difference' is that there are risks associated with recognising and focusing on these same differences. 'Acknowledgement of difference can create barriers . . . and delay or derail successful entry into the society that continues to make that difference matter' (1985: 166). The negative aspect of highlighting difference can be referred to as stigma. Becker and Arnold argue that each society has norms and values that define acceptable attributes and behaviour for its members. 'Broad views about what constitutes stigma are generally shared by members of a society. They will hold common beliefs about cultural meaning of an attribute and the stigma attached to it. These beliefs about stigma dictate the nature of a stigma, the specific attitudes people hold about a given stigma, and the responses of stigmatized persons' (1986: 40). Although the concept of stigma is universal, perceptions about what that concept constitutes vary within and between societies. Regardless of what attributes or characteristics are identified as stigmatising in each society, a stigma connotes a 'moral taint' that is deeply discrediting. 'The dilemma of difference is the risk of reiterating the stigma associated with assigned difference either by focusing on it or by ignoring it' (Minow, 1985: 202). A further problem is the association between the notions of equality and difference, and the relationship to deviancy. As Minow elaborates, 'For there to be an assignment of deviancy, it must be from the vantage point of some claimed normality...The difference dilemma depends on the relationship constructed to define "different" and "normal" and on the association of equality with sameness and of deviance with difference' (ibid.: 202 and 205). Furthermore, for there to be an assignment of inequality, there must also be a contrasting position, not of equality, but of superiority.

GENDER AND RACE

What the points have shown so far is that the position of difference for Māori is one that is identified and controlled by Pākehā. The saying that we as Māori women are more disadvantaged because of the compounded oppression associated with being women and being Māori is true - this is our reality. Māori girls and women have been made invisible through being written out of historical accounts. Colonisation has had, and continues to have, a major impact on the ways in which women's realities are constructed. Colonial discourses based within ideological constructions of race and gender have served to define Māori women in line with particular roles, expectations and practices. These discourses which espoused hierarchical social ordering in regard to race and sex impacted more than twofold on the position of Māori women, and in particular on the ways in which Māori women were perceived by early colonial settlers and the colonial administration. Māori women were viewed as both 'savages' and as sexual objects in situations which were often misinterpreted by Pākehā people (Salmond, 1991). These misreadings and misconceptions about Māori women have served to further entrench Māori girls and women in marginalised positions.

The constructions of race and gender within negative contexts are two sides of the same coin that Māori women deal with on a daily basis. Clearly the historical construction of what counts as difference has served, in terms of both race and gender ideologies, to place Māori women on the margins. We have been constructed within dominant discourse as being outside of and other to the norm, which is defined in eurocentric and androcentric terms. Māori women have also been defined by the constructed dualisms of 'savage' and 'civilised', 'heathen' and 'christian', 'moral' and 'immoral', and this has served ultimately to validate the position of the dominant group. For Māori girls and women, this operates within a number of spheres. Evidence given by William Bird to the 1906 Te Aute inquiry noted the role of girls at Hukarere was to gain 'practical instruction in all those arts which make up the qualities of good wives and mothers'. In terms of paid work it was noted that 'Māori girls should be trained as nurses for work amongst the Māori's'. It was made clear that Māori girls should not be intended for European work. This highlights the colonial perceptions of the expected roles of Māori girls and the impact of the intersections of ideologies of race and gender.

The intersection of race and gender has for Māori women culminated in dominant oppressive ideologies providing complex assertions of inferiority. What is different is abnormal, inferior, subordinate to what is the norm. These assertions are further complicated by assimilatory agendas which have espoused a sense of sameness but which in practice meant difference. Assimilation through the denial of te reo Māori and tikanga was espoused as a necessity; we were all expected to speak the same language, the dominant language, English. However, when we did speak the 'real' language, we weren't perceived as the same at all; we were labelled as deficient, as not speaking what was defined as 'standard' English. Therefore we could never be the 'same'; we were labelled both culturally different and culturally deprived.

Our differences as defined within dominant ideologies have played a key role in the ways in which we were, and are, seen in Pākehā society. Discourses related to difference as a negative construction are not fixed, but rather shift in their construction and articulation in order to continue to meet the needs of those who control their construction: that is, to serve the interests of those who define and control power within this country and internationally.

Part of the struggle for Māori women seeking to engage dominant ideologies is the continual shifting ground and the multiple representations of ideologies. Various institutions serve to both define and legitimate dominant discourses within Aotearoa, and Māori women struggle inside and outside of organisations which are active in legitimating our oppression. The debate surrounding the Treaty of Waitangi is a very real and clear example of the ways in which state apparatus maintains unequal power relations. Discourse surrounding the Treaty and issues of indigenous people's sovereignty highlights the way in which dominant discourses shift and are maintained in such a way that we have little or no input. The legal framing of Treaty definitions ensures that those in power ultimately control its interpretation. Māori women have been locked out of the debate. Our position has been framed in line with colonially defined Pākehā/Māori and male/female dichotomies. The fact that Māori women have to take a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in order to be involved in key decision-making in this country is an indictment of the ways in which we have been made invisible on our own land. At a meeting recently there was some discussion about the Mana Wāhine claim to the tribunal and a Pākehā woman commented, 'Oh, so you [Māori women] are in the same boat as us [Pākehā women] ' Pākehā women may well be in the same boat but Pākehā and Māori women definitely do not come from the same waka, and for Māori women that is a difference that counts.

From Māori women, who have experienced the brunt of colonial oppression, there are growing oppositional discourses which seek to shift the analysis from that of 'Other' to that which positions Māori women at the centre. These are not new, but are grounded fundamentally in a resistance movement which has struggled for recognition of our rights as tangata whenua and those guaranteed on the basis of our mana whenua. Recent expressions of feminist postmodernism have espoused a 'decentering' of the self. Patti Lather states:

> The goal is difference without opposition and a shift from a romantic view of the self as unchanging, authentic essences to a concept of 'self' as a conjunction of diverse social practices produced and positioned socially, without an underlying essence. While all of this de-centering and de-stabilizing of fundamental categories gets dizzying, such a relational, non-reductionist way of making sense of the world asks us to think constantly against [ourselves] … as we struggle toward ways of knowing which can move us beyond ourselves. (1990: 83)

There exists in this passage an underlying assumption that we all need to decentre or destabilise ourselves. This itself assumes that all women operate from within a 'romantic view of the self.' We would argue that although the works of feminist postmodern authors, such as Lather, move beyond impositional frameworks, they remain located fundamentally within a framework of the dominant culture and therefore fail to provide space for Māori women. For some time Māori women have struggled to gain a voice within this society and have on the whole been made invisible, silenced, marginalised. We have over the past 150 years been decentred, destabilised and dispossessed through these processes. We have struggled 'towards ways of knowing which move us beyond' not ourselves but those definitions that have been imposed upon us.

For Māori women in a colonial setting (we avoid using the term post-colonial as we believe that this country remains very much colonial) much of our 'selves' has been denied. Therefore for many Māori women there is an ongoing struggle to centre ourselves, to deconstruct colonial representations, and to reconstruct and reclaim knowledge about ourselves. Māori women have been struggling with such a process from the margins and many have articulated that in order to fully realise such a process we must locate ourselves in the centre. This included an inverting of dominant discourses which define Māori women as 'Other'.

The differences that count then become located in a positive sense of who we are. As Ripeka Evans noted at the Auckland University Winter Lecture series:

> The difference lay in the fact that Māori feminism was grounded in the identity and creation of this country, grounded in the rivers, lakes, mountains, seas and forests, grounded in the war and peace between tribes and families, grounded in the Whakapapa of generations of families, tribes, Waka, Gods and Goddesses, grounded in notions and concepts of time and space that required reclamation and if the price was a re-fashioning of Māori society then so be it. (1993: 7)

Although there is some debate as to the usefulness of the term 'Māori feminism', what Ripeka Evans has laid out is an analysis of difference which is embedded within Māori

women's need to reclaim, to be grounded in that which reaches far beyond the 'self to the land, mana whenua; to spiritual dimensions, mana wairua; to genealogical relationships, whakapapa, mana tangata. All this whilst articulating a recognition of her desire and the desire of many Māori women to seek definitions and positions which reach beyond imposed colonial constructions. What is also provided here is an identification of particular underlying essences which, in the present academic climate, we are so often steered away from. However, that diversion or shift from asserting the existence of any 'essence' has been articulated from within particular cultural bounds. In daring to say there may exist some underlying essence is to risk being labelled essentialist; however, in engaging from a Māori women's perspective, or in this case the perspectives of two Māori women, we make such a statement in relation to cultural constructions of identity.

As Māori women we each have a relationship to the land; we are each connected to mana whenua. As Māori women we have a relationship to spirituality, mana wairua. As Māori women we are located in complex relationships within whakapapa, mana tangata. Each of these aspects of tikanga Māori is a part of who we are as Māori women, whether or not we experience them in our day-to-day realities, as they originate from historical and cultural sources that both precede and succeed us. The complexities of such relationships extend into whānau, hapū and iwi, so no single expression is *the* 'one'; all of them may, and do, find a range of expressions. Hence, what may be viewed as an essence in cultural terms does not, in our terms, equate to essentialism. Rather, it expresses the historical and social construction of cultural relationships.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith explores the intricate mosaic of Māori women's experiences and identifications, and in particular the need to make 'our differences visible'. Outlining four discourses - the whānau discourse; the spiritual discourse; the state discourse, and the indigenous women's discourse - each of which is conceptualised under the project of Mana Wāhine, she asserts a challenge for Māori women to

> assume control over the interpretation of our struggles and to begin to theorise our experiences in ways which make sense for other women…we as Māori women should begin with an understanding of our own condition and apply analyses which can give added insight into the complexities of our world. (1992: 35)

What we read in Linda Tuhiwai Smith's work is that we as Māori women can, and do, provide analyses of our positions which, based on our own experiences, allow us the space to present and re-present our world. In doing so there remains a desire to be visible in our differences. As Kathie Irwin (1992) notes, Māori women are not a homogeneous group. There is no model of what it is to be a 'real' or 'acceptable' Māori woman. *That*, we believe, would be essentialism in practice. Attempts to construct the 'super Māori woman' are a waste of time and energy that are best spent elsewhere. We *are* different, and those differences count. There are a number of factors that influence the life experiences of Māori women, and these diverse factors are a part of the diverse experiences which Māori women articulate. In seeking to make our differences visible and to create space for Māori women's stories, opinions and voices to be heard, we must provide forms of analysis which ensure that issues of race, class and gender are incorporated, and their intersection engaged with.

Mana wāhine, or Māori feminism, is not an exclusive paradigm; it does not entail Māori women separating ourselves from a tikanga Māori base. However, it does entail Māori women's critical analysis, deconstruction and reconstruction of discourses pertaining to

Māori women. It also requires revisiting colonial ideologies, the ways in which those have constructed Māori women and the extent to which we as Māori people, as Māori women, have internalised those ideologies. What mana wāhine provides is a paradigm through which we as Māori women can explore the complexities of our lives, so that our differences are viewed not in terms of negative dualisms, but as a part of the wider societal and cultural constructions which are among our everyday realities.

Critical to Māori women's frameworks is the validation of te reo me ngā tikanga Māori, and in particular the reassertion of the status of Māori women within a Māori context and wider society generally. In order for the needs of Māori girls and women to be catered for, we must provide focused and specific analysis which encompasses key questions related to our position and which are located within a culturally preferred methodology (Irwin, 1992).

In asserting that te reo me ngā tikanga Māori are central to cultural methodology, mana wahine/Māori feminism must also ensure that Māori women's epistemologies are validated.

We need then to be constantly aware of and alert to the ways in which the dominant group beliefs have been inscribed into te reo Māori through processes such as interpretation and translation. Therefore, we are not battling for the use of our language and culture; we are not debating whether te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori is valid or not: this is taken for granted. However, we must engage in deconstructing both dominant beliefs which have been imposed to ensure that we, as Māori women, can express ourselves without having to justify our existence. This is a difference which counts.

Mana wāhine/Māori feminism promotes analysis which incorporates the complex relationships between race, gender and class from a central rather than a peripheral position. It is 'based' within historical, cultural and political realities which contribute to the experiences of Māori women. The historical experiences of Māori people have been instrumental in the construction of dominant discourses which locate Māori women as Other. There exists a contemporary myth that Aotearoa is in a post-colonial phase. We need to look at how and why such a term has been promulgated. Merata Mita (1993) argues that postcolonialism 'denotes passivity' and she chooses to draw in the term anti-colonialism as a truer reflection of her position. Aotearoa is not a post-colonial society in either political or cultural terms; Aotearoa is not a post-colonial society in any terms. Every day Māori women confront colonial ideologies and colonial structures which have their roots very firmly planted in Britain. The term 'postcolonialism' contributes to the shifts and re-shaping of dominant discourses that espouse a false sense of neutrality whilst ensuring the maintenance of cultural dominance. Aotearoa becomes defined in regard to its colonial status. Cheryl Smith and Mereana Taki emphasise that such language assumes Pākehā people are 'the centre of the universe and that we are peripheral to this world view' (1993: 1).

For Māori women there are many differences which 'count'. These include a diverse range of cultural considerations which must be defined by Māori women. A key difference is located within the unequal power-relations that exist in this society which have been instrumental in the marginalisation of Māori women.

Dominant group interests have been served in the perpetuation of such relations and therefore have benefited from the maintenance of discourses which associate 'difference' and 'other' with inferiority. As previously noted, how 'difference' is constructed, how it is defined and how it is used in given situations is both contested and challenged. For Māori

women that includes the inverting of dominant discourses, the assertion of our own definitions as opposed to those constructed outside of us, and the re-presentation of our realities through analyses in which we are at the centre.

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Māori Women and Domestic Violence:

The Methodology of Research and the Māori Perspective

Stephanie Milroy* - Tūhoe, Te Arawa

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1991/92 Nan Seuffert, a lecturer at Waikato Law School, initiated a project on legal representation of women who were survivors of domestic violence. The project involved arranging group interviews of women through the Women's Refuge movement in order to ask about their experiences of legal representation and the legal system. Issues intended to be covered in the project were: the lawyer's understanding of domestic violence, the relationship between the woman and her lawyer, the woman's understanding of and control over the process, the quality of service provided by the lawyer and the woman's perception of the court process and the legal system.

The Refuge movement in New Zealand at that time ran a parallel structure with a cooperative alliance between the non-Maori and Maori refuges as the two limbs of the organisation. It was considered important that both Maori and non-Maori women were included in the research, and so interviews were arranged through both the Maori and non-Maori women's refuges. A Maori woman researcher was hired to undertake the Maori interviews and, due to my interest in Maori women's issues I agreed to write up the Maori portion of the project.[1]

Cultural differences between Maori and Pakeha mean that the methodology of research must be adapted to recognise and take account of those differences. In this article some of the issues which need to be considered in designing research for Maori are canvassed. The approach and methodology used in the project was based on feminist theories of methodology and, while useful in some respects, the application of such theories to research involving Maori participants raises considerable questions. These matters together with suggestions as to different approaches that might be taken are discussed in the first part of this article.

If the research had been designed from a Maori perspective it may be that some issues of critical concern to Maori would have been explored. To put these issues in context a traditional Maori perspective on violence towards a partner and the effects of colonisation on Maori in terms of the imposition of a foreign legal system are presented in the second part of the article. The dispossession and disempowerment of Maori throughout colonial history, and the position of Maori women who are the targets of domestic violence as clients of a legal system that is still overpoweringly monocultural, mean that legal responses to domestic violence which may be valid and beneficial for Pakeha women may be inappropriate, ineffective or worse for Maori women. However, because of the primary objectives and methodology of the project, the information that may have informed such an analysis could not be drawn out of the interviews.

II. PART ONE
1. METHODOLOGY

For this project the Maori interviewer, Robyn Rauna, was chosen by a group of Maori women law students who had expressed interest in the project being set up by the project initiator. Those students chose Robyn based on their knowledge of Maori methodology and after assessing what they believed the aims of the project should be. The writer[2] also expressed an interest in writing up the project because there were Maori women who were to be interviewed. Aware that there would be difficulties in carrying out research across

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1   I am a Maori woman - my iwi affiliations are with Tuhoe and Te Arawa.
2   Although a lecturer at Waikato law school I was on maternity leave during the period that the interviews were taking place.

cultures, the project initiator was anxious to ensure that the Maori interviews were carried out by a Maori and written up by a Maori. Both she and Robyn consulted with Maori women academics and refuge workers and Robyn talked to her whanau before going ahead with the interviews.

The interviews were set up through Maori women's refuges, and the interviewees were given the opportunity to be interviewed in groups or individually. They were also encouraged to have support people present if they wished. The interviewees included women from small towns and from cities, some of the women were married, some were in de facto relationships. All of the women had children. Most of the women had obtained some kind of protection order or orders; only one did not have any orders.

The project was designed in two parts. The first part involved interviews with the women. Questions were directed towards the legal representation that the women had received from the first interview up to the court appearance, and included questions about the abuse they had suffered, the understanding the lawyer had of their situation, the way the information was presented in court, what control the women had over the process, and ending with a general question about their view of the legal system.

The second part of the project was designed to give something back to the participants. The interviewer gave them information about the protection orders that were available to them and answered any questions they might have. The project also helped the refuges to set up 'hot' and 'cold' lawyer lists so that refuges would have a better idea of which lawyers women should be referred to.

2. APPROPRIATE METHODOLOGY FOR MAORI RESEARCH

There is no generally agreed theory about appropriate methodology for Maori research. However, in *He Tikanga Whakaaro. Research Ethics in the Maori Community: A Discussion Paper*[3] Te Awekotuku has given some strong guidelines as to an ethical framework for research into the Maori community. She emphasises the importance of knowledge in ancient Maori society, where sanctions were imposed for the protection of highly prized information belonging to a whanau, hapu or iwi.[4] Knowledge was to be kept from discovery or abuse by hostile people. Those who would learn that knowledge were required to observe the rule holding such knowledge as secret. Betrayal or breaking of this ethical commitment usually resulted in severe punishment. The "researcher" came from the whanau and was always accountable to the chiefs or the whanau.[5] For Maori there was none of the concept of "researcher" as an independent, neutral observer who was accountable to him/herself or the academic community rather than the community being researched.

Te Awekotuku also makes the point that up until very recently Maori were the objects of research by "dominant and aggressive [Pākeha] researchers and academics with, inevitably, an eurocentric perspective.[6] The result has been "decades — even centuries - of thoughtless, exploitative, mercenary academic objectification"[7] from which tangata whenua are actively withdrawing and retrenching.[8]

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3   Published by Manatu Maori: Ministry of Maori Affairs, Wellington (1991).
4   Ibid., 7.
5   Ibid., 7-8.
6   Ibid., 11
7   Ibid., 12.
8   Note the example mentioned in MacNeill, H and von Dadelszen. S, *Attitudes to Family Violence: A Study Across Cultures*, Report Presented to the Family Violence Prevention Co-ordinating Committee (FVPCC) (1988) 51, where a health survey was rejected "in no uncertain terms. The objection was based on the monocultural Pakeha bias, structure and approach of the research design. Disgruntled objectors stated loudly and clearly that they were sick of being studied and analysed."

For those doing research involving Maori the overriding rule is that the *researcher's responsibility is to the people studied, themselves and this transcends responsibility to sponsors.* In referring to this requirement Te Awekotuku says:

> Research is the gathering of knowledge - more usually, not for its own sake, but for its use within a variety of different applications. It is about control, resource allocation, information and equity. It is about *power*.[9]

It is therefore important that the researcher be accountable for the application of research findings. The research must be of some benefit to the people being studied. In this project one of the women interviewed made it clear that she expected something to come of the research. She said:

> I'm glad that we can give you a hand with whatever is going down but I think it is important for us to know what is happening with this information and that we actually see results coming out of it.

Three Maori controlled surveys evidence features characteristic of research that is generated, controlled and carried out by Maori - the MacNeill, von Dadelszen survey[10] *Rapuora Health and Maori Women*, a survey into Maori women's health carried out by the Maori Women's Welfare League[11] and Moana Jackson's work in producing *He Whaipaanga* Hou.[12] One such feature was the importance of a personal approach from the interviewer to the interviewees. For instance, in the MacNeill and von Dadelszen survey it was emphasised that establishing a personal relationship between the interviewer and the person being interviewed was the most important prerequisite.[13] In the Rapuora survey the field teams were nominated by Maori community groups as this was a way of using the whanau concept to establish a personal relationship. Similarly, Moana Jackson has always stressed the importance of personal contact of some kind, such as holding hui at local marae and working with the people face to face.[14] This relates to the importance Maori place on the researcher being accountable to the people affected by the research - it is much easier to assess the bona fides of a researcher in person and to exact accountability from those close to one in the community. It is also much more difficult for the researcher to treat the interviewee as an object if the interviewee is someone one knows. Another important feature is that active involvement in the community affected by the research is considered essential. Maori people like to see proof that the good intentions of the researcher are being carried out. Gone are the days when Maori were trusting of researchers.

Another feature of Maori research is that the research scheme must be based on culturally acknowledged practices, so that knowledge of and sensitivity to cultural values is shown. In the Rapuora survey, for example, the researchers considered that "the first and most important move"[15] was to approach kaumatua to tell them about the project and to get their support. The researchers made a point of finding the true leaders in the community and not just the most public Maori. The true leaders were those with mana on the marae,

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9   Supra n. 3, at 13.
10 Supra n. 8.
11 Murchie, E, Maori Women's Welfare League Inc, (1984).
12 A report prepared for the Justice Department in 1988.
13 Supra n. 8, at 52.
14 In a Maori leadership survey carried out in 1994 for the Wellington Maori Legal Service, the telephone was the medium by which people were surveyed. The telephone is still better to Maori people than being sent a letter or questionnaire.
15 Supra n. 11, at 20.

regardless of their occupation in the Pakeha world[16] Such people are difficult to identify for Pakeha who have no ongoing long term connection with the particular Maori community under study.

The Rapuora survey also identified the need to use appropriate language. In the Rapuora survey a test of the language in the survey was made by first using a small group as a pilot.[17] Maori and English may need to be used depending on what language the interviewee is most comfortable in.

Maori have an aversion to questionnaire type research.[18] This is partly as a result of the bad experiences Maori have had with surveys in the past and partly because it indicates a distance between the researcher and the people studied that raises suspicions about the motives of the researcher and their accountability to the interviewees. Sometimes Maori will also object to being taped[19] because of fears about how the information will be used and who will have access to it.

The place where interviews are held should be one in which Maori feel comfortable and it should not be an imposition for them to come there. This could mean interviews being held in the interviewees' home or on a marae. In the Rapuora survey the interviews were carried out at the participant's home.

Underlying all these features is the requirement that Maori have control of the research from inception to the end result and that that control is located in the Maori community being researched, not in the researcher. Just as Maori have called for recognition of their status as tangata whenua, so that recognition must be given by the academic community as well as government. Autonomy must be devolved to the different Maori communities in relation to research affecting them.

3. APPROPRIATE MAORI RESEARCHERS
Autonomy for Maori means that choice of research personnel should accord with Maori custom. Ideally, interviews should be conducted by members of whanau, meaning whanau in its wider modern sense of support group as well as family. In the context of this project the researcher could be a refuge worker at the refuge where the interviewee is staying or a member of the interviewee's family. If that is not possible, at the very least the interviewee should be able to be accompanied by whanau and be able to call upon kaumatua for support.

The researcher must hold themselves accountable to the interviewees and, ideally, the interviewees should be empowered to enforce that accountability. Where the researcher is a member of the whanau of the interviewee, there may be little difficulty in effecting this, but it is a very different story where a stranger is involved. For a Maori researcher it would be the depths of shame to act in a way which lessened the mana of her whanau. Despite that responsibility, a Maori researcher will also be accountable to the project supervisor, and to others who may have taken a part in the organisation of the project - in this case the Maori women's refuges who allowed the project to be carried out through them.

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16   Supra n. 14 where the results of the Maori Legal Service survey indicated that those the participants perceived as their leaders were all virtually unknown outside their own district.
17   Supra n. 11, at 20.
18   Supra n. 8, at 53.
19   Idem.

These responsibilities need not be conflicting provided that those involved in designing the project are aware of them. Will a Pākeha project organiser really be able to balance all these different aspects? Maori experience to date is that Pākeha have rarely done so.

4. APPROPRIATE AIMS OF MAORI RESEARCH

From what was said above, it should be clear that those Maori affected by the research (that is, in this case, battered Maori women, Maori women's refuges and the whanau of the women) should also participate in determining what the aims of the research should be. For example, Maori may choose to use the information primarily for Waitangi Tribunal claims, or to effect law reform, or to determine whether Maori should continue using the existing legal system. These aims then determine the content of the interviews and the appropriate analytical framework for the interpretation of the material. This ensures that only the *necessary* material is gathered, and that those affected can share control of the project with the researcher. True autonomy for Maori would mean that projects would be generated from the Maori community out of the needs perceived by that community, for the purposes of that community.

5. COMPARISON WITH METHODOLOGY, ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND
AIMS OF THE PROJECT

The domestic violence project thus at least partially fulfilled some of the requirements of research involving Maori. The interviews were carried out face to face and because the interviewer was Maori, she was fully aware of cultural values that might come into play. There were no difficulties over taping the interviews and the women were able to ask for the tape to be turned off if they wished. The interviews were held in refuges where the women felt safe and supported by the refuge workers and other women staying at the refuge. Robyn was given questions to be asked of the women but they were intended to be guidelines, a framework, and she was encouraged to ask any other questions she thought appropriate. Some immediate return was made to the participants by giving them new information about obtaining protection orders and clarifying information that they already had. The women were also promised that the report which would be produced using their information would be sent to the refuges so that they could see tangible results. That has been done and the women are entitled to ask that information they have provided be withheld from the report. So there is some Maori control of the project and some accountability to the participants.

Nevertheless, there are some worrying difficulties associated with the Maori part of the project. There were only a small number of interviewees who participated, although this was never meant to be a representative survey. The small number does limit the ability to draw general conclusions which may be valid for all Maori. However, this is less important than the *reasons* why Maori women did not take part in larger numbers. It may relate back to the reticence of Maori to be involved in any surveys because of treatment by other researchers in the past. It may also relate to the reticence of Maori women's refuges to be involved in a research project about the Pākeha legal system when they question having *any* involvement with that legal system. For example, one of the Maori women's' refuges refused to take part in the project or to allow women to be contacted through the refuge.

One of the aspects in which the project did not accord with surveys generated by Maori was that the people carrying out the project were not whanau, even in the wider sense. They were not personally known to the women participants or refuges or actively engaged in that community (meaning the community of the refuge and whanau of the participants).

Carrying out that requirement in this project would have meant that a number of different Maori interviewers would have been used, each associated with the particular refuge or whanau through which the contacts with the women were made. It might also have meant that the interviews contained different questions focused to the particular issues facing the women in that refuge. This project did have a Maori interviewer who gave reports to a Maori lecturer, but in truth the interviewer, although allowed to probe beyond the outline of questions, was working within a framework set by the project initiator and was in no real position to do so. In actuality the project originated with non-Maori women and that set the pattern of control of the project and control of the interviews, despite genuine attempts to transfer that control.

The framework set by the project initiator was based upon feminist theories of methodology. Mies' guidelines for feminist research were used.[20] Those guidelines include (1) conscious partiality, (2) the view from below, (3) change of the status quo (4) collectivising experiences and (5) active participation in the women's movement. Clearly the first four guidelines may have some relevance to Maori research, but their interaction with the need for Maori autonomy and control of the research process, a Maori analytical framework, and a Maori cultural mindset is an untried, complicated and difficult area.

Another important influence on the project design was that provided by feminist participatory research where the objectives of the research include "empowerment of oppressed people through the development of critical consciousness of both the researcher and the research participants, direct improvement of the lives of those involved in the research and the transformation of power relationships and power structures."[21] Again, this accords with some aspects of Maori methodology, such as the requirement that the research be of benefit to the Maori community. However, one does have to question the extent to which "the critical consciousness" Maori should be developing can occur within a project where the need for a personal relationship between the researcher and the interviewee's refuge community has not been met, and where the critical consciousness developed by the project initiator is from another culture. One must also question the extent to which the power relationships have been transformed for Maori participants when the attempts to transfer power are flawed at the outset. The Maori participants still answered Pākeha questions. If Maori participants really had power, research funding would go to Maori Women's Refuge and the seat of power would have been with them rather than in academia.

The third influence on the project was Paulo Friere's methodological framework for emancipatory adult education, which relies on dialogue between all participants in the educational process including the educators.[22] This incorporates the idea of an information exchange between the parties - information flowing from the educator to the participant and from the participant to the educator. This has the effect of empowering the "learners" by recognising that they have significant knowledge which the educator does not have, instead of the educator maintaining a position of power as, supposedly, "the knower." Again the issue of the personal or whanau relationship is raised by this methodology. Where there is a whanau relationship, the participants know in their bones that they can teach and learn from each other, and the dynamics of power within a family or support group are

20 See Mies, M "Towards a Methodology for Feminist Research." in Bowles, G (ed) *Theories of Women's Studies* (1983)117
21 Seuffert, N "Epistemology, methodology and methods" (Unpublished Paper held by the author).
22 Friere, P *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2 ed 1992).

determined by things other than the research relationship.[23]

However, sending a researcher, even a Maori researcher, to question those not of her whanau or with whom she has no personal relationship upsets all kinds of delicate balances. The exchange between one of the women participants and the researcher in asking the woman if she would prefer a Maori woman lawyer may help to illustrate what is meant here. Beginning with the question the interviewer asked:

Q: [I]was really interested in you talking about not going to a Maori woman lawyer and [I was] just wondering did you have a good think about why?
A: Yeah I did.
Q: Because I was fascinated in the sense that you had said you really related to the Maori women at the refuge now and you got on with that Pākeha lady and I was thinking if you can put it in words...
A: ...Well you see these women here in the refuge they do have a tendency to talk down to you, but if you let them know how you feel then they'll come eye to eye with you. But it is only just that they know that's their job, they know just a little bit more than you know...But it's still like that step down. And that's how I feel, …with a Maori woman lawyer, it is just that I feel whakama because I wouldn't feel important, because they'd be more important than I am.

Perhaps this woman may be saying that she feels able to take power to herself where she knows the other women, but that she cannot do that with an unknown Maori woman lawyer. One then has to question how much better a Maori researcher, who is otherwise unknown to the woman, can do to facilitate a mutual learning experience and to transform the power relationship. Perhaps a very skilled, intuitive, empathetic researcher could. A better solution would be to alter the methodology so that it is less reliant on individual ability by using whanau or refuge women to carry out the interviews.

These are some of the questions raised by adopting a feminist methodology based on non-Maori theorising. Clearly the question is raised whether these methodological theories can be universally applied; whether modifications can be made to them and if so of what kind; and whether it is more appropriate to start from a different theoretical place in circumstances such as exist in New Zealand.

Whanau involvement and Maori autonomy in carrying out such a project, moreover, may appear to conflict with feminist theories based on European culture. This means there may be a shift in emphasis from the good of the individual woman to the good of the whanau. It also means that other perspectives and other interviewees would be drawn into the project. For instance, the project only reached those women who went through Refuge but did not reach those who may rely on whanau or iwi-based resolutions to the issues.

A Maori researcher bases a methodological and theoretical framework on the imperatives of Maori culture and Maori experience. It is important that Maori not be drawn into adopting available feminist thinking wholesale because such thinking is culture specific.[24]

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23 For instance, when I approach kaumatua in my whanau or hapu for information in a Maori setting there is no question that the power and knowledge resides with petitioner.
24 In this regard I cannot help but remember Andre Lord's words: "The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house." For Maori women "the masters" have included Pākeha men and women.

Linda Smith refers to this when she says:

> [I]n attempting to theorise our own lives we have frequently been caught using [white feminist] concepts as a means of understanding our own. While white feminisms may help to gain insight into "Otherness" at one level, at another level these forms of feminism may perpetuate otherness further. This tension has made it extremely difficult to reconcile the realities of Maori women's lives with existing feminist theories.[25]

While some of the ideas from feminist methodological theory have resonances with ideas about Maori methodology (for example the need for real improvement to come from the research), yet there is much that is different.

In fairness to the project initiator it must be acknowledged that in setting up this project there were limitations imposed by outside agencies (the University research grants committee, for example) so that the ideal of a truly Maori methodology could not have been attained. Let's face it, that is the reality for a lot of research involving Maori because we live in a society where the power culture and the powerholders are Pākeha. Furthermore, the Maori researchers on this project have been specifically trained in the Pākeha tradition, within a framework set by the Pākeha legal system. I find myself blinkered by that training, so that integral aspects of Maori culture may not be explored even by Maori researchers. An example is in regard to spirituality - Maori were and are a spiritual people.

Spiritual values play an important part in our conception of the world. In traditional Maori society, for instance, difficulties in a marriage such as adultery might be referred to a tohunga. The present legal system and legal education is shorn of spirituality and is supposedly about rationality, objectivity and neutrality. So, it was not until writing the project report that I realised that the element of spirituality was missing from the questions and from my analysis. In these circumstances this project *has* tried to answer a lot of the concerns that research about Maori issues raises.

However, of all the aspects of the methodology, the one which I find most worrying was that the content of the interviews was largely determined by an agenda which lacked a Maori perspective.[26] For instance, the participants were never asked, "Do you think this would have been different if you were a Pakeha?", or "How do you think the system should be changed to suit Maori women?" The result is that information that might have been obtained had the project been a Maori project was not obtained, and much information which the interviewer might have given to the women in exchange was not given.

In a Maori project, a lot of information might have been gathered which would be of use to Maori but would not be more generally disseminated at all. In a Maori project the interviewer might have probed into the race issues raised by the legal system more and

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25 "Maori Women: Discourses. Projects and Mana Wahine" in Middleton, S (ed), *Women and Education tit Aotearoa 2* (1992) 34. See also Irwin, K "Towards Theories of Maori Feminisms" in du Plessis (ed), *Feminist Voices* (1992) 5 where she says: (Maori women) don't need anyone else developing the tools which will help us to come to terms with who we are. We can and will do this work. Real power lies with those who design the tools - it always has. This power is ours. Through the process of developing such theories we will contribute to our empowerment as Maori women, moving forward in our struggles for our people, our lands, our world, our selves.

26 For an idea of what this might mean see Smith, ibid., 39 where she says that Maori women need to control their own definitions of themselves. This "requires the seeking of knowledge which is whanau-, hapu-, and iwi-specific."

might have given information about the oppressive effects of colonisation and the role the legal system had to play in that. This would have given the interviewees another way of understanding their experiences.

These concerns do not mean that the research is not useful, regardless of how it might not match the ideal. The legal representation of battered women can always be improved. Therefore, the material could clearly be used to see what improvements could be made to the legal system, improvements which might benefit *all* women.

Moreover, it is important that Maori women have their stories told, even if only partially, if progress towards creating Maori feminist theories is to be made.[27] I also believe that the reality for so many abused Maori women is that the legal system and Pākeha systems in general impose themselves on Maori women willy-nilly and so we are forced to engage with those systems in order to research Maori issues or to help Maori women.

III. PART TWO

1. COLONISATION AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM

In part one the methodological theory of the project has been discussed. Part two looks more closely at the consequences for a Maori analysis arising out of that methodological approach in relation to the particular issues of colonisation and racism.

Very little research has been done on domestic violence as it affects Maori women,[28] and little is known about current Maori concepts of and attitudes towards such violence.[29] However, when starting the project I was aware that Maori women's refuges were deeply dissatisfied with the way the system operates for Maori women. One theory for the basis of this dissatisfaction is that it is related, at least in part, to issues around colonisation. Colonisation meant the introduction of a monocultural legal system which was once actively used to oppress Maori and which is still in many ways inappropriate for Maori.[30] It also meant that Maori ceased to perceive themselves in a purely traditional Maori way, but to a large extent through the lens of the coloniser.

One clear aim that I had in analysing the interviews was to look for signs that race and colonisation had adversely affected Maori women in the treatment they received from the legal system. However, the interviewees did not themselves analyse their experience in those terms, so there is not much direct material to work with. Indeed, the interviewees do not *think* of themselves as Maori vis-a-vis the system: they just *are* Maori. Yet intuition tells me that the effects of colonisation and racism must play some part in the experiences of the legal system that these women had.

By comparison, some women did recognise the patriarchal nature of the legal system and identified it as part of their oppression. For instance, one woman said:

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27   Irwin, supra n. 25.
28   One reason why this project was still worthwhile despite its flaws.
29   See, however, McNeill and von Dadelszen, supra n. 8.
30   See the report *Te Whainga i te Tika :In Search of Justice* Advisory Committee on Legal Services (1986) at para 1.3 where the writers say: For many, especially Maori, that system embodies institutionalised racism, as recognised in the recent Maori Perspectives Advisory Committee report. 'The most insidious and destructive form of racism, though, is institutionalised racism. It is the outcome of monocultural institutions which simply ignore and freeze out the cultures of those who do not belong to the majority. National structures are evolved which are rooted in the values, systems and viewpoints of one culture only. Participation by minorities is conditional upon their subjugating their own values and systems to those of 'the system' of the power culture.'

The Police are men, the Judges are men, and most of the lawyers are men and you are very lucky if you find a woman like [S], who is your lawyer that is helpful. Mine...have not been helpful...so what you are looking at is men...But my husband held the reigns of our marriage in that "five minutes down the road, you have got five minutes to get down the road and back again. If you are late, we will see what happens. You are not allowed to go here, you are not allowed to talk to that person." I am talking that kind of control here. When you go into the legal system it's the same thing. Because the lawyer says, well this is what's going to happen to you and then you have got to wait for a man to tell you whether you are going to get your orders, what they are going to do for you and if any of those orders get breached, you have got to go to another man who says, "this is what my man has done" and so I am still being controlled, not only by my husband, who sees his lawyer, but also the legal system itself, the justice system. I am still being controlled.

As a Refuge worker, this interviewee may be in a better position to apply that kind of analysis to her experiences. However, neither she nor any of the other women interviewed mentioned racism or the monoculturalism of the legal system as part of their experiences of the legal system. It may be that the methodology of the project was faulty. However, it may also be that for most Maori a monocultural system is "just the way it is," unnamed, so much a part of life that it passes without comment.

To put the monoculturalism of the legal system in context one cannot help comparing the position of Maori women under the present system to that which they would have enjoyed in traditional Maori society. The traditional Maori view was that violence towards your wife was an affront to her and her whanau, to be punished and compensated accordingly. These values held sway even into this century. In Ruatoki in the 1920s there was an instance of a wife who was beaten by her husband. She returned to her own people to complain of what had happened. They came as a group to Ruatoki and asked for the husband to be given over to them to be dealt with. The people at Ruatoki, who were whanau to the husband, could not give him up because of the familial responsibility that they owed to him. In the end the children of the marriage were given to the woman and her whanau and compensation of 5000 pounds was paid, an absolutely huge sum for a tiny community in those days. The man who had caused all the trouble was then dealt with by the Ruatoki community and required to repay them as best he might.[31]

This incident implies a world view and values quite different to those of the current dominant group in society (and the current legal system). In pre-colonial Maori society, a man's home was not his castle. The community intervened to prevent and punish violence against one's partner in a very straightforward way. Different social dynamics operated to those that now operate in society in general, including the Maori community. That change is a direct result of colonisation.

One example of what this means for Maori women is shown in the area of custody and access. In the taua muru story above, custody of the children of the relationship was given to the woman and her whanau. This is because children in traditional Maori society were children *of the whanau* and the woman's people would not have left without them. By the same token, the children were also children of the man's whanau and would continue their relationship with that whanau. Yet under the Pakeha system somehow the violence which

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31   This incident is recorded in Maori in the journals of Tamarau Waiari, my great-great- grandfather.

women have suffered and which their children have often suffered [32] have until recently been given little weight in determining access issues.[33]

Colonisation has led to the destruction of the traditional Maori way of life. Yet Maori women are imbued with both the Pakeha system and its values and remnants of their own values, which are now unsupported by the urbanised society in which most Maori now live. The issues that therefore arise for Maori women are complex and difficult. An example of these difficulties came from one of the women interviewed who said:

> _____ is basically a Pakeha oriented town, so Maori people here are a minority so they slot into the Pakeha system...so they have learnt to accept it. But at home in _____ it is different there, it's Maori and two different establishments, Maori and Pakeha. And when you go there as a Maori well you take half your whanau there and the thing never gets resolved. And if you do it the Pakeha way, well you are inclined to be ostracised by Maori people, because you have gone against the grain of Maori tradition and gone straight to the Pakeha...At home you sort of confer with your in-laws and with your own family and with your extended family, you know it is quite a drawn out process. But here it is good because it is just straight to the point and you don't have this cultural clash. Treading on toes...

This woman at this point seems to be saying that she prefers the Pakeha system because of her impression that things get over and done with quickly. And yet at another point in her interview she describes the disaster which occurred in relation to the custody of her eldest child. She says:

> Cause I only came out with five of my six kids and I wanted my eldest son here, cause he was only 15 then and [her lawyer] said,' well you know it is not worth it cause in a couple of months time', he was sixteen in September, and he said,' by that time he will be of an age where he is able to decide for himself whether he wants to come here or stay with his father' and I wanted the orders to cover him so that was one of my… He actually convinced me it was wise to leave _____ where he was. But in the process it was a month later when I saw my son and he came here to visit. But in that time because there had been no communication between us and he was sitting on edge… because he wasn't with his father, he was boarding with friends. It had been arranged through DSW. And because all his fears had come to the surface… when he got here the next day he beat me up. If I had stood firmly in my decision to bring him here he wouldn't have felt that he had been severed from us all, that link had been broken.

Leaving aside the insensitivity displayed by the woman's lawyer, we should note how the legal system's solution for this woman created terrible pain for her although she blamed herself for what had happened. She does not relate this back to the destruction of Maori forms of social control or the monocultural nature of the system; this could have happened to a Pakeha woman. Yet it is also not inconsistent with an analysis which sees colonisation and the destruction of Maori forms of social control as part of the overall problem for this woman. Her relationships with her abuser, her children and her whanau are laden with values that find no expression in the solutions offered by the existing system.

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32   See National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges, Inc., Treasure the Child(1991) which found that 50% of children in refuge had been physically abused and 85% verbally abused. Of the Maori women interviewed in this project all but one reported that their abuser had also abused the children.

33   See section 16B of recently enacted Guardianship Amendment Act 1995.

Maori women's refuges have considered not using the legal system at all,[34] although this is not discussed in any of the project interviews. Understandable as a withdrawal from the system might be, the system perpetuates its use in its administration.[35] Although the police can arrest an abuser for assault without the need for protection orders, in practice such orders cover a wider range of objectionable behaviour and offer much more protection than the assault law does. Social Welfare may also require protection orders before it will grant priority to a woman seeking to obtain benefits. To obtain her interest in matrimonial property a woman may be forced to go to court. Not using the system all too often requires the cooperation of the abuser.[36]

The legal system does not and cannot help women with problems arising out of such cultural clashes. The solutions the system applies may not only fail to assist Maori women but may continue the destruction of the culture in that the involvement of other members of the whanau are not included in decisions regarding the children of such a relationship. There are no easy answers.[37] There is no prospect in the immediate future that the system will change, but there seems to be no other place but the system for Maori women in abusive relationships to turn.

In relation to all these issues further research developed from a Maori perspective is needed, as at present we do not have the information necessary to assist us to find bicultural legal solutions instead of monocultural ones.

2. RACISM

Associated with the monocultural nature of our substantive law, court procedures, and administration is the racism that may be encountered at any level. Most lawyers and judges are white, middle class males and females. They cannot help but have stereotypes of Maori women in their minds and it is difficult for even the most sensitive person not to apply inadvertently those stereotypes (and there are always those who are deliberately offensive). Lawyering is also a profession peculiarly prone to patronising its clients. Nevertheless, none of the women interviewed attributed the way they were treated to racism on the part of their lawyer. In fact, only one woman made any comment at all about racism. She said:

> I had two good lawyers and they weren't… I never ever felt as if I was a Maori in front of them. I felt like a person, you know. And it was good. And they were both Europeans so… I felt good there.

This kind of statement speaks volumes about the kind of every day racism that comes to be expected (and deeply resented) by Maori as "just the way it is." It is the absence of racism that is commented upon. On the other hand it could also mean that such issues were not fully aired because of the perspective from which the project was designed. If so, it is

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34 They have also recognised the monocultural nature of various analyses of domestic violence such as the Power and Control Wheel, and have altered it to take account of issues facing Maori women.

35 See Smart, C , *Feminism and the Power of Law* (1989) 24 where she says: " ..the 'law' that affects women's lives is more likely to be the administration of welfare benefits, the operation of the private law of maintenance, and the formulation of guidelines and decision-making at the level of bureaucratic operation."

36 For instance, section 6 of the Guardianship Act 1968 makes both parents of a child guardians unless the mother was not married to the father and was not living with the father "as husband and wife" at the time of the birth of the child. Effectively, this means both parents are entitled to custody of the children and an abused woman must hope that her partner is not going to contest custody or access through the courts.

37 When discussing Catherine MacKinnon's analysis of the *Martinez* case, Angela Harris refers to similar difficulties. Harris, "Race and Essentialism" (1990) 42 Stanford Law Review 593. The conflict of cultures raises many questions of fundamental importance to feminism.

another reason why Maori need to be empowered to carry out research based on a Maori perspective and Maori imperatives.

IV. CONCLUSION

Nine Maori women were interviewed in the project, and what we have is a collection of women's stories in all their complexity.[38] The individual stories of these women are compelling and instructive for those who do not have knowledge, understanding or experience of domestic violence. Stanley and Wise have argued that the standpoint of each woman, located within a specific context, has epistemological value and produces "contextually grounded truths". These stories are also important on their own account simply because they *are* the stories of Maori women, stories which we must recover if Maori women are to "be written back into the records, to make ourselves visible.[39]

For these reasons the project is a success despite the reservations that must be entered in regard to the methodology adopted for the Maori part of the project. It was a brave attempt to bridge the gap between feminist research and practice and Maori cultural values. The project has taught everyone involved valuable lessons which can be used to guide us in other projects.

However, there is clearly a lot more research required if the needs of Maori women and their families are to be properly explored. Some of the gaps which are mentioned above could be dealt with if the research were generated from and controlled by the Maori community itself, so that aims, methodology and analysis based on Maori cultural values are used, as is appropriate.

In the meantime one is left to question the ability of the legal system to deal with the needs of Maori women and their children appropriately. Smart[40] refers to the view of law as "a kind of sovereign with the power to give and withhold rights" with the attendant idea, pervasive in society, that law has the power to right wrongs. She alludes to the difficulties inherent in a British based legal system for those from a culture or class different from that which developed this system when she says:[41]

> Law is not a free-floating entity, it is grounded in patriarchy, as well as in class and ethnic divisions. Rape should not be isolated in 'law', it must be contextualized in the domain of sexuality. Equally, child sexual abuse is not a problem of law, except inasmuch as both sexual abuse and law are exercises of power. But they are both exercised in the masculine mode, so one is not the solution to the other. Finally women's low pay is not a matter of equality but of segregated labour markets, racism, the division of private and public, and the undervaluation of women's work. Law cannot resolve these structures of power, least of all when we recognise that its history, and the history of these divisions coincide.

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38 See Williams, P, The Alchemy of Race and Ri ghts (1993) 10 where she says: That life is complicated is a fact of great analytic importance. Law too often seeks to avoid this truth by making up its own breed of narrower, simpler, but hypnotically powerful rhetorical truths. Acknowledging, challenging, playing with these as rhetorical gestures is, it seems to me, necessary for any conception of justice. Such acknow ledgment complicates the supposed purity of gender, race, voice, boundary; it allows us to acknowledge the utility of such categorisations for certain purposes and the necessity of their breakdown on other occasions. See also Minow, "Feminist Reason: Getting It and Losing It" (1990) Journal of Legal Education 60,

39 Stanley, L, Breaking Out. Feminist Consciousness and Feminist Research (1983) 12-32.

40 Supra n. 35.

41 Ibid., 88.

For Maori women the situation is compounded by the operation of a monocultural system. Back in 1986 the Advisory Committee on Legal Services issued a report[42] in which it called for legal services which reflect our bicultural heritage.[43] In the nine years since the report was published there has been little or no change to the legal system to reflect Maori values or concepts of justice. Yet this is the system which Maori women are expected to use to try to obtain the protection they need. Maori women deserve better.

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42   Supra n. 30.
43   Ibid., para 2.1.

Towards a Theory of Mana Wahine

Huia Tomlins Jahnke

WHAKARĀPOPOTO KŌRERO

Ko te kaupapa ia o tēnei tuhituhinga he tātari i tā te ao Māori rokohanga atu ki te mana o te tāne, ki te mana o te wahine, tae atu ki te hua mai o te mana o te noho o te wahine Māori o ēra rau tau. E kōkiritia ai te whakaaro ko te noho ngātahi o te tokorua nei i ahu mai i ngā rārangi kōrero o Te Ao Tūroa. Kei roto i ēnei whakataunga kōrero e kite ai tatau te kauae māro hei takahi i tenei pae whakataunga kōrero. Ki te riro ko tenei te ūmanga māro mo te āhua o te wahine Māori koia te mea hei pīkau i enei titiro e noho hāngai tonu nei ki tenei aohurihuri. Ae rā kei konei, e taupae ai ta te wahine Māori titiro. Ko te whakamutunga ia he whakarihariha ano tā te wahine Māori noho ki tā tauiwi wahine titiro. Atu i Aotearoa nei, inē te titiro ki ngā tangata whenua, wahine o tawāhi ki Ahitereiria ki te Tokerau o Amerika.

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the theoretical perspective of a Māori world view as it relates to power relations between men and women and the role of women in customary society. It is argued that insights regarding the nature of power relations may be gained from an analysis of the cosmological narratives. Such analysis provide theoretical understandings about the position, status and role of Māori women in customary society. The position of women as powerful, autonomous, independent beings and as bearers of knowledge are recurring themes that continue to have relevance today. Definitions of mana wahine and mana whenua are discussed drawing extensively on an analysis of the cosmological narratives. This provides the basis for a discussion on the development of Māori Women's theories. It is concluded that mana wahine expresses what counts as feminism for Māori women and that western feminisms do not adequately address the needs of Māori women. Finally, some comparative perspectives with indigenous women from Australia and North America are outlined.

INTRODUCTION
Te Ao Māori - A Māori world view

 According to Yupiaq scholar Oscar Kawagley,

> *"a world view consists of the principles we acquire to make sense of the world around us. Young people learn these principles including values, traditions, and customs from myths, legends, stories, family, community and examples set by community leaders...Once a worldview has been formed the people are then able to identify themselves as a unique people" (1995).*

An understanding of a Māori orientation to the world, provides significant insights into a world view that customarily did not perceive relations between men and women in terms of gendered hierarchies of power that privileged men over women. The cosmological narratives as a starting point provide such insights along with strong messages about the position, status and role women held prior to colonisation.

These narratives[1] were perceived as a cultural reality and were orally transmitted in symbolic language richly imbued with metaphor. Today they remain relevant for Māori and not merely echoes of a distant past (Metge, 1976:267). Ranginui Walker (1978) for example, has argued that the messages embedded in the *myths*[2] provide cultural templates that are reflected in past and present practices and beliefs.

Myths reflect the philosophy, ideals and norms of the people who adhere to them as legitimating charters. Sometimes a myth is the outward projection of an ideal against which human performance can be measured and perfected. Alternatively, a myth might provide a reflection of current social practice, in which case it has an instructional and validating function (p20).

The cosmological narratives offer some insights into the nature of gender relations in customary[3] Māori society and reveal how these relations were embedded in cultural values, attitudes and practices. The position, status and role of women as powerful, autonomous, independent beings and as bearers of knowledge are recurring themes. These themes are reinforced in tribal histories of whakapapa, waiata, whakatauki and korero tawhito transmitted through the generations by both men and women. This perspective provides a basis upon which to examine the lives and experiences of Māori women today. The way they experience their lives, how they see themselves, how they understand themselves in relation to different groups of women and men, and how they seek solutions to problems arising from their diverse realities within the dualistic world views of te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā. The cosmological themes that are identified in tribal histories may still be applicable to Māori women working and living in contemporary society.

Constructions of women and men in customary Māori society, were grounded in a system of tribal practices, beliefs, attitudes and values derived from cosmological genealogies and narratives that codified and defined the origins of the world, basic elements of human culture and behaviour, the rituals of encounter and the relationships between human beings and nature (Walker, 1990:19-23).

Analysis of the Genesis traditions links the centrality of land to the physical, spiritual and material well-being of Māori; the specific relationship of women and land and the position, status and role of women in society derived from that relationship (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988:158-9. Jenkins, 1992:39).

Land was regarded by Māori as life itself (Asher & Naulls, 1987:3, Norman, 1992:7)[4] associated with procreation and sustenance as illustrated by the following whakatauki.

> *Ko te whenua te wai-u mō ngā uri whakatipu.*

The land is likened to a woman who sustains her young with milk from her breast. The use of such a simile emphasises the view that woman and land were considered fundamental to life. The benefits for humankind were contingent upon the homology between the welfare of women and that of the land. Women and land were analogous to the well-being of humankind. The position, role and status of women were clearly defined in relation to the importance and value of land as reinforced in the following whakatauki.

> *He wahine, he whenua ka ngaro ai te tangata.*

The literal translation of this proverb is often interpreted as meaning 'by women and land men are lost' (Te Awekotuku, 1991:45. Binney and Champion, 1986:26). The inherent ambiguity and metaphor that characterises Māori language allows for a more expansive interpretation. Rose Pere, for example, emphasises the notion that since women and land carry the same nurturing role, without them humanity is lost (1982:17). The significance of

this link is illustrated by a definition of Māori terms.

The word for *land* is *whenua*, the personification of the body of Papatuānuku provider of nourishment and sustenance. *Whenua* is also the term used for *placenta*, the lining of the womb during pregnancy through which the foetus is nourished. The whenua of the new-born is ceremoniously linked to Papatuānukunuku when it is buried in a special place thus affirming a child's genealogical nexus with the land-whenua as *tāngata whenua* (Pere, 1982:17. 1990:2). Furthermore, Pere's definition of the word *tangata* as meaning *humanity* emphasises a non gendered translation. The reference then is not that men are lost on account of women but that women and land hold status, are of equal importance and value. Attitudes to women were based on this assumption. The status accorded women by customary society is reinforced by a North Auckland elder:

> *"...the Māori says there are only two things they would die for, women and land and of course it is true for kaiwhenua ... Ngā kaupapa i tīmata te mea nui he tangata he whenua me ngā kai o runga o te whenua. Kore hoki ngā kai ra e kore te wahine e ora. Hore kau he pononga o te tangata.*
>
> *Fundamental principles in te ao Māori since the very beginning evolved around the importance of people, the land, and resources (food) harvested from the land. Without food women would not survive. Mankind, people could not survive (Norman, 1992:7)".*

The high regard with which women were held in society is exemplified by the non-sexist nature of the Māori language. It is significant that there are no demeaning terms for 'woman'. Kinship terms denote a persons status or endearment. For example, a wife or husband, is known by the phrase *taku hoa rangatira*, 'my executive partner'. Pronouns like 'he/she' and 'his/her' are non-gendered terms, *ia* and *tana/tōna*. The term *tuahine* refers to a revered relationship extended by men to their sisters or female cousins (Kupenga et al, 1990:10). Today this term is used as a mark of respect accorded to women by men of the same generation who are not necessarily linked by kinship ties.

After marriage women retained their independence, identity and social power. They kept their own name and all their inherited rights to land and property (Makareti, 1986:80. Pere, 1988: 9) which gave them economic power. "With the exception of slaves (male and female), the women were never regarded as chattels or possessions" (Pere, 1988: 9). Indeed, power relations between women and men emphasised principles of complementarity and interdependence that were necessary for survival. Survival included the means to procreate.

GENDER ROLES AND COSMOGONY

Notions of procreation are apparent within the cosmological genealogy as allegorical expressions based on the assumption that female as well as male principles were essential for procreation to occur. Clearly absent from these very earliest traditions were patriarchal notions of female subordination and male domination such as can be seen in the western Greek tradition of Tertillian's argument that in the sperm the whole fruit was present (Cox, 1987:4). In terms of gender relations notions of complementary roles and a concern for the collective well-being provided a foundation principle upon which Māori society was structured. A closer examination of the cosmological genealogies provides some clues to questions regarding the nature of gender. How are gender relations manifest in the genealogies and narratives? Do the messages therein remain relevant to the lives of many

of the women and men (the inheritors of these traditions) in today's world?

The cosmological sequence of creation begins with the genealogical compilation that conveys aeons of evolutionary definition encompassing concepts of consciousness, materiality and time from the first state of existence Te Kore - the void, through the state of Te Po - the dark, to the conception of life within Te Ao Marama - the world of light (Taylor, 1855: 14-6. Best, 1973:11. Buck, 1949:433-38. Simmons, 1985:17. Salmond, 1985: 244-5. Harrison, 1988:3. Walker, 1990:11-12).

Within the primal state of existence, Te Kore, "the realm between non-being and being, that is, the realm of potential being" (Simmons, 1985:17), notions of male and female principles are implicit and provide the earliest impression of the principle of complementarity.

The waiata whakapapa recorded by Te Kohuora of Rongoroa and published in 1855 by Reverend Richard Taylor, depicts concepts which convey notions of growth and procreation.[5]

Na te *kune*, te pupuke
Na te *pupuke* te hihiri
Na te *hihiri* te mahara
Na te *mahara* te hinengaro
Na te *hinengaro* te manako...(Taylor, 1855:14).

By way of explanation, a comparison of translations of the first few lines of this version is useful. In his translation of the lines quoted here, Best describes the concepts (in *italics)* as 'conceiving, swelling, flowing forth, persevering, the power of thinking, desire and longing' (1973:11). Salmond's (1985:244-5) translation is similar to Best with only minor variations. For example, she translates *te kune* as the *source* compared with Best's choice of the verb *conceiving.*, which implies some kind of action. The word *kune* also means 'to swell' as in pregnancy, so that the idea of impregnation and germination is also implied.

Whereas Best and Salmond focus here on implicit sexual notions of growth, Taylor's translation of Te Kohuora focuses on the concept of intellectual growth " ...the epoch of thought..." described in such terms as conception, increase, thought, remembrance, consciousness and desire (1855:14).[6]

Despite the differences in focus, each interpretation alludes to the notion of growth, movement and creativity. While there are multi-layers of meaning embodied within the full cosmological recitals, and these varied tribally, implicit is the allegory of the growth of trees (Best, 1973:11), of plants (Buck: 1977:435) and of gestation in the womb (Simmons, 1985:17). As Simmons explains:

> "Te Kore ... is the realm of primal elemental energy or latent being. It is here that the seeds of the universe and all created things come into being. It is the womb from which all things proceed ... (ibid)."

Allegorical references to seeds, the womb, gestation and growth imply sexual notions of procreation. Implicit in these references is the idea that in order to have growth, there must be essential elements for growth to occur. Seeds that are symbolic of the male principle, gestate in a womb, a symbol of the female principle. For growth to occur principles of both male and female are essential. The following example helps to illuminate this point.

Te kore te *wiwia*
Te kore te rawea
Ko hotupu ko hau ora
Ka noho i te atea
Ka puta ki waho, te rangi e *tu nei...*
(Te Kohuora in Taylor, 1855:16).

Taylor's translation conveys the idea of growth, power and the procreative act of" ...the living breath. It dwelt with the empty space, and produced the atmosphere which is above us" (1855:14). Salmond describes the idea of potential, "...from the nothingness the ability" and of increased energy and growth "from the nothingness the becoming". The act of procreation is "...the wind of growth and the wind of life, lay with empty space and the sky was born"(1985:244-5).

COMPLEMENTARY AND INTERDEPENDANT ROLES.

The notion of two elements joining in union resulting in birth is analogous to that of male and female copulating resulting in the birth of a child. The principles of male and female are essential for procreation. The complementarity of these principles in the evolutionary process is founded on the idea that one cannot exist without the other. They are interdependent and complementary. Each principle is complementary to the other and necessary for the creation of the principle of human life, the *ira tangata.*

The theme of complementarity is again reinforced in the sequence that explains how the ira tangata was procured and the first human, a woman, was created (Best, 1973: 16. Buck, 1977:449-451. Walker, 1990:14)).[7] It is the process by which this act was achieved that provides some significant clues to gender relations in Māori society.

The sons of Rangi and Papa concluded that since they were all male the female principle, the *uha,* was essential for the creation of the *ira tangata* and therefore a search for this principle was necessary. Tane led the search and his experimental acts of procreation with female personifications in the natural world had produced trees, birds and insects, but not the appropriate female element (Walker, 1990:14). The brothers concluded that the *ira tangata* could not be derived from within their own realm, the *ira atua* but would have to be created. They then resolved to mould a female form from the red earth at Kurawaka, the pubic area of Papatuānuku (Ibid). Each brother took part in this creative process contributing knowledge and resources, deliberating carefully over each anatomical formation (Buck, 1977:450). Tane was delegated the task of breathing life into the inanimate form to create the *ira tangata,* the first human a woman named Hineahuone (Buck,1977:450. Walker,1990: 14).

This narrative serves to illustrate a number of points. Although all of the off-spring of Rangi and Papa were male, they were nevertheless powerless to create humankind without the female element. Their knowledge of this precipitated their decision to carry out a search. The search in itself confirmed their powerlessness. The brothers debate over where to search, their decision about the outcomes and the conclusion they reached to create a human form all serve to emphasise the importance and the status of the female element as the subject of hui (conference), kōrero (discussion) and mahi (action). This also serves as a precursor to the involvement of woman in all social and political activities of society.

Papatuānuku is female, the metaphor for earth mother. Her power over humankind was revealed in her forced and violent separation from Ranginui, the sky father, by Tane. Firstly, the separation revealed that she contained the essential ingredient for the creation of humankind, the female element the 'uha', retrieved by Tane after a long and arduous search (Buck, 1949:450-1). Secondly, the power of Papatuānuku was invested in the notion that the procreative potential of humanity was dependent upon the nourishment and sustenance that only she could provide. Located within the sanctum of her body were the realms of each of her sons, the deities of the major resources of the universe (Jenkins, 1992:39). Papatuānuku contained the female element 'the uha' and Tane the life principle, the *ira tangata,* thus illustrating the complementarity and interdependence of male and female.

The task of searching for the uha and of creating the human form by contributing knowledge and resources also emphasises the importance of getting things right and of having the appropriate ingredients. This theme is reinforced again by Tane who was delegated with the task of procreation. It also validates the reproductive qualities of women that acknowledge her reproductive organs, a most tapu area of the body, as the most significant point of creativity. On entering into the tipuna whare (meeting house), the rites of passage of passing beneath the pare situated above the door, is a ritualistic re-enactment and process of transformation from one state (tapu) into another (noa) that rationalises the importance of women. The pare is most often a carved female figure representing the origin of the life of the tribe, as protection against harmful intentions by any who might enter and to honour an ancestress (Mitchell, 1972:86).

The fact that women were also considered tapu negates commonly held views that only men were tapu. For example, women were considered highly tapu during menstruation and pregnancy. Menstrual blood was considered 'the flow of ancestral blood' and critical in the development of a future ancestor (Pere, 1982:22). Therefore, as Pere contends, the notion of women as 'unclean' or 'contaminated' during menstruation is completely incongruous with Māori thought (ibid). Observances of tapu ensured that pregnant women did not jeopardise their unborn child through over-exertion. Women's role as whare tangata (houses of humanity) was highly regarded, as the following expression reveals 'he tapu, tapu, tapu rawa atu te wahine' (ibid:23). Thus within a Māori world view, the concept of menstruation may be conceived as signifying both life lost and the potential for life and women's role as the potential receptacle of existence and non-existence.

TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF MANA WAHINE

Within tribal cosmological genealogies which describe the beginnings of the universe, notions of female and male principles were inherently embedded within allegories that affirmed their complementarity and interdependence.

As the personification of land, Papatuānuku provides the symbolic rationale for the physical, spiritual and psychological attachment of Māori to land and in particular the attachment and special relationship of woman and land. The significance of the female principle was also reinforced by the actions of Tāne in his search for the female constituent in order to create the first human. This was Hine-ahu-one, a woman earth-formed by Tāne from the body of Papatuānuku and endowed by Tāne with the ira tangata - the life principle. Thus the earthly element necessary to the procreation of humankind was acquired (Best, 1973:16. Buck: 1949:451).

In the generation of life Tāne and Hineahuone gave birth to Hinetitama with whom Tāne also formed a union that resulted in off-spring. When Hinetitama realised that her father was also her husband, she withdrew from Te Ao Marama (the world of light) to the underworld of Rarohenga (the world of night) and became Hinenuitepō guardian and protector of the spiritual welfare of the deceased (Best, 1973:18). Her reaction serves to establish the immorality of incest (Walker, 1990 :15) on the one hand and to demonstrate through her actions the contradiction of being at once powerless and powerful. Powerless in the sense that she was unable to undo the violation by Tāne upon her body and empowered by her autonomy, strength and courage to determine her perpetual and irrevocable self-exile and inevitably to gain the most powerful position of all, that over the mortality of humankind.

The power of women's autonomy can also be seen in the account of the fatal attempt by Māui to gain immortality by entering the vagina of Hinenuitepō. His attempt was thwarted by the fantail's warning that woke Hinenuitepō and trapping him, she crushed Māui to death. This narrative not only provides the rationale for the state of the mortality of humankind (Walker, 1990:19), it also symbolises the awesome power of women over life and death (Jenkins, 1992:39). Women are intimately connected with the beginning of life, the welfare of humankind in the mortal world and after death, with the welfare of the soul. They are at once, the personification of life and death. As Pere states, "mortals born of a female return to the bosom of a female personification, Papa, at the physical death of mortals" (Pere,1982:15). Finally it is Hinenuitepō who looks after the spirits of mankind when they pass to the underworld after death (Grace, 1984:78).

The power of women's autonomy was evident in the emotional and physical freedom they enjoyed. A measure of their freedom was in their ability to express their views and fully participate at all levels of social and political affairs affecting the tribe. However, it was also recognised that not all men or women were necessarily qualified (for example in terms of whakapapa) or skilled to participate as leaders or specialists. Some women, like men, were tribal leaders such as Hinematioro of Ngāti Porou (Mahuika, 1977) and Mihi Kotukutuku of Te Whanau a Āpanui. There were tohunga like Raiha Piata of Ngāti Pāhauwera (Richardson, 1996:61); warriors such as Topeora of Ngāti Raukawa. Many women actively participated in decision making processes at all levels of tribal politics (Mahuika, 1973). They were keepers of knowledge and tribal histories dispersed through kōrero and waiata tāwhito (Ngata:1928).

As tribal leaders and as active participants in tribal affairs, women were considered rationally autonomous individuals. A Māori woman had autonomy which gave her personal freedom to move within the boundaries of tribal custom that applied to men as well. It gave her the freedom to maintain her own identity and to exercise control of her own body. It has already been mentioned that women kept their own name after marriage (Makareti, 1986:80) many choosing to remain with their husbands within their own hapu. All matters to do with menstruation and childbirth were controlled by women under the benevolent care of Hine-te-iwaiwa (Ibid:119. Pere, 1982:13). While women bear children it was not considered their sole responsibility for raising them. The whole whānau were responsible for parenting and ensuring the children's welfare and development were secure. However, it was the older generations (men and women) who assumed the greatest responsibility for child-care (Pere, 1982:54).

MANA WAHINE: MANA WHENUA

The analogous connections between women and land, and the position, status and

autonomy of women that emerge from these connections, are grounded within a cosmological paradigm (Jenkins, 1992:37- 45). They provide a basis from which to articulate the collective relationship of women and men to the land. This relationship is most often expressed in terms of identity through a partnership with Papatuānuku and realised in terms of whakapapa.

Whakapapa is the currency upon which one establishes his or her relationship to the land, kinship ties and status within society (Mahuika, 1973. Sinclair, 1975:89. Walker, 1990:70). It is a complex genealogical matrix that, among others, emphasised the rights of an individual to mana whenua. These rights were based on a number of principles that formed the basis of customary tenure. For example, *papa tipu* was based on the principle of occupation. *Whenua kite hou* or *take taunaha* was the right of discovery. The right of *ahikāroa* was based on the notion of continual and unbroken occupation. The right of *take tupuna* was based on the principle of ancestral inheritance or cession. The principle of *take tuku,* was based on the right of gift, *Take Ohāki* the right of a death-bed deposition and *take raupatu* the right of conquest through battle (Sinclair, 1975: 89-9. Pere, 1982: 17. Asher and Naulls, 1987: 3. Pere, 1990:4).

The partnership between tāngata and whenua was premised on the collective responsibility of the descendants, men and women. As guardians and custodians their task was to work to protect the land against exploitation in return for the shared benefits of the material, physical and economic resources within clearly defined boundaries delineated by natural and topographical features. Every feature bore specific names that linked events, activities and customary usage with generations of occupation. This knowledge was meticulously memorised and transmitted orally by family members through each generation (Sinclair, 1975: 89). Within this context tribal rights to land and the identity of a people were established. Women were not excluded from rights to land because whakapapa and not gender is the governing factor. Mana whenua could also be inherited through women thus establishing their access to economic power (Mahuika,1977).

An important means of establishing rights to land was that based on the principle of te ahikāroa or the right of occupation and use. Literally meaning 'the long fire' this principle relates to the custody of land acquired by occupation. Continuous undisturbed occupation was an added prerequisite of mana whenua and was primarily dependent upon residence within the tribal area to which the land belonged. Claims to ahikāroa were weakened if a woman (or man) left the district and either she or any of her descendants did not return. The rights to occupation would then be lost and considered to have become cold or 'ahi mataotao' (Sinclair, op cit:91).

MĀORI WOMEN'S THEORIES.

The influences of colonisation effectively eroded the social, economic, political and spiritual power of Māori women. This position was due, in part, to "colonial ideologies pertaining to gender and ethnicity [that] corrupted many of the stories, values, beliefs and practices that are linked to Māori women" (Pihama and Mara, 1994:227). Reclaiming those links remain a priority for many Māori women. Theoretical understandings about the position, status and role of women in customary society continue to have some relevance to Māori women today. These understandings provide a blueprint for social relations between men and women, and between each other within contemporary contexts of whānau, hapu and iwi, and cultural sites such as marae, turangawaewae and hui. They also have relevance for gender relations within cultural spaces created outside traditional contexts.

In order to make sense of the reality of Māori women's lives and find relevant ways to explain the nature of Māori women's experiences in contemporary contexts it is necessary to employ an analysis that is grounded in te ao Māori. Such analysis finds expression in the term mana wahine Māori. Mana wahine Māori is a definition used by Māori women (Te Awekotuku,1991; Smith, 1993) to describe what counts as feminism as it relates to Māori women.

Critiques of Pākehā feminism by Māori women (Awatere, 1984; Te Awekotuku, 1991; Irwin, 1992; Smith, 1993; Evans, 1993; Pihama and Mara, 1994) establish clearly that Western feminism does not take account of the needs of Māori women or the cultural context of their realities. For example, Donna Awatere called attention to the irrevocable differences between on the one hand, the projects of Pākehā women that concentrated on the individual, sex oppression and defining what counts as feminism for all women, and on the other, the concerns of Māori women that centred around the oppression of Māori people (1984:42-5). Drawing from her own experience in the feminist movement Ngahuia Te Awekotuku described the tension between sustaining a commitment to women on the one hand and functioning within a tribal world of male and female on the other. She highlighted the notion that ethnicity tends to sharpen one's sensitivity to racism which, as an integral part of cross-cultural relationships in Aotearoa, is an attitude that does not exclude feminists (1991:20).

Kathie Irwin called for alternative theories of Māori feminists to explain the realities of Māori women. Theories that draw analyses grounded in Te Ao Māori where Māori society and culture are central (l992:4). Ripeka Evans expounded on this view by pointing out specific differences between Māori and Pākehā feminism. In particular,

> "that Māori feminism was grounded in the identity and creation of this country, grounded in the rivers, lakes, mountains, seas and forests, grounded in the war and peace between tribes and families, grounded in the whakapapa of generations of families, tribes, waka, Gods and Goddesses, grounded in notions and concepts of time and space that required reclamation and if the price was a re-fashioning of Māori society then so be it" (1993:7).

According to Linda Smith, the concept of Mana Wahine Māori, is a broad term that can accommodate a range of viewpoints and analysis. It is a strong cultural concept that takes into account the complex relationships of Māori women to one another, their whakapapa and situates them in relation to the outside world and other indigenous women (1993:61).

COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES WITH OTHER INDINGEOUS WOMEN

The failure of western feminism to adequately address the needs of Māori women is also shared by other indigenous women. For example, women from Native American nations are critical of feminist analysis that does not address the reality of Indian women. An Oneida scholar, Pam Colorado asserts "nothing I've encountered in feminist theory addresses the fact of our colonization or the wrongness of white women's stake in it" (cited in Jaimes, 1992:332). Lorelei Means is critical of the way in which 'white very middle-class feminists,'

> "tell us we have to move 'beyond' our culture in order to be 'liberated' like them... They virtually demand that we give up our own traditions in favour of what they image their own to be...It was being forced away from our own traditions that deformed us - that made the men sexists and the things like that - in the first place.

What we need to be is more, not less Indian" (ibid).

Seneca leader, Laura Waterman Wittstock's message was "tribalism, not feminism, is the correct route" for native women to follow (ibid:334). Women of other non-white sectors in America share many Native women's criticisms of western feminism especially in regard to an emphasis on gender. African American Bell Hooks has been particularly outspoken in this regard. She is critical of feminist analyses that tend to focus exclusively on gender and do not provide a firm base with which to construct feminist theory. According to Hooks, feminist analysis tends to either dismiss race or acknowledge the importance of race "and then proceed to offer an analysis in which race is not considered" (I 984:14).

Gender relationships of complementarity manifest in customary Māori society is also evident in historic Native American and Pueblo societies where separations between the strategic interests of women and men were not pronounced. Gender relations tended toward complementarity (Greenman, 1996:53). This is also the case in Aboriginal societies of Australia. For example, the women of the Antikirinja continue customary roles and to possess bodies of knowledge that are separate from and complementary to that of the men (Ellis and Barwick, 1989:38).

It can also be seen that the power of women to exercise control of aspects of conception and birth was not unique to customary Māori society. In many societies of Aboriginal Australia, women maintained authority over their own bodies (Brock, 1989:xxi). For example, among the Adnjamathanha, women controlled all aspects of pregnancy and childbirth including their children's inherited rights through matrilineal descent (ibid).

In terms of economic, social, political and spiritual power held by women among other indigenous peoples the Native American experience provides examples. Traditionally, most Native American nations were matrilineal and it was women not men who were politically powerful (Jaimes, 1992). According to Native American scholar Mariana Jaimes, in nations such as the Haudenosaunee[8] most of the clans were headed by a clan mother. Forming a confederation of leaders, these women held the right to select which males assumed positions of political responsibility. A measure of respect with which women were held by Native American's is illustrated by the Delaware nation who generically referred to themselves as 'women', considering the term to be supremely complimentary (ibid:317). According to the Laguna researcher Paula Gunn Allen, traditional native societies were never 'male dominated' (ibid:3 I 5). She emphasises "to address a person as 'mother' is to pay the highest ritual respect" (cited in Greenman, 1996:49).

The position of women in many Native American societies was strengthened by economic power. Haudenosaunee women owned the land and the crops produced from it. Among the Lakota, men owned only their horse, clothing, hunting implements and spiritual items. Homes and furnishings were the property of women. In order to divorce her husband, a Lakota woman "simply set his meagre personal possessions outside the door of their lodge, an action against which he had no appeal under traditional law" (ibid:318).

Within their cosmologies all Native American nations exhibit an abundant presence of feminine elements such as Mother Earth, Spider Woman (Hopi and Dine'), Grandmother Turtle (Iroquois) and White Buffalo Calf Woman (Lakota) to name a few (ibid 319). In terms of gender relations Winona La Duke, an Anishinabe' writer sums up the Native American

experience which also speaks to the experience of Māori.

> *"Traditionally, American Indian women were never subordinate to men. Or vice versa for that matter. What native societies have always been about is achieving balance in all things, gender relations no less than any other. Nobody needs to tell us how to do it. We've had that all worked out for thousands of years. And, left to our own devices, that's exactly how we'd be living right now" (cited in Jaimes, 1992:319).*

CONCLUSION

Film-maker Merita Mita in an address on feminism and post colonialism clearly articulated the inadequacy of Western feminism to explain her own position as a Māori woman.

> *"The basis for my presentation is built on the principle of Mana Wahine, a Māori concept which exceeds the boundaries of feminism and incorporates a dimension of spirituality emanating from the primary element of Hine-ahu-one. I am Māori, I am woman, I am family, I am tribe and only one of the facets of who I am fits comfortably under the label of feminism" (cited in Pihama and Mara, 1994:228).*

An analysis of the cosmological narratives provide insights into the nature of power relations and theoretical understandings about the position, status and role of Māori women in customary society that continue to have relevance today. The relevance of such insights and theories lie in assisting Māori women to understand the multiple realities of their lives and to interpret these realities in ways that make sense to them. As such it provides a framework for understanding the present position, status and role of women that is informed by the past and which in turn may assist in defining possibilities for future directions. This allows for Māori women to assume control over the interpretation of their lives both within and outside whānau, hapu and/or iwi contexts and cultural sites such as marae, turangawaewae and hui. This includes how social relations within Māori society are understood, rationalised and what this means in practice.

Today, principles of complementarity and interdependence between Māori men and women that are highlighted in the cosmological narratives are apparent in certain cultural sites, contexts and spaces both inside and outside traditional contexts. But this does not necessarily mean that there is equality. Indeed, Dame Mira Szaszy has vigorously and consistently argued against a perceived inequality that exists between men and women on the marae for example (1986:242). The challenge remains one of making connections between what we understand the position, status and role of Māori women in the past to have been and how such links relate to the way in which roles are defined, redefined, constructed and contested in the present.

Mana wahine expresses what counts as feminism for Māori women. It is a term that encompasses an identity, philosophy and value system based on whakapapa and the origins of the world and grounded in the mountains, rivers and lands of Aotearoa. Contemporary projects of Māori women ensure that what counts as feminism is not only about relationships among and between Māori men and women but also with achieving the individual and collective well-being of Māori people.

He aha te mea nui o te ao?
He tangata, he tangata, he tangata!

Endnotes

1   Narratives tend to be tribally specific and generally contain minor differences in interpretations. The interpretations here are drawn mainly from Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou and Whakatōhea traditions.
2   Although not the case here, generally speaking the negative connotation of the term *myth* meaning *fictitious* or *untrue* is problematic when discussing concepts that are a cultural reality. My preference is for the term cosmology which suggests a broad interpretation that does not undermine or denigrate a world view that is often times in conflict with a western cultural imperative.
3   The term *customary* is used as a collective term for Māori society prior to colonisation.
4   Asher G. and Naulls D.,1987, Māori Land, NZ Planning Council, Wellington.
5   It must be noted that the cosmogony differs between tribes. See Buck, 1949:434.
6   There are some variations in the orthography between the Māori texts in Taylor (1855) and Salmond (1985), the latter being a modernised version.
7   Tribal accounts of this narrative vary. This version supports my own tribal account, that of the Ngāti Kahungunu, as outlined in Buck, (1977:449-451).
8   Six Nations Iroquois confederacy of New York State.

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Sacred Balance

Aroha Te Pareake Mead - Ngāti Awa

Ko Putauaki te maunga,
Ko Rangitaiki te awa
Ko Ngāti Awa te iwi,
Ngāti Pahipoto te hapū,
Ko Kokohinau te marae,
Ko Mātaatua te waka,
Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa

WHAKARĀPOPOTO KŌRERO

Ko te pūtake o tā te iwi Māori taki i tōna ao ko te koroki atu ki Te Kauae Raro ki Te Kauae Runga. Ko ēnei kōrero kei te mau tonu ki te matamata o te ārero, o te hinengaro. Kei te noho ngātahi tonu ngā weu me nga pūtake o tā te Māori whakarahi kōrero ki te pūtaiao. Ko ngā ihoiho, ko te wairua o tua whakarere ka noho rauhi mai, kāore e wehe ana. Engari ka honoa, ka tū ake ki te ao takatū nei ka tōia, ka takahia ki roto tikanga pōhēhē e te hunga pōhēhē kia ā mai ko ta Darwin mā hei pae kōhiko kōrero. Ka whakangarotia tō tāua mākau whakarahi.

Ko ngā heke, te ana whakamātau kōrero a te rahi o Tauiwi kua pokapoka noa i ngā ihoiho, ka whakawarea, ka whakapūhoretia te iho matua o ngā puta mai i tōna noho mārihi ki roto i te pūtaiao. Ko tēnei tikanga ka noho hāngai kia whakahaua ko te whai pūtea te waka rangatira hei hoe. Ko ēnei momo whakarato ka noho hei māminga i te aho matua o ngā momo tāngata whenua katoa o te ao.

Manaakitia, rapua te tapu te rahi maioro o ngā rawa o Papatūānuku hei kete wānanga whakaora i te hunga tangata e noho nei ki te mata o te ao katoa, kaua e whakanui i te pūkoro o te toko iti.

ABSTRACT

The Ranginui and Papatūānuku cosmological or genealogical narrative provides iwi Māori with the whakapapa of existence and connection. Māori traditional knowledge and philosophy is bound by this pro-creative narrative. The narrative promotes concepts of integrity and inter-dependency of living things with the natural environment. Māori have a spiritual and cultural inter-relationship with nature that cannot be viewed as separate. However, indigenous cosmological views are often discounted in a post Darwin reductionist construct of 'modern' science or biology.

The legacy of Western evolutionary frameworks has lead to extremes of biotechnological and scientific research being carried out through gene manipulation, cloning or isolation of resources from the natural ecosystem. Such practices are aligned with abject commercial imperatives. Such consumer driven imperatives for ready access to unseasonal, manipulated or modified resources is fundamentally disempowering to indigenous peoples.

A sacred balance of sustainable utilisation and protection of the earth's resources is for the survival of all humankind, rather than the profits of a few.

INTRODUCTION

According to Māori, the creation of all living things on earth is a great epic love story, one in which Ranginui (sky father) and Papatūānuku (earth mother) sacrificed their deep love for each other and separated. In their earthly embrace they were suffocating their children. Ranginui was pushed into the sky in order that their children could have air, light and space and be able to move freely and grow between them.

Their separation was a heart-wrenching and violent one and it is recorded that the children had to cut the arms of Ranginui off because he would not let go of Papatūānuku. The form of Papatūānuku is female with her head lying face down to the east, her legs to the west. (Smith 1913:121) When Ranginui was finally positioned in the sky, where he remains today, the blood from his arms dripped down on to Papatuanuku, and hence the *horu* (red oxide of iron was used to paint houses, canoes and the face) and the *pukepoto* (blue phosphate of iron) that his descendants use in painting (Smith 1913:121). Initially, Papatūānuku faced upwards towards her husband, but such was the impact of their sorrow, that his tears throughout the day and night caused heavy rain and snow storms, and her tears caused clouds and mists. Combined they both muffled the light and stifled the air. Their children still could not see and so Papatūānuku's head was turned to face the ground away from the sight of Ranginui. This is why the inner earth still trembles with earthquakes.

CREATION

In the historical work "The Lore of the Whare wananga: Teachings of the Māori College on Religion, Cosmogony and History" published in 1913, Percy Smith translated the following teachings of Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu:

1   The waters of the ocean that are in the world, were created by waters; then grew [out of them] the land, the Earth, which on maturity was taken to wife by the Sky-father.
2   Next were created the minor vegetation, growing each after its own kind.
3   Next were created the trees of every kind, to clothe the skin of the Earth, which had theretofore been naked.
4   Next the reptiles and insects of every kind.
5   Next the animals, dogs, of every species.
6   Next the birds of different kinds to dwell on the plains and in the woods of the Earth, and on Lady Ocean also.
7   Next the moon, the sun and all the stars. When this had been accomplished, the 'World of Light' became permanent.
8   Next [and finally were created] Hine-ahu-one (the first woman) and her daughter Hine-titama; from whom mankind in the world sprung.

> By these all, from the very first down to the creation of the man, mentioned each in its own period, growing up in their own time...We now understand that this was the nature of all things and, each thing has its female (counterpart) through which it conceive...there is nothing that stands alone without its female (Smith 1913:136).

The seventy children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku were all male and are the ancestors that Māori still acknowledge today, such as Tane Mahuta (god of the forests) and Tangaroa (god of the oceans). Every living being, in its smallest microbial form is descended from Ranginui and Papatūānuku.

Far from this being a vague notion, Māori *whakapapa* is very detailed. Every species of marine life, every plant and animal endemic to this region can be traced back to Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Māori traditional knowledge of both the genealogy and properties of species and natural conditions is equivalently detailed.

Historian Elsdon Best recorded over 160 Māori names for eels, reflecting the diversity and the significance attached to variations in size, shape, colour, taste, behaviour and habitat

(NZCA 1997: 91). Botanist James Hector recorded in the I 870's, seventy different Māori names for varieties of flaxes, whereas the Linnaean system recognised only two species. Each of the seventy was known for it's special use (Park 1995: 47).

The people of Foveaux Strait distinguished twenty different winds. Kai Tahu…had at least fifteen separate terms for the varieties of alpine snow (NZCA Thom 1997: 91).

I am often asked by non-Māori how I rationalise the Māori view of creation and evolution as in Ranginui (the sky father) and Papatūānuku (the Earth mother) and their children according to the widely held Darwinian explanation. Surely, the Māori explanation is myth and legend, whereas Darwin 's theory is scientific fact. There is an assumption made that as an educated indigenous professional I must consign this particular aspect of my cultural heritage to a lesser status than the accepted European cultural explanation. Well, for the record, I don't.

RANGINUI AND PAPATŪĀNUKU: THE SURVIVAL OF ALL

To my mind, the Māori explanation of creation and evolution teaches me all I need to know to understand my role in life and attitude towards nature. My heritage teaches me about concepts such as the integrity and inter-dependency of living things. It makes me quite comfortable with the notion that as a human being I am but one part of a whole and that my generation is also simply one strand in the rope of humanity. It predetermines that the relationship I have with nature is based on kinship and respect and that in order for me to survive in a culturally rich way, I depend on the survival of others, not just other humans, but also plants and animals in the sea as well as on the land. It clarifies, that both male and female elements, are necessary to create and sustain life, be it human, plant or animal. It provides me with a proven framework from which I can analyse and identify risks and benefits to the well-being of all those areas that form my cultural heritage and encourages me to accept responsibility that in my lifetime I will not contribute to, or allow others to cause, any diminishment to the cultural heritage of my ancestors and descendants, including those yet unborn.

> Whatungarongaro he tangata; toitu he whenua
> *Man will always perish, but the land will remain forever*

Those who dispel a Māori or indigenous cosmological view do not seem to realise that the main message of any knowledge system is not whether it is true or false. It is not about ideas being proven or unproved. The purpose of any people's evolutionary framework is and always wil1 be the social, cultural and ethical values that are promoted amongst one's members.

DARWIN: SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

The Darwinian explanation of evolution, for instance, teaches very different values from Māori knowledge of evolution. Lewontin writes:

> *"He (Darwin) claimed there was a universal struggle for existence because more organisms were born than could survive and reproduce, and that in the course of that struggle for existence, those organisms who were more efficient, better designed, cleverer and generally better built for the struggle would leave more offspring than the inferior kinds" (Le wontin 1991:9).*

A process of natural selection, survival of the fittest. Within this context, humans emerge as superior to all others. Nature is reduced to species who exist independently of each other and who therefore become transferable objects.

The ideology of post-Darwin 'modem' science, including modem biology, as I have been taught, views the components of nature as being passive objects while the external world is seen as the active subject (Lewontin1991:12). Consistent with the value of 'survival of the fittest' this theory takes the view that its up to the natural objects to 'fit' within the external world rather than the other way round or a balance of both, with humans at the top of the evolutionary scale and all others below them.

BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY, BIOTECHNOLOGY AND SCIENCE

The term 'biological diversity' is not translatable to the Māori world view that I recounted earlier. It is in every sense a post-Darwin reductionist construct which separates culture and spirituality from nature. It removes the inter-relationship between humankind and other living things.

Biotechnology and gene technology in particular, are also borne of the reductionist ideology. Biotechnology is not the technological complement to nature or biodiversity, nor is human gene technology necessarily the complement to human health and wellbeing, rather both are a reinforcement that the external world, is the principal force by which natural objects must be made "to fit". In today's context the external world is the global economy. The criteria for determining whether something "fits" or not, is profit.

This may seem an unduly harsh viewpoint, research for the sake of research or for solely humanitarian reasons is unfortunately a thing of the past, a casualty of commercial imperatives. Research is now conducted within a competitive and commercially driven framework and that framework also includes the use of intellectual property mechanisms to assert exclusive ownership over genetic resources as well as biotechnological processes.

Critics such as Lewontin contend that *"Science is moulded by society because it is a human productive activity that takes time and money and so is guided and directed by those forces in the world that have control over money and time. People earn their living by science and as a consequence, the dominant social and economic forces in society determine to a large extent what science does and how it does it'* (Lewontin 1991:3).

Science is not neutral. It is not objective nor is it a universal value that all cultures place at a level superior to or different from social and cultural values and traditions.

In direct contrast to this reality, rather than promote the value and inter-relationship of diverse biological resources which is the global majority view, a greater value is accorded to the reduced identity of biological diversity as genetic resources. Instead of encouraging diverse systems of production for local consumption as a response to a global food shortage, clean water and poverty crisis, priority is given to the establishment of monocultures of 'a super-crop' for trade and export.

Over the past month, the local news has reported stories about cloned sheep, stags that can be altered to mate all year round, cows that can be bred to mature quicker and the list goes on. I can walk into a 'Big Fresh' supermarket and buy *kuku* (mussels), *pipi* (bivalve) all year

round. Two questions. Who determined that this was necessarily a good thing? And what are the risks? I don't need to be a marine biologist to know that when one takes a marine resource that is seasonal and turns it into a year long product in a national supermarket chain, at least one of three things has happened. The resource has been:

- Genetically modified,
- Bred under artificial conditions (i.e. farmed for the trade market rather than harvested as one of many inter-dependent species within the coastal marine environment)
- Isolated from the natural eco-system that depends on the presence and interaction of a diverse range of species.

Increasingly, all three factors are prevalent with the added dynamic of private firms asserting patent and plant variety rights over foods and medicinal plants that Māori have used for generations. If one accepts the philosophy that consumers benefit from having available to them year-long a product that is otherwise seasonal and has been genetically-modified, or that anyone in the world can purchase a traditional *rongoa* (medicine) to cure an illness and that these reasons in themselves constitute a benefit, well, I and many others simply do not agree. Having something available to purchase is not a benefit in itself.

The cost of offering the cure to the global market might mean that the traditional community will end up being prevented from continuing customary usage, instead being forced to buy the cure, even though without their assistance, the cure would never have been developed as a commercial product.

The cost of making available year-round seasonal resources is that the natural cycle and food chain is adversely affected, and the traditions and knowledge that form the *whakapapa* (genealogy) of that resource are lost. The value of end-products developed from resources and knowledge of indigenous peoples is usually far greater than the benefits returning to those peoples (Posey & Dutfield 1996:33).

A CULTURAL AND SOCIAL FRAMEWORK FOR ASSESSING RISKS AND BENEFITS

In 1992, Māori Congress submitted a report to the UN Conference on Environment & Development (UNCED Earth Summit 1992). On the issue of biotechnology, Congress stated: "that there be adequate participation of peoples most affected in assessing any risks associated with biotechnology, particularly as they relate to indigenous plants and animals" (Māori Congress UNCED Position Paper, 1992:14).

It isn't always obvious to those uneducated in or dismissal of Māori *tikanga* of the importance of ensuring that the balance of nature is not disrupted. For instance, recently reported was the outcome of a seemingly harmless proposal by an Otago University graduate student who wanted to collect drift seaweed for investigative research. The student wanted to weigh, identify and remove all seaweed cast ashore on one specific beach for a year to gather information on its seasonal availability. After public objections were heard, his application was eventually withdrawn because it did not acknowledge that seaweed was part of the food chain for birds and taking it would disturb wildlife and the beach (Otago Daily Times, 1/8/97).

As a Māori consumer I am not convinced that year round accessibility of seasonal foods is a benefit. I treasure the memories and experiences of joining with my *whanau* (family) to

gather food. My heritage includes the precept that at certain months of the year, we will have kina, pāua, koura, pipi, kuku, tītī, parengo, and at other times we will not.[1] I don't regard the fact that I can't have these foods all year round as a 'problem that needs to be rectified'. I associate all of these resources as indicative of a season, and within my cultural framework, there are lessons to be learnt about the life cycle, sustainable management and protocols for gathering, that are superior in value to the taste of those foods in my puku (stomach). The seasons, food sources, medicinal sources, harvesting, nurturing are what form my cultural heritage. The respect for the reproduction of life as a continuation of genealogy strikes me as a paramount cultural concern.

Biotechnology in itself will not serve the needs of many if the driving force is the profits of a few. In this sense, gene technology presents more of a risk than a benefit. I am of the view that there is sufficient reason to take a precautionary approach to gene technology. I am concerned at the rapid pace by which we are embarking into this uncharted area when it is very clear from my education in Māori *tikanga* that there are significant risks associated with the objectives of this field. Gene technology is an issue of mostly public concern. It deserves more public discussion and input. Social, cultural and ethical concerns are just as important as new technologies.

THE MANIPULATION OF LIVING THINGS

Purists of the "gene technology is for the betterment of the world" philosophy, regard critics such as myself as romanticists, living in the past, unwilling to progress into the modern age. But it is not a question of modernity - rather it is one of ethics. My cultural framework simply does not enable me to regard as a good thing the manipulation of the offspring Ranginui and Papatūānuku, my ancestors, to such a degree that the outcome bears little resemblance to the richness of their original form and purpose.

A case in point is the increasing competitiveness of seed companies who are now developing seed strains which by their very nature, will not reproduce and require specially manufactured chemicals in order to fertilise and make them grow. Physicist and ecofeminist, Dr. Vandana Shiva often uses the example of the seed to highlight the direct adverse impacts of gene technology on local indigenous farmers. Shiva writes of the implications of allowing seed companies to assert intellectual property rights over genetically-modified seeds. According to Shiva,

> "The commoditised seed is ecologically incomplete and ruptured at two levels:
>
> (i)   It does not reproduce itself, while by definition, seed is a generative
>   resource. Through technological transformation, biodiversity is
>   transformed from a renewable resource into a non-renewable resource.
>
> (ii)   It does not produce by itself. It needs the help of inputs to produce.
>
> As seed and chemical companies merge, the dependence on additional commercial
> products or 'inputs' will increase, not decrease. She argues that whether a chemical is
> added externally or internally, as in the new biotechnologies, it remains an external
> input in the ecological cycle of the reproduction of seed" (Shiva et al 1993: 50).

It is this shift from the ecological processes of reproduction to the technological processes of production Shiva contends that underlies both the problem of dispossession of farmers

and tribal peoples as well as the problem of erosion of biodiversity (ibid: 52).

It begs the question, when a seed is altered in such a way that it cannot re-generate, is it still a seed? The Oxford dictionary definition of a seed is "*unit of reproduction of plant, capable of developing into another such plant*." A more fundamental question is who is benefiting from the manipulation and ownership of plants?

In lay peoples' terms, when the philosophical leap has been taken to commoditise natural living things and to alter their genetic composition, the issue becomes much wider than a mere resultant product. Belief systems are eroded, traditional knowledge of how to care for plants and animals is lost, customary use of properties of plants are alienated and local communities are prevented from earning a living and providing for their families on their own lands. Seed companies stand to make a lot of money, but it's a lose-lose situation for traditional peoples.

In conclusion, Māori Congress wrote in its 1992 report to the UN Conference on Environment & Development. That "*economic utilisation of the environment must not compromise traditional values, the needs of future generations, or the earth's spiritual integrity.*" There's a lot to be said for this approach. A sacred balance of sustainable utilisation and protection of the earth's resources in order for the survival of all, rather than the profits of a few.

In returning to my introduction I am reminded of the cultural concept of "*te noho kore mana*" (occupation without *mana* - prestige, meaning, purpose).

My father taught me that this refers to the situation where a group might be living on land without the *mana* over that land - where they have been defeated and bonded to the victor and where they can no longer claim to be keeping their home fires burning.

When an indigenous community or farmer can no longer sustain a viable standard of living on their own land. When they are forced to enter into a commercial arrangement with a company, be it national or international, in order to use their land for someone else's purpose and commercial profit - then this is *te noho kore mana*. The new technologies can actually serve to disempower indigenous peoples in the most fundamental of ways.

Endnotes
1   Kina, pāua, koura, pipi, kuku, pikopiko tītī, parengo are all types of customary foods of Māori, common in New Zealand. Kina (sea urchin), Pāua (shellfish *Iris haliotis*), Koura (Crayfish), Pipi, Pikipiko (fern fronds), Kuku (mussels), Parengo (a particular variety of seaweed) and Tītī (mutton bird, Pterodroma cooki)

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Kuputaka / Glossary

Aotearoa	New Zealand
Haka	chant, the performance of which achieves collective preparedness and unity of purpose
Hapū	be pregnant, sub-tribe; extended kin group, consisting of many whānau, a sub-tribe will usually have at least one marae and often several
Hoa mahi	a friend that works alongside
Hongi	a greeting between individuals, in which a person shakes hands and touches both nose and forehead of the other person.
Hui	meeting, gathering of people, occasion
Iwi	tribe, people; descent group, consisting of many hapū, human bone
Kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
Kaikaranga	Woman who 'calls' people on to a marae. The call generally tells the visitors that they are welcome and often sets out the reasons for the gathering. It is believed that the 'call' is made by women because it is symbolic of the first cry of life when a child is born
Kāinga	community
Kaitiaki	guardians; minder, keeper, steward
Kaiwaiata	people who 'sing' or accompany a speaker; the traditional waiata were chants, but a range of waiata both old and new are frequently sung
Kawa	protocol, custom; the formal behaviours and protocols which determine who speaks, when, how and why. These protocols vary across tribes quite considerably
Karakia	incantations; prayer, chant
Karanga	call
Kaumātua	elder men; elderly men and women, to grow old
Kaupapa	philosophy, purpose, topic, subject, theme
Kuia	elder women, elderly female relative; elderly woman; ancestress
Kura Kaupapa	a system of education based in Māori value and belief systems; Māori medium school
Mana	power, prestige, reputation, standing, authority, control, influence
Mana atua	power and authority of celestial realm; sacred power form the atua
Mana wahine	women's status; theoretical and methodological approach
Mana whānau	power derived from whānau; status of whānau
Mana whenua	territorial rights, power from the land
Marae ātea	open ground in front of meeting house where formal welcomes are often carried out
Mokopuna	grandchild; descendant
Mōteatea	to be fearful, apprehensive, to grieve; lament, traditional chant,
Ngāti Hine	a hapū of the Ngāpuhi tribe located in Te Taitokerau, Aotearoa
Ngāpuhi	an iwi, named after our ancestor, Puhi, located in Northland, Aotearoa
Noa	be free from the constraints of tapu, ordinary, unrestricted
Paepae	speaking platform

Pākehā	English, foreign, European
Papatūānuku	our earth mother
Paru	dirty, soiled, mud
Pōwhiri	formal welcoming ceremony
Rangatiratanga	chieftainship, sovereignty, self-determination, right to exercise authority, ownership
Raranga	to weave, weaving
Taha	side
Tāngata whenua	people of the land; people from that place, hosts, indigenous peoples
Tapu	restricted, be sacred, set apart, under atua protection
Tauparapara	chants; incantation to begin a speech
Te Ao Māori	Māori world view; the Māori world
Teina	younger sibling/cousin of same gender
Te Reo Māori	the Māori language
Tikanga	traditions, Māori philosophies, Māori law, procedure, custom, practice, habit
Tino Rangatiratanga	a term which has been equated with chieftainship and absolute sovereignty. See Rangatiratanga
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
Tīpuna/Tūpuna	ancestors, grandparents
Tipuna/ Tupuna	ancestor, grandparent
Tohunga	healer, skilled person, chosen expert, priest
Tuakana	older sibling/ cousin of the same gender
Wahine / Wāhine	woman, women
Waiata	chants, song
Waiata tawhito	chants recording iwi histories and knowledge
Wairua	spirit, spirituality, soul
Whakaaro	idea, thought, belief
Whakamā	ashamed, to be embarrassed, shy
Whakapapa	genealogical links, descent lines, genealogy
Whakapohane	bending over and showing your buttocks as an insult
Whakataukī	proverb
Whānau	extended family, kin group
Whanaunga	kin; relative
Whare Tangata	womb, house of humanity
Whare Tupuna	ancestral house; focal point for hapū meetings and events
Whenua	land, placenta, our earth mother - Papatūānuku

This Glossary has been compiled from the glossaries held within the source texts and from Moorfield, J. C. (2003-2019). Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index Retrieved from https://maoridictionary.co.nz/