HINE MATAURANGA
Ko te matauranga, ko te kaha
Knowledge is power
HINE MATAURANGA REPRESENTS EDUCATION/DEVELOPMENT
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Chapter Two

Mana Wahine

It is important that Maori women take control of spaces where our stories can be told. This includes theoretical space. Our voices have been silenced for too long. The silencing of Maori women's voices has meant the silencing of our theories, worldviews. It has meant that Maori women's stories are able to then be defined as 'myths', and therefore some figment of the cultural imagination. The marginalisation of mana wahine has meant that Maori women are constantly having to try and 'find' ourselves within the texts of the dominant group. We are forever trying to see ourselves in the images created by the colonisers. It is also necessary in the process to look to the work that our tupuna wahine [female ancestors] have already undertaken in laying a foundation for ensuring Maori women are active in all areas that pertain to our wellbeing (Pihama, 2001:240).

Introduction

The overall research question of this thesis is to understand and develop the key elements of a mana wahine conceptual framework and make visible the analysis the framework provides with regard to GM. In this chapter I explore mana wahine and mana wahine theory. Mana wahine as a discourse has been part of the academy for the last 15 years with writers such as Kathie Irwin (1990, 1992), Leonie Pihama (2001), Linda Tuhiiwai Smith (1992, 1998, 1999), Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1989, 1991, 1992), Ripeka Evans (1994, 1994a) and Rose Pere (1988, 1991) being key contributors.

The purpose of this chapter is to weave with the work of others in the area of mana wahine and develop key mana wahine themes. The themes discussed are not definitive,
but are a theoretical contribution to a growing and evolving discourse. In this chapter I discuss Te Tiriti o Waitangi as a key theme of mana wahine. I also make visible the role of Maori women with regard to Te Tiriti. Following this I highlight decolonisation as a key theme of mana wahine and contend that mana wahine is a decolonising analysis. For many years Maori women have participated in processes that have been outside their control, irrelevant to their worldview and have perpetuated colonisation. I argue that within a mana wahine analysis it is important to decolonise the participation and analysis of Maori women.

Maori women (Irwin, 1990, Pihama 2001, Smith, 1999), who have written in the area of developing mana wahine theories have argued for the inclusion of key elements. Therefore key kaupapa Maori concepts such as; whakapapa (interconnection and genealogy), wairua (spirituality) and whanau (extended family) are also presented as essential to mana wahine. In particular, I discuss the importance of wairua korero (spiritual discourses and discussion) and affirm value to the notion of wairua. To date, colonial interpretations of Maori women’s korero that concerns areas pertaining to wairua have been and continue to be reduced to superstitious and spiritual nativist discourse. A mana wahine analysis values and encourages wairua korero and looks to it as a deep insight into situations and events. I also make visible the roles of atua wahine that have been surpressed and made invisible by the hegemonic colonial masculinist re-interpretations of Maori cosmology.

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14 Maori women are continuing to contribute to the discourse at various times and locations and by differing means. References are from the work of prominent Maori women working in the field of mana wahine, such as; Leonie Pihama, Annette Sykes, Ripeka Evans, Linda Tuhiiaw Smith, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku and Te Kawehou Hoskins. The work of this thesis is a small contribution to the discourse.

15 Rangimarie Rose Pere (1988:13-14) talks about wairua as follows; “Literally translated, ‘wairua’ denotes wai (water) and, rua (two), a world that can depict spirituality. The Maori saw the physical realm as being immersed and integrated with the spiritual realm. Every act, natural, and other influences were considered to have both physical and spiritual implications. A powerful belief in supernatural forces governed and influenced the way one interacted with other people and related to the environment. Spirituality was seen as a dimension internalised within a person from conception – the seed of human life emanated from Io, the supreme supernatural influence.

16 This work is being undertaken by other Maori women within their doctoral research. In particular I refer to the work Aroha Yates Smith (1998) and Annie Mikaere (1994).
The mana wahine debate is not confined to only an academic debate. Mana wahine has a longer, deeper and richer herstory that continually evolved prior to colonisation and continues to evolve today as a body of knowledge to guide the ways for our tupuna wahine (female ancestors) and wider Maori society. My intention in developing a mana wahine conceptual framework for assessing the impacts of GM is to make visible and validate Maori women’s concerns with regard to GM. This chapter provides a background to the mana wahine discourse.

**Mana wahine**

Leonie Pihama views mana wahine as being defined in line with its two key components, ‘mana’ and ‘wahine’. In regard to the concept of wahine she states (Pihama, 2001:235):

> Conceptually we can see Wahine as being the intersection of the two worlds; wa and hine. Wa relates to notions of time and space, hine relates to a female essence. The term wahine designates a certain time and space for Maori woman but is by no means a universal term like the term woman in English. There are many times and spaces that Maori women move through in our lives, Wahine is one of those. There are others.”

Within her discussion of ‘wahine’, Leonie alerts to the term wahine not being seen as a dualism with the term tane (men). She states that Maori are often presented with a simplistic analysis stemming from Western definitions often defined in biological terms. However, she recognises the multiplicity of relationships, stating (2001, 235):

> The point I am making here is that there is not, as we are often presented with, a simplistic dualistic or oppositional relationship between Maori women and Maori men but there are varying ways in which roles and relationships are negotiated. This means that analysis that relates to Maori women can not be simplistic, but needs to recognise that relationships within Maori society are multiple.

I agree with Leonie’s (2001:236) conclusions that:

> Mana wahine refers to Maori women’s analysis that encompasses the complex realities of Maori women’s lives. It is defined within cultural terms and in a context that affirms fundamental Maori values and the ways in which they are
negotiated. As such mana wahine brings to the fore a need for analysis that will reclaim Maori worldviews in terms of gender and gender relationships.

**Mana Wahine Theory**

Within this thesis, I use the term mana wahine to mean Maori women’s theories. I agree with Huia Jahnke (1998:2) that mana wahine is, “about the power of Maori women to resist, challenge, change or transform alienating spaces within systems of domination”. Maori women’s theories are processes of tino rangatiratanga, practices, strategies that Maori women employ individually or collectively which are grounded in te reo me ona tikanga. Mana wahine acts as a kura (knowledge base) where Maori women’s thoughts and theories become validated giving visibility and space to the herstories of Maori women. Kathie Irwin (1990) has described it as being able to see what is really happening to our culture.

Influential individuals from the 1960s onwards such as Ngahuia Te Awekotuku and Donna Awatere consistently publicised the barriers in Maori society that prevented Maori women from participating and contributing to Maori development. These and other women criticised the patriarchal nature of traditional Maori leadership including the issue of Maori women’s inability to speak on the marae. The emergence in the 1970s of Nga Tamatoa (a tino rangatiratanga movement) led to an increasing consciousness of Maori women’s role in the protest movement as “women of colour”. For many Maori women within this movement they faced two battles; firstly the struggle over land and secondly the struggle for equality within the movement. A strong network of Maori women emerged who spoke out and examined issues of racism and sexual discrimination both from the colonising hegemony and also from within Maori society. In 1994 Ripeka Evans papers titled; *Maori women as agents of change* (1994) and, *The Negation of Powerlessness: Maori Feminism, a Perspective* (1994a) documented the analysis and thoughts to come from the protest movements of the 1960s and onwards, and in particular the emergence of Maori feminism or mana wahine within this movement.
Within the academy, many Maori feminists have contributed to mana wahine theory and have used it as a tool for decolonisation and emancipation. Kathie Irwin (1992a:4) argues that, "Theory is not an academic luxury, it is a necessary part of our revolutionary equipment. It can be a tool for empowerment and liberation." In my view it is necessary that Maori women engaging with mana wahine theory contribute to defining the multiplicity of ways we view the world and are critical of 'outsiders' theory defining us in how we view the world. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1992) discusses the work of Maori women across various levels from home to academia as having significant, often ground-breaking, impact on Maori culture.

Kathie Irwin defines at least four central Maori sources of information from which to develop mana wahine, these are: 1) Maori society: te ao tawhito, te ao hou, 2) Te reo Maori, 3) Maori women's herstories and 4) Tikanga Maori. Kathie (1992a) discusses these data sources as enabling researchers to undertake an historical analysis, particularly examining impacts from creation to contemporary times and accounting for the future. Of particular importance to her analysis is an iwi focus. She states; "Iwi Maori have suffered different fates at the hands of the colonisers. This iwi focus is particularly relevant in studies of Maori women, as this area is one in which tribal kawa and tikanga differ markedly" (Irwin, 1992a:6). Irwin's comment is relevant to my position as an adopted Maori researcher, ignorant of my iwi. One of the impacts of colonisation has been displacement when Maori children are adopted into non-Maori families. (This has been my personal experience.) Therefore, the right of adopted Maori researchers to research their own iwi herstories is not always available due to cross-cultural adoption.

Secondly Kathie Irwin (1992a) suggests that te reo Maori, both written and oral sources need to be incorporated into the study of the role and status of Maori women and Maori feminisms. As a Maori woman researcher, I am aware of the importance of te reo in providing a tika and pono aspect to Maori research. Throughout my academic writing and

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17 Although I agree in principle with Kathie, because of personal experience this thesis will not analyse a particular iwi but rather will engage with the voices of Maori women from iwi around Aotearoa. This is an implication of cross cultural adoption, reflective of the diverse realities with which Maori women come to mana wahine rather than a failure to meet Irwin's first source.
studies, I have continued to learn te reo Maori to support my identify as Maori but also
my integrity and ability to undertake quality Maori research.
The next source she discusses from which to gather information is that of Maori women’s
herstories. She suggests that others have spoken on behalf of Maori women for long
enough and that Maori women must now speak for themselves and make their own
analyses. Kathie Irwin (1990) refers to Sue Middleton’s research, which incorporates
women’s oral herstories and provides an excellent example of how women’s herstories,
‘describe and relate the personal experiences of individuals to structural and historical
phenomena’. I agree with Kathie Irwin that Maori women should be provided with the
time, space and resources necessary to develop the skills whereby to reclaim and tell our
herstories. This thesis is part of that process and will go towards assisting other Maori
women to make visible their and others’ herstories.

Kathie asserts the need for Maori feminist theories to be built from tikanga Maori, and
discusses the impact that colonisation has had upon Maori values and cultural practices
and the need to deconstruct colonial influences within our culture. With regard to this she
states:

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 Maori feminist perspective.
Maori women’s analyses of the role and status of Maori women in pre-European
Maori society, differ markedly from those undertaken by Pakeha male
anthropologists and the Pakeha women whose reconstructionist work is based on
theirs (Irwin, 1993:7).

I take up Kathie Irwin’s challenge for the need to develop Maori feminist analysis. She,
along with other Maori feminists such as Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1991), argue that the
articulation of Maori women’s theories is essential for the survival and well-being of
Maori women and wider Maori society.

According to Leonie Pihama (2001) the assertion of Maori women’s theories is not new,
but rather derives its origins from ancient knowledge. Leonie has reaffirmed and
enforced the visibility of mana wahine in her PhD thesis in her discussion of mana wahine theory (2001:239), where she notes the following:

What we as Maori women are having to do in our present context is reassert our positions and status within our own communities as well as wider society. The status of Maori women has been seriously misrepresented. Mana wahine as a theoretical framework asserts that Maori women must be recognised in the many roles that are ours, and that includes our leadership, rangatira positions. Mana wahine is an assertion of our intrinsic mana as descendents of our tupuna, as holders and maintainers of whakapapa. An underlying tenet of mana wahine is that our tupuna wahine have always had critical roles in Maori society. With this as a fundamental understanding we can then undertake a process of examining how and why such an understanding is not presented in day to day, common-sense discourse about Maori women, and most importantly whose interests are served in the denial of such an understanding.

Themes of Mana Wahine

The remainder of this Chapter overviews key mana wahine themes, that have been identified by other Maori women (Pihama, 2001, Smith, 1999, Te Awekotuku, 1992) writing in the mana wahine field. I present these themes to highlight the work of others in the field and to provide a detailed background to mana wahine.

*Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi)*

On 28 October 1835, British resident James Busby called a meeting of thirty four Northern rangatira at Waitangi, and persuaded them to sign a Declaration of Independence. The rangatiratanga (translated as independence) of the country was declared by the signatories under the designation of The United Tribes of New Zealand. The signatories declared that kingitanga and mana (translated as all sovereign power and authority) resided in them collectively. They agreed to meet in Congress annually at Waitangi for the purpose of passing laws, and they invited Southern iwi to join the Confederation of United Tribes. They also declared that they would not permit any function of government (translated as kawanatanga) to be exercised by anyone other than persons to whom they delegated such a task.
The Maori signatories had no particular reason not to declare their independence or to signal an alliance with the British. At that time, relations between Maori and their British guests were, on the whole, good. Claudia Orange (Orange, 1987) has noted that contact was mutually advantageous, Maori seeking to trade goods that the Pakeha could provide and Pakeha needing Maori cooperation to obtain services and provisions and to extract the country’s products.

The fourth article of the Declaration agreed that a copy of the document be sent to the King and that he be thanked for acknowledging their flag. In return for the Maori signatories’ protection of British subjects in their land, they asked that King William IV continue to act as a parent to their infant state, so that its independence would not be interfered with.

The Declaration states that those responsible for the translation between English and Maori texts were missionaries who had resided in New Zealand for at least ten years. Henry Williams and George Clarke, both of the Church missionary Society, signed the document as witnesses, and it is recorded that Williams assisted Busby with the declaration (Walker, 1990). Busby continued to gather signatures to the document, collecting a total of fifty-two in all. The last person to sign was Te Wherowhero of Waikato, in July 1839 (Kelsey, 1990).

Seven moths later, Busby convened another gathering at Waitangi to discuss the relationship between Maori and the Crown. By this time, William Hobson had arrived from England with instructions to secure sovereignty over such parts of the country as Maori were prepared to cede. Ranginui Walker (1990) discusses the key involvement of Busby in drafting the Treaty in English, and Henry Williams a key figure in its translation into Maori. Claudia Orange (1987) discusses that over half of the rangatira who signed the Treaty of Waitangi had signed the Declaration of Independence five years earlier.

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18 This analysis of the Declaration of Independence is based on the document as it has been reproduced in Appendix of Orange, C. 1987. The Treaty of Waitangi. Allen and Unwin. Auckland.
The Waitangi signatories signed the Maori text of the Treaty, granting to the Crown kawanatanga pursuant to the first article and retaining for themselves te tino rangatiratanga under the second article. Waitangi was the location for both the both the 1835 and the 1840 meetings. James Busby drafted both documents in English and Henry Williams translated them into Maori. Therefore, the Confederation chiefs would have had particularly good reason to expect that words used in the Maori text of the Declaration would have the same meaning in the Maori text of the Treaty. My point is, they could have confidently expected that they were reserving to themselves their independence (rangatiratanga) and that they were delegating to the Crown the function of government (kawangatanga). There would have been no suggestion by Maori signatories that they were doing anything else but cementing their overriding authority in Aotearoa.

After the signing of the Treaty at Waitangi, it was taken around Aotearoa over a period of eight months and gathered a total of over five hundred and thirty signatures (Orange, 1987:260). Claudia Orange (1987:69-70) notes that all signatories, other than thirty-nine who signed at the Waikato Heads and Manukau, signed the Maori text.

Ranginui Walker believes that the use of the words kawangatanga and rangatiratanga were key to the Maori understanding of the Treaty. He notes (1990:93):

The chiefs are likely to have understood the second clause of the Treaty as a confirmation of their own sovereign rights in return for a limited concession of power in kawanatanga...The Treaty of Waitangi they signed confirmed their own sovereignty while ceding the right to establish a governor in New Zealand to the Crown. A governor is in effect a satrap, who...is a holder of a provincial governorship; he was a subordinate ruler, or a colonial governor. In New Zealand's case, he governed at the behest of the chiefs...Hobson governed by the acquiescence of the chiefs. In effect, the chiefs were his sovereigns.

Much has been written on Te Tiriti o Waitangi. An overview of the existing writing shows that the status and rights of Maori women under Te Tiriti have never been addressed. At a National Hui in 1984 held at Turangawaewae, Ngaruawahia the Maori present articulated the following in relation to Te Tiriti:
For Maori, the Treaty articulates and acknowledges our status as the Tangata Whenua of Aotearoa. It should be respected in a unique way in the country’s constitutional system; it should give rise to legally enforceable rights to lands, forests, waters and fisheries; it gives recognition of Maori as an equal partner with the Crown hence the necessity of existing constitutional structures to be reformed. Above all the Treaty symbolically reflects, for Maori, the distinctive identification of being Maori, te mana Maori motuhake; mana tangata, mana wairua, mana whenua (Sykes, 1994:15).

It is important to make visible that at the hui, a remit to the above statement was made after discussions concerning Maori women and their status and rights under Te Tiriti. The remit reads (ibid.); "That because Maori women constitute over 50% of the Tangata Whenua there must be equal representation in all areas of decision making in the future”.

Article 2 demanded that Maori land be sold only to the Crown. In article 3 the Queen also extended her protection to the Maori and granted them all the rights and privileges of British subjects, namely citizenship.

The Crown reneged on honouring Te Tiriti soon after it was signed. Article 2, which discusses land, has been under intense dispute since 1840. The 1850s and the 1860s was a time of land wars in Aotearoa. As a result, the Crown, in violation of Article 2, confiscated three million acres and indirectly confiscated sixteen million acres of Maori land in the North Island. The confiscation of land also dispossessed Maori of their relationship to tupuna, ways of living with the land, traditional foods and livelihood. Since the mid-1970s there have been movements in honour of Te Tiriti. In 1975, a Waitangi Tribunal consisting of both Pakeha and Maori was established to investigate Maori claims against the Crown.

It is important to understand that the rights embedded in the concepts of tino rangatiratanga were not surrendered to Pakeha when Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed. Te Tiriti affirmed rights, which Maori already had and gave some limited rights to Pakeha to look after themselves subject to our tino rangatiratanga. Annette Sykes (1994:18) describes the work of Professor Biggs of Ngati Maniapoto in regard to rangatiratanga, she states:
As Professor Big of Ngati Manipoto has highlighted, the distinguishing feature of ‘Rangatiratanga’ was taking care of one’s own people. The suffix ‘tanga’ formed a new word defining the qualities of the original ‘rangatira’. Thus it is entirely consistent with notions of rangatiratanga that an essential theme in the power relationships, defined within the Treaty, is that Pakeha should be given the right to govern themselves within the new Aotearoa/New Zealand nation state while retaining and preserving all existing rights and obligations to Maori. The Treaty thus recognised that we had tino rangatiratanga not only recognised it, guaranteed it.

Since Te Tiriti was signed in 1840 little has been done to actively protect the rights of Maori women it guaranteed. This issue has been a motivating factor for past presidents to the Maori Women’s Welfare League and prompted some young Maori women including Donna Awatere, Ripeka Evans and Paparangi Reid, supported by Te Runanga o Ngati Hine and nga Kuia o Ngati Hine and Lady Rose Henare to file a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal (Sykes, 1994).

The claim aims to bring to the forefront of Treaty jurisprudence the marginalisation of Maori women. The claim argues that exclusionary practices of the Crown prevented participation by Maori women in tribal models of self-determination resulting in a negative effect on Maori women in Te Ao Maori. It is important to note that the claim argues for the right of mana wahine since colonisation in 1840. However, this does not mean that the arguments about mana wahine begin at this time, as that confines the argument in the parameters of Pakeha history. Mana wahine extends deeper, for as Maori women we ground our mana wahine to Papatuanuku the earth mother and her mauri which goes back to the beginning of time.

It is important to note as Maori women that our perception of Te Tiriti o Waitangi has been clouded largely by the colonial discourses that have shaped the discussions about it. It is not well known that Maori women signed Te Tiriti. These women included Ana Hamu, the widow of Te Koki original patron of the Paihia Mission, Te Rau o Te Rangi of Te Whare Kauri and Ngati Toa at Te Whanganui a Tara. The same Te Rau o Te Rangi swam from Kapiti Island to the mainland with her baby strapped on her shoulders to warn
her people of invaders from Kapiti. There was Rangi Topeora, a Arikitapairu of Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa a strategist in Te Rauparaha’s military, Rere O Maki, a woman of rank from Wanganui, and Erenora wife of the chief of Nopera of Te Rarawa (Sykes, 1994). I believe it is very significant that Maori women were party to the document on which modern Aotearoa/New Zealand is founded. It means Maori women were politically active and active participants in the formation of the Aotearoa/New Zealand nation state. A mana wahine analysis, therefore, is also a Te Tiriti analysis as it positions the rights of mana wahine as Tiriti rights. It is essential that a mana wahine analysis stand to uphold Te Tiriti, namely Maori rights to rangatiratanga guaranteed in Te Tiriti.

Decolonisation

Decolonisation is an essential part of a mana wahine analysis. For Maori women within the academy, there is recognition that a mana wahine analysis recognises the colonial reality for Maori women and that within decolonisation Maori women are visible and considered within the analysis.

A mana wahine decolonisation agenda is carried out by Maori women, providing their own analysis to the situation. In the process of decolonisation there is much unlearning and disengagement from colonial notions of who we are as Maori women. Within this process of decolonisation in relation to mana wahine, it is essential for Maori women to recognise the impact western colonial notions of women have had in terms of defining us. In the colonists’ eyes Maori women were not equal in any way to the status of white women but were seen as lower in status and worth, as they were ‘native’ and ‘savage women of colour’.

According to Cheryl Waerea-i-te-Rangi Smith (1994), Maori women’s involvement in decolonisation projects is essential. She describes it as being key to the decolonising agenda, that Maori women are centrally positioned within analysis and given the right to reclaim past historical constructions of themselves, with the space to retell their stories. Decolonising past accounts and reclaiming visibility for Maori women to tell their stories
is not new. Since colonisation Maori have continually reclaimed and retold herstory, challenging the western assumptions of dominance and place of privilege within knowledge and historical construction. The view of western knowledge being the ‘true and pure’ knowledge’ has been rejected by Maori and other indigenous peoples for generations. This is not to say that Maori have not used the technology and tools of western culture, but that these tools have not been viewed as exclusively superior and have been used by Maori alongside their own tools and technologies. As Leonie Pihama (2001:285) notes, “what is often missed in the equation is the ongoing use by Pakeha of Maori knowledge”. It is important to note that Maori and other indigenous peoples’ knowledge has and continues to be misappropriated by the dominant colonial culture.

I argue that a mana wahahe analysis is a decolonisation analysis. It makes visible issues pertinent to Maori women and provides an analysis that is relevant to a mana wahahe perspective of Te Ao. This thesis is part of a decolonising mana wahahe agenda, in that it rejects both Pakeha and Maori colonial and patriarchal analyses of GM, and offers a mana wahahe analysis of this new technology. This thesis is only one vehicle to carry this analysis. Like most decolonising projects, there are multiple mechanisms operating, simultaneously challenging western discourses of dominance and reclaiming Maori ways of knowing and defining.

**Whakapapa**

Whakapapa is essential to this discussion of mana wahahe as it is through whakapapa that the position of Maori and Maori women is seen to be one of the same with Papatuanuku and Te Taiaroa. One meaning of whakapapa is ‘to lay one thing upon another’. Whakapapa is an important component of kaupapa Maori theory. It is about identity and knowledge transmission. It brings with it a way of viewing and understanding relationships. A mana wahahe framework is informed by whakapapa and the oneness of the relationship between Maori women and Te Taiaroa (the environment).

It is important to note that whakapapa exists irrespective of our knowledge and understanding of the complexities of its nature and meanings. An important component
of whakapapa is its multi-dimensional nature. Mereana Taki (1996) discusses whakapapa as a relational framework which organises the positionality between whanau, hapu and iwi groupings. Leonie (2001) argues that the complexity of whakapapa is often denied within the eurocentric, anthropologically driven worldview where the multiple layers of whakapapa are reduced to a one-dimensional genealogical table.

An understanding of whakapapa and the inclusion of whakapapa within analysis brings with it herstories that are located within Maori understandings. According to Leonie (2001:131) it also requires; “us to explore relationships, how they are played out, how power is constructed within those relationships, and the layers of knowledge that are a part of those relationships”.

Within this thesis it is important to make visible the whakapapa of Hine-titama, described by Eldson Best (1952) and Te Rangi Hiroa (1987) as the mother of all creation. According to Jo Diamond (1999) Hine-titama is one of the three main interconnected manifestations of uha (the female element). The other two manifestations as described by Jo (1999:2) are:

Hine-ahu-one, whom the male god Tane fashioned from the earth to become the first female form, and Hine-nui-te-Po who presides over after-life. Maori male deities sought uha as an indispensable part of the creation of human beings.

Jo discusses an inter-dimensional quality about these three female manifestations. They mirror three parts of the Maori cosmological order, as outlined by Joan Metge (cited in Diamond, 1999:2):

Maori do not accept the idea that the universe is limited to the world in which men [sic] live and die. Instead they see the World of Men as existing in relation to two other realms, Te Po [night] and Te Rangi [day].

These three female manifestations represent; day and night, godly and earthly realms and the interdependent cycle of conception, pregnancy, life and death. It is through whakapapa that Maori women are one with Papatuanuku and Te Taiao, this relationship
has a state of permanence which comes through the land, as described in the whakatauaki below: “He kura tangata e kore e rokohanga, he kura whenua ka rokohanga”\textsuperscript{19}. This relationship of oneness provides Maori women with a unique space and place from which to speak and reiterates our right to speak of environmental concerns as they are also concerns about us. This relationship of oneness and inter-dimensionality is highlighted in the interview with Phillip-Barbara (2001:pers.comm):

Imperialism has been raping the earth, and when imperialism rapes her [Papatuanuku], imperialism rapes us too and we suffer within that in the same way; we suffer. So, if damage is being done to her, then damage is being done to us, and it’s a spiritual connection with the whenua [land] that is, you know, at this point in time that is a joy and a burden too for Maori women.

It is important that the unique position of Maori women and Te Taiaro is acknowledged as giving Maori women an inherent right to discuss issues that affect the environment and Te Taiaro.

\textit{Atua Wahine}

As stated we earth our mana wahine to Papatuanuku and her mauri. It is this relationship defined through whakapapa that Maori women are seen as land. From the whakapapa, we establish our identity as being land not merely the people of the land as in the general translation of the word tangata whenua. Mana wahine begins in recapturing the spirit of Hine-ahu-one, the first human form created from the male and heavenly element, the female earthly element, who brought the power of growth and creativity and Hine-titama the first born of Tane and Hine-ahu-one the dawn binding earthly night to earthly day. On finding out she was borne of incest, Hine-titama fled to the underworld to deny immortality and hold power over life and death. Hine-titama is a manifestation of the female element. Jo Diamond (1999, 306) describes her as a female deity who: “represents life and death and a cosmological connection between three dimensions inhabited by spiritual entities, ancestors and those of us who continue to inhabit a more physical

\textsuperscript{19} This translates as, ‘the treasured possessions of people are intangible; the treasures of the land are in tangible’.
world". Jo goes on to describe Hine-titama as a deity of compassion, understanding and benevolence filled with aroha.

Our cosmologies demonstrate the unique place of Maori women. For example Te Po, the darkness, is personified as female because it was in her womb that Papatuanuku was conceived. Papatuanuku personifies the Earth mother, and is regarded as 'earthness, the nurturing one'. Papatuanuku is therefore the nurturer of life and from her humankind is born, and like her Maori women also nurture life (Hutchings, 1997). Within our cosmologies, human rights to utilise the earth's natural resources are based on Maori principles and lore of sustainability, the cosmologies of Hine-ahu-one and Hine-titama reaffirm Maori women's close spiritual connection to the earth as is evident in the following whakataukī: Mai te timatanga ko Papatuanuku te whaea whenua. Ko Hine-Ahu-One te ira tangata tuatahi, he wahine. Our cosmology connects Maori women and reaffirms that our connection to the land is that we are land. When discussing Papatuanuku as a theme of mana wahine we are also discussing whenua, Hine-ahu-one links women to the land, as she is physically formed of the earth. Hine-titama was the mother of humankind and from her, all human life originates. When we die we are returned to the earth, where we are met by our great ancestor, Hine-nui-te-po. Hence the saying, from land we have come and to the land we shall return.

The reclaiming of atua wahine and other female entities from Maori cosmology have been politically used in Aotearoa to raise the morale of Maori women and reclaim the space that was made invisible by colonial tellings of Maori cosmology. Colonial accounts of cosmology favored male-based stories above atua wahine rendering atua wahine as worthless, valueless and invisible. The work of Robyn Kahukiwa (1984) aims to make visible atua wahine. Her paintings invite respect of atua wahine into all spheres of life and provide moral traits Maori women can aspire to reaffirming the innate strength and unlimited potential in all Maori women. With the artist's permission I have placed

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20 From the beginning of time was Papatuanuku the Earth Mother, then came Hine-ahu-one, the first human created, a woman.
different atua wahine at the beginning of every Chapter to make visible and reaffirm the atua wahine in this work.

Wairua

Wairua is the spiritual dimension and denotes positive and negative streams. It concerns our mental and spiritual well being. It is the balance between the negative and the positive and a belief in something greater than humanity. Wairua is an essential part of mana wahine as it sustains mana wahine. This is highlighted by Ripeka Evans (1994:55):

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”.

The relationship that some Maori women have with wairua and their belief in it, governs everything they do, especially their relationship with the environment. The spiritual reality of Maori women cannot be separated from the physical reality. Leonie believes that wairua korero is evident in all elements of kaupapa Maori and mana wahine. She contends that wairua (2001:280):

Validates our essential connection through whakapapa, with the whenua, moana, rangi, and all the atua that surround and protect us and all our relations. How we talk about the social constructiveness of events, positions and realities must also include a discussion of the spiritual elements that are a part of those things. This is where the argument within critical theory that all things are socially constructed falls short in that is does not provide for wairua.

The assertion of wairua as a theme of mana wahine is critical to giving value and visibility to atua wahine. The destruction of wairua with the replacement of Judeo-Christian beliefs was an essential element in the colonisation of Aotearoa, as is described by Ripeka (1994:55):
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.

Within the mana wahine agenda, it is important to counter the work of Judeo-Christian beliefs and colonisation and to provide space for reclaiming the right of wairua, and wairua korero. This is particularly important for the study of this thesis where much of the discourse from Maori women regarding GM is often dismissed to that of a ‘nativist’ or spiritual discourse. This thesis locates wairua and wairua korero as an essential part of a mana wahine discourse.

**Whanau**

The concept of whanau is central to a mana wahine discourse. It goes beyond the literal Pakeha translation of ‘family’ and includes ancestral, historical, traditional and spiritual ties. The practice of whanau guides interaction with the environment, people or circumstances; universal relationships and interrelationships and is a fundamental building block for Maori society. Leonie (2001:278) explores the importance of whanau to mana wahine; she states:

> The importance of whanau in Maori women’s analysis goes beyond the concepts inherent with whanaungatanga…Concepts of tuakana, teina, tungane, tuahine, whaea, matua and other that outline the positioning within whanau provide a framework of relationships. The whanau is a critical building block for Maori society. When we see whanau as key in Maori societal constructions then we can comprehend more fully the attack on whanau that occurred with colonisation.

Mason Durie (1994) defined whanau as more than simply an extended family network. He describes whanau as a diffuse unit, based on common whakapapa and within which certain responsibilities and obligations are maintained. Within his definition he acknowledges that in more recent times whanau has been broadened to include a number of non-traditional situations where Maori with similar interests (but not direct blood relationships) form a cohesive group.
Joan Metge (1995) agrees that the term whanau has various definitions, and discusses the diverse range of relationships which exist in different circumstances to include:

- a set of siblings
- all the descendants of a relatively recent ancestor but not heir spouses and whangai
- all the descendants of a relatively recent ancestor and their spouses and whangai
- all the descendants of a recent ancestor and their spouses and whangai who interact together on an ongoing basis
- descent groups also known as hapu and iwi
- a nuclear family
- a group of unrelated Maori who interact on a regular basis
- a group of people gathered for the purpose of supporting an individual or individuals
- a large group of people gathered for a common purpose.

Essentially these definitions present similar aspects and unique differences which reflect the range of traditional and contemporary configurations that comprise whanau.

Along with whanau membership comes a range of roles and obligations and responsibilities. Durie (1994) describes these as:

- Manaakitanga – the roles of protection and nurturing
- Tohotoahtia – the capacity of the whanau and the family to share resources
- Pupuri taonga – the role of the guardianship in relation to family/whanau physical and human resources and knowledge
- Whakamana – the ability of the family/whanau to enable members
- Whakatakoto tikanga – the ability of the whanau to plan for future necessities.

Colonisation has impacted upon the concept of whanau resulting in many Maori women having to move from their traditional structure of whanau to the Pakeha concept of the nuclear heterosexual family. Annie Mikaere (1994:5) describes the impact this had on Maori women:
They [Maori women] 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.

Whanau is essential to mana wahine and operates in diverse ways. Linda Smith describes mana wahine as operating inside whanau. A mana wahine analysis values whanau and the insights and analysis that come from whanau.

**Summary**

Mana wahine is, within its own right, a theory and tool of analysis that can be adopted by Maori women. Mana wahine analysis is also a Tiriti analysis and part of the larger decolonisation agenda. In this analysis Maori women have space to develop their own ideas and analysis about what is happening to our culture. As Maori women we have diverse backgrounds and realities. A mana wahine analysis recognises this and is not an homogenised theory, which applies to all Maori women, but values diversity and the differing realities and analyses of Maori women.

The themes of mana wahine are; Te Tiriti o Waitangi, decolonisation, whakapapa, atua wahine, wairua and whanau. These themes weave with the work of others in the field of mana wahine and are not definitive themes but provide an important context for this thesis with regard to the mana wahine conceptual framework and the critical discussion of mana wahine and GM in Chapter Seven. The elements of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, decolonisation, whakapapa, Atua wahine, wairua and whanau are a beginning point in the discussion of themes associated with mana wahine. What is important is that mana wahine is able to define what tikanga Maori concepts it brings to the framework. The critical element is that Maori women decide and define these. My aim within this chapter is to provide the reader with an overview of mana wahine that will assist the engagement of the rest of this thesis and to position mana wahine at the front of this work.
It would, however, be a limited discussion to recognise only the voices from the academy in regard to mana wahine and to marginalise others outside of the academy who are contributing to mana wahine in their work and everyday lives. This includes Maori women who work with tamariki (Maori children) at kohanga reo, kura kaupapa (Maori immersion secondary schools) Maori those who are part of the larger Maori network of service providers, as well as Maori; mothers, daughters, grandmothers, sisters, aunties, artists, activists, writers, painters, weavers, film-makers, poets and dancers. The work of the Maori women within these fields assists in opening our minds to experience the world in ways that are closer to the mana wahine ways of seeing.

The notion of mana wahine is part of a larger movement towards decolonisation and an honoring of Te Tiriti. Maori women are working on many levels in various areas on Maori driven projects. The growing awareness of mana wahine over the last 30 years has seen an increase in the number of mana wahine projects and analysis.

Mana wahine is a movement of Maori women against colonial powers, structures and definitions. It is about the right for Maori women to define situations and events for ourselves. This thesis is part of this movement.