

CHAPTER TWO

WHAKATŪWHERATANGA: OPENINGS

Tihei Mauri Ora.

I sneezed and therefore I lived¹

Introduction

The words of **Hineahuone**² are often used as means of opening, of beginnings. They are words that emanated from her as the first human being, formed from **Papatūānuku** by **Tāne**. *I sneezed and therefore I lived*. The sneeze, the breath, the life force. I remember the birth of my children, and it was when they took their first breath that I knew the depth of what those words meant. **Tihei Mauri Ora**. It seems a simple enough suggestion that the words of **Hineahuone** are words that are those of **Māori** women. We should expect to be able to claim the words of our **tūpuna whaea**³ and to speak those words. However, this is not necessarily the case. Recently a young **Māori** woman spoke those words at her school as a part of her **Manu Kōrero**⁴ speech. She was told women are not to say those words; they are only for men.

This thesis is about contributing to the development of **Kaupapa Māori** theory in the form of **Mana Wahine**,⁵ a theoretical expression that seeks to provide ways of engaging the contestation over what constitutes **Māori** knowledge and the positioning of **wāhine Māori**.⁶ It is about exploring the complex ways that the intersection of colonisation, race and gender has impacted upon us and has manipulated many of the fundamental beliefs and values about the roles and importance of **Māori** women. It is also, as this chapter indicates a process of opening further the need to speak to, write to and theorise to and for ourselves as **Māori** women. As I move through the thesis I lay out key areas of discussion both in terms of two connected journeys, (i) the journey towards **Mana Wahine** theory and (ii) the academic journey towards completing this doctoral thesis. The connection is indicated in the previous chapter that indicates some life experiences that bring me to this particular pathway on these

¹This phrase has ancient origins that indicated the first breath of life. its contemporary expression is articulated by Patricia Grace in the book, **Kahukiwa R. & Grace, P., 1984 'Wahine Toa: Women of Māori Myth', Collins, Auckland**

² **Hineahuone** is the first human shaped from **Papatūānuku**, Earth mother, by **Tāne**, one of her male children, with guidance from a range of **atua** (supreme beings) including **Papatūānuku** herself who indicated where the essence of humanity lay in her body.

³ **Tūpuna whaea** relates to women ancestors.

⁴ **Manu Kōrero** is a Secondary School Speech Competition.

⁵ The terms **Kaupapa Māori** and **Mana Wahine** refer here to specific **Māori** theoretical forms which are defined in depth in later chapters.

particular journeys. Perhaps the key link is in the terms **Māori** woman academic, as the following chapter is titled, in that they point to a link between being **Māori** woman from **Taranaki** who links also to **Waikato**, and being positioned within the academy a place that is seen in Western tradition as an institution that develops and engages theory.⁷ In the journey along the pathways of this thesis I want contribute to openings. To processes of making and revealing spaces that may be useful for us to enter into. There is no guarantee that the openings will be there indefinitely and so there is a sense of urgency that I believe exists in the need for us as **Māori** people to be more confident in the bringing forth of our knowledge and strategies for change. There are, in my view, possibilities and potentialities in the openings. Those are the openings that excite and inspire this writing.

Representing Ourselves: A Journey To Theory

As I move to near completion of this research I hear daily on **Māori** radio of the debate over the rights of **Māori** women to speak in the **pōwhiri**⁸ on **Waitangi Day**.⁹ This has been debated with some vigour over the past two years. In 1998 **Māori** women supported Annette Sykes to speak on their behalf at the **tangi**¹⁰ of veteran **Māori** rights activist Eva Rickard. In 1999 **Māori** woman activist, **Titewhai Harawira**, challenged the right of a **Pākehā** woman (Helen Clarke, the Leader of the Labour Party) to speak when the same rights were denied **Māori** women. She was adamant **Pākehā** women should not have the right to speak on our **marae** when **Māori** women's voices are denied. This challenge was again laid in the year 2000 and 2001. The challenge is a serious one that has since been expanded to one that questions the position of any **Pākehā** person to speak on the **marae ātea**¹¹ while **Māori** women are not given such a right.¹² This is a challenge that must be laid and dealt with in real ways, and in order for that to happen we need to be firstly cognisant of the ways in which dominant ideologies impact on **Māori** thinking and how we express what we consider to constitute **tikanga Māori**.¹³ In order to do that we must engage our understandings by seeking historical knowledge and looking then to how that impacts on the representation of who we are as **Māori**. It is

⁶ **wāhine Māori** refers to **Māori** women.

⁷ The term Western is regarded by Edward Said as referring to European traditions. In this thesis it is also regarded in such a way and extends to include the construction of knowledge by the contemporary colonising forces of white America, that has its origins in Europe. See Said, E.W. 1978 *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of The Orient*, Penguin Books, London

⁸ **Pōwhiri** is the ritual process of encounter and greetings.

⁹ **Waitangi Day** is the 6th of February. It is the anniversary of the signing of **Te Tiriti o Waitangi**, the Treaty of **Waitangi**. **Te Tiriti o Waitangi** guaranteed our people **tino rangatiratanga** or full 'chieftain/chieftainess' rights over all things. To date the Treaty remains un-honoured by the Crown.

¹⁰ **Tangi** in this context refers to the mourning process.

¹¹ The **marae ātea** is the space that lies directly in front of a **wharenuī** on the **marae** where much formal discussion and debate takes place.

¹² This point was made articulately by **Titewhai's** son, **Hone Harawira**. When interviewed on **Rua Mai**, the **Māori** Language Radio Station, he asked who were considered the supporters of **Māori** men to which he stated "Pākehā men no, Pākehā women no, it is **Māori** women". *Rua Mai Friday, 14 January 2000*.

¹³ **Tikanga Māori** relates to **Māori** customary practices.

my belief that this can only be healthy for us all, however it entails those who currently have interests in the maintenance of dominant ideologies to relinquish those interests. We know that such a request is rarely taken seriously or heeded.

As Paulo Freire has so rightly stated the oppressor is incapable of bringing about freedom, it is for the oppressed to free both themselves and their oppressors.¹⁴ For **Māori** to be freedom fighters, to challenge the fundamentals of oppression as they exist in all forms, then we must think beyond the hegemonic box that has been constructed. Colonisation has impeded the ability of many of our people to think beyond the colonial box. But if we are to create real and sustainable change then we have no option but to resist those impositions and be active in our challenge to the perpetuation of acts and situations that merely continues the oppression of our people. That includes challenging those acts that oppress our women. African-American feminist writer bell hooks drew on the words of Sojourner Truth to make this clear in terms of the feminist movement when she asked 'ain't I a woman?'.¹⁵ The same must be asked in **Māori** struggles, **Māori** women are entitled to ask 'ain't I a **Māori**?' and in doing so expect issues of gender to be given serious and real consideration.

I have a particular interest in laying challenge to those actions that oppress **Māori** women. That does not mean that I seek to deny the oppression of our men. Rather, as a **Māori** woman, I see that resistance against the oppression of our women will have an outcome that brings about change for **Māori** more generally. **Māori** women have borne the brunt of white men's and white women's colonial impositions. **Māori** women have also borne the brunt of **Māori** men's acts of collaboration with **Pākehā** both intentional and non-intentional. We have also borne the brunt of the anger, addictions and violence that are the outcome of the stripping of identity, land, alienation, denial of knowledge, language and culture. As **Māori** women suffer the consequences of these acts so too do **Māori** children and **Māori** men. For **Māori** women to be healthy, so too must **Māori** children and **Māori** men. Therefore, where this thesis is necessarily focused on the development of theories that can engage the impact of dominant discourses on the construction of beliefs about **Māori** women, so too does it engage the relationships within our wider **whānau**.

¹⁴ Freire, P. 1972 *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* Penguin Books, London

¹⁵ hooks, bell 1981 *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*, South End Press. Boston MA. In this publication bell hooks notes that in 1852 Sojourner Truth stood at an anti-slavery rally in Indiana and bared her breasts to show that she was a woman. She stood her ground as white women sought to deny her the opportunity to speak as they considered it 'unfitting' for a black woman to speak on the same public platform as them. Following a white male speaker who spoke against womens rights she stated; *Dat man over dar say dat women needs to be helped into carriages, and lifted ober ditches, and to have de best places ... and ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm!... I have plowed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me – and ain't I a woman? I could work as much as any man (when I could get it), and bear de lash as well – and ain't I a woman? I have borne five children and I seen 'em nos all sold off into slavery, and when I cried out with a mothers grief, none but Jesus hear – and ain't I a woman?* Cited in hooks, bell *ibid*:160

As a **Māori** woman academic, I also have a passionate interest in the development of theoretical analysis as tools for **Māori**. This, in part, explains my long-term involvement in tertiary education. This thesis is about exactly that, the development of theoretical tools for **Māori** women that can be utilised in that analysis of **Māori** representation and in particular the representation of **Māori** women and girls. Having been a student and a teacher in fields that are heavily theoretically driven I have realised that there are few theorists, critical or otherwise, who are willing to engage the many complex issues that surround class, gender, race, and colonisation. Therefore, there are relatively few theories that engage the multiple issues that face many **Māori** women. This thesis argues that it is for **Māori** women to develop not only ways of seeing and presenting ourselves, but also those tools of analysis. There has been groundwork laid in this area by **Māori** women.¹⁶ This thesis continues those developments. I do not argue or assume that there is one singular theory for **Māori** women. Nor would I be theoretically, culturally or politically arrogant enough to assert that all **Māori** women think the same. We don't. What is offered here is a theoretical framework that comes from the works, voices, writings, images, processes of **Māori** women and I offer it as my contribution to providing radical **Mana Wahine** theories.

This thesis is about the construction of theories that will be located within understandings and worldviews that are grounded in being **wahine Māori** and thus enable the exploration of representations, colonial discourses and their historical origins from a distinctly **Māori** base. There are many dominant discourses pertaining to **Māori** women that have been constructed from a base that is not **Kaupapa Māori**. They are derived from ideological beliefs that are essentially imported to **Aotearoa**. Those representations have been reconstructed in ways that camouflage or disguise their

¹⁶ Awatere, D. 1984 *Māori Sovereignty*, Broadsheet, Auckland; Evans, R., 1993 'Māori Women as Agents of Change', paper presented to Winter Lecture Series, University of Auckland, reprinted in *Te Pua*, v.3, no. 1., **Te Puawaitanga**, Auckland; Irwin, K., 1988 'Māori, Feminist, Academic' in *Sites*, v. 17, Massey University, Palmerston North, pp30-38; Irwin, K., 1992 'Towards Theories of Māori Feminism' in Du Plessis, R. (ed.) with Bunkle, P., Irwin, K., Laurie, A., Middleton, S., 1992 *Feminist Voices: Women's Studies Texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, pp 1-21; Jenkins, K. 1992 'Reflections on the Status of Māori Women' in *Te Pua 1*, **Te Puawaitanga**, Auckland; Jenkins, Kuni Elaine Hineatauirā Kaa 2000 *Haere Tahī Tūua: An Account of Aitanga in Māori Struggle for Schooling*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland; Johnston, P. & Pihama, L 1995 'What Counts as Difference and What Differences Count: Gender, Race and the Politics of Difference' in Irwin, K., Ramsden, I. & Kahukiwa, R. (eds), 1995 *Toi Wahine: The Worlds of Māori Women*, Penguin Books, Auckland; Kupenga, V., Rata, R., Nepe, T. 1988 'Whaia te Iti Kahurangi: Māori Women Reclaiming Autonomy' in Saunders, P & Jamrozik (eds) *Proceedings of Joint Conference with the New Zealand Planning Council*, Social Welfare Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Australia. Also published in *Puna Wairere: Essays By Māori*, 1990 New Zealand Planning Council, Wellington; Smith, C.W. & Taki, M., 1994 'Hoihoi Wahine Pākehā' in *Te Pua 2*, **Te Puawaitanga**, Auckland pp.38-42; Smith, L.T. 1992 'Māori Women: Discourses, Projects and Mana Wahine', in Middleton, S. and Jones, A. (eds) *Women and Education in Aotearoa 2*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington; **Te Awakotuku, Ngahuia** 1991 *Mana Wahine Māori: Selected Writings on Māori Women's Art, Culture and Politics*, New Women's Press, Auckland

origins. As such it is recognised that the act of representation is inherently a political act.¹⁷ The representation of **Māori** plays a significant role in the construction of dominant understandings about **Māori** people.¹⁸ There is much to be said about the processes of representation. To represent, to present in another form, to present again, is not merely a process of reproduction or reflection. As bell hooks aptly comments, in respect to movies, the process of representation is not one of objective or neutral presentation of the real. Rather, she reminds us that representation involves re-imagined, reinvented versions of the real.¹⁹ What happens when the reimagining and reinventing is primarily controlled by the colonising forces is that limited and very often incorrect representations are presented as factual and correct. This is without doubt the state of play in regard to **Māori** representation.

As is the case with theory, representations are not neutral or objective. Representations are influenced by a range of sources, cultural, ideological beliefs and understandings, social practices, gender expectations, race notions, to name a few. These influences shape and inform the practice of representation. In **Aotearoa**, representations of **Māori** also inform the ways in which the role and status of **Māori** women is perceived.²⁰ This is recognition of the fact that as **Māori** women we do not experience the world separately from **Māori** men. In the representation it is evident that what we don't see is as significant as what we do see. For example if only the opinions **Māori** men are sought on the direction of **Māori** people the subsequent invisibility of **Māori** women sends as powerful a message as the visibility of **Māori** men.

Representation in the form of analysis offered by bell hooks is located within systems of complex relationships. Those relationships are themselves influenced by power, knowledge and ideology.²¹ How we see those who take it upon themselves to represent and the ways in which we position those people is undoubtedly influenced by our beliefs about the roles of the representer and represented. Who is in control of the process, who determines what knowledge is appropriate to share and indeed

¹⁷ Refer Trinh T. Minh-ha 1991 *When The Moon Waxes Red*, Routledge, New York; Trinh T. Minh-ha 1999 *Cinema Interval*, Routledge, New York; hooks, bell 1992 *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, South End Press, Boston

¹⁸ Refer Walker, R., 1990 'The role of the Press in defining **Pakeha** perceptions of the **Maori**', in Spoonley, P. & Hirsh, W. (eds) *Between The Lines- Racism and the New Zealand Media*, Heinemann Reed, Auckland; **Mita, Merata** 1992 'The Soul and the Image' in Dennis, J., & Bieringa, J. (eds) *Film in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, Victoria University Press, Wellington; **Paraha, G.**, (1993) *He Pounamu Kakano Rua: Construction of Māori Women - A Visual Discourse*, Unpublished Master of Education, University of Auckland, Auckland; **Pihama, L.** 1994 'Are Films Dangerous: A **Māori** Women's Perspective on 'The Piano' in *Hecate: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Women's Liberation*, Hecate Press, English Department, University of Queensland, Brisbane

¹⁹ hooks, b., 1996, *Reel To Real: Race, Sex and Class At the Movies*, Routledge, New York: 1

²⁰ Two inspiring critiques of this are; **Mikaere, Ani** 1996 *The Balance Destroyed: The Consequences for Māori Women of the Colonisation of Tikanga Māori*, Unpublished Master of Jurisprudence thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton; and Yates-Smith, **Aroha**, 1998 *Hine! E Hine! Rediscovering The Feminine in Māori Spirituality*, Unpublished Doctorate of Philosophy thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton

²¹ Nichols, B., 1981 *Ideology and the Image*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington

who is that knowledge being shared with, who is the audience and who defines that audience. Representation is a process that involves dynamic forms of power and power relations.²² In some cases both the representer and the represented interact in the sharing of knowledge, the distinct difference between the two roles is however one of who controls the selection of knowledge that occurs once that knowledge is shared and captured on cassette, video tape or paper. In other cases representation is 'captured' with little if any control by those being represented. In processes of representation ideologies about knowledge and knowledge sharing impact significantly upon the ways in which individuals and groups participate and/or are represented.²³ Ideological notions of knowledge and what constitutes valid knowledge are not neutral but are intrinsically linked to power and power relations. There is no doubt that certain groups in society are more likely to have their knowledge affirmed than others and that dominant groups are in a position to have their own knowledge bases affirmed, more often than not at the expense of subordinate groups. Through a process of selection particular constructions of what constitutes legitimate knowledge and culture operate to enfranchise a certain group whilst simultaneously disenfranchising others.

In identifying that power plays a key role in knowledge selection and affirmation, it is important to state that this does not exclude acts of resistance and transformation. To the contrary, it is through a process of identifying the power relations inherent in certain acts or selections that we are able to create forms of resistance that seek to both challenge and transform. The complexities of how knowledge is contested requires much more than a deterministic analysis that implies a simplistic 'top-down' relationship in regard to power. That is not to say that such impositions of power don't exist, as they do, but is to explore the idea that power is expressed in a wider range of forms and that those forms may vary within certain contexts. The notion of 'symbolic violence' provides us with one example of how power may be constituted through a range of forms and processes.²⁴ Processes of representation provide the potential both for the reproduction of and resistance to symbolic violence. The construction of representation as symbolic violence is linked to the ways in which certain knowledges are 'enfranchised' whilst others are 'disenfranchised',²⁵ and is therefore connected explicitly to structural arrangements within society. Stuart Hall provides a succinct discussion of the link between the need to maintain an analysis of the complexities of representation and wider structural inequalities when he states;

²² *ibid*; also refer Downing, J., Mohammadi, A., Sreberny-Mohammadi, A. (eds) *Questioning The Media: A Critical Introduction*, Second Edition, Sage Publications, London; Hall, S. 1995 'The Whites of Their Eyes: Racist Ideologies and the Media' in Dines, G. & Humez, J. (eds), *Gender, Race and Class In Media*, Sage Publications, London

²³ Abel, S., 1997 *Shaping The News: Waitangi Day on Television*, Auckland University Press, Auckland

²⁴ Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J., 1977 *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, Sage, California For a discussion of 'symbolic violence' in the New Zealand education system refer to Jones, A. 1991 *At School I've got a Chance: Culture/Privilege: Pacific Islands and Pākehā Girls at School*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North

²⁵ Apple, M., & Christian-Smith, L. *op.cit.*

Ruling or dominant conceptions of the world do not directly prescribe the mental content of the illusions that supposedly fill the heads of dominated classes. But the circle of dominant ideas does accumulate the symbolic power to map or classify the world for others; its classifications do acquire not only the constraining power of dominance over other modes of thought but also the initial authority of habit and instinct. It becomes the horizon of the taken-for-granted: what the world is and how it works, for all practical purposes. Ruling ideas may dominate other conceptions of the social world by setting the limit on what will appear as rational, reasonable, credible, indeed sayable or thinkable within the given vocabularies of motive and action available to us. Their dominance lies precisely in the power they have to contain within their limits, to frame within their circumference of thought, the reasoning and calculation of other social groups.²⁷

Where the complexities of representation then demand frameworks that allow for analysis of those complexities, an important message that I take from Stuart Hall is the recognition that dominance and dominant ideas do exist. As such I have sought throughout this thesis to be conscious of the ways in which structure, at a macro level, intersects with text at a micro level. A key point of intersection is that of ideology and representation.

Ideology and representation intersect in many ways. Where an in-depth discussion is beyond the scope of this present piece of research it is necessary to indicate that such intersections exist in ways that are often detrimental to the well being of **Māori** people. Where dominant groups control processes and vehicles of representation, minority groups are in a constant struggle to have their images and selves presented in ways that reflect what they consider to be their spiritual, cultural, intellectual and material realities. In **Aotearoa** the ongoing battle for **Māori** representation on film and television is clear indication of such struggles.²⁴ Images, as representations, like the construction of history, represent certain views and ideological beliefs. In terms of representation it is the dominant ideology that is most likely to be expressed in that these are held by the dominant group who have most access to the processes of representation. Any discussion of representation as a process or concept can not take place without at least a fleeting visit to the ways in which meanings within, and readings of, texts are constructed. This is important to this thesis in that it engages the relationship of language to ideology, representation and knowledge. Within **Māori** thought **te reo Māori** and **tikanga Māori** are inseparable, they are reliant on each other for their maintenance and survival.²⁹ This centrality of **te reo Māori me ōna tikanga** to **Kaupapa Māori** research and theory highlights the importance of understanding how language is constituted by and constitutes knowledge. This is a

²⁷ Hall cited in Apple, M & Christian-Smith, L. *ibid*:12

²⁸ Refer Fox, Derek **Tini** 1988 'The Mass Media: A **Māori** Perspective' in *Report of Royal Commission on Social Policy: Te Komihana A Te Karauna Mo Nga Ahuatanga-A-Iwi* April Report, Government Printer, Wellington; Fox, Derek 1990 'Te Karere: The Struggle for **Māori** News' in Spoonley, P. & Hirsh, W. (eds), *Between the Lines: Racism and the New Zealand Media*, Heinemann Reed, Auckland; **Mita, Merata** 1992 'The Soul and the Image' in Dennis, J., & Bieringa, J. (eds) *Film in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, Victoria University Press; **Paraha**, Glynnis 1993 '**Merata Mita** providing a Counter view: Reclaiming and Taking Control of our Image' in *Te Pua* 2, The Journal of **Puawaitanga**, Smith, L.T. (ed), University of Auckland, Auckland

particularly important process in terms of this thesis given that a key source of misrepresentation lies in the in historical documentation, this is ironic given that critical sources of the reclamation of **Māori** knowledge also lies, in part, in historical documentation.

It is argued in Chapter Five, that **te reo Māori** embodies not only linguistic potentialities but also spiritual and cultural potential. **Te reo Māori** encompasses a range of meanings that operate at many levels, social, cultural, political and some may say physical. **Te Kawehau** Hoskins has in her Masters Thesis discussed the need to engage all forms of embodiment or internalisation of oppression.³⁰ She argues that in understanding the internalisation of oppression we need to understand the notion of 'embodied oppression'. I would contend that if oppressive relations are seen as shaping our bodily relations then so too do meanings and counter-hegemonic processes have the potential to re-shape our being. The recognition of **te reo Māori** within **Kaupapa Māori** theory as integral to the development of successful interventions is an affirmation of the centrality of language in the expression and transmission of culture. The marginalisation of **te reo Māori** is an outcome of the imposition of unequal power relationships and the maintenance and reproduction of that through dominant discourse and in **Aotearoa** through a majority position of the colonising population. This thesis argues that in order to engage with the complexities of the colonial ideologies that have been imposed on this land, but which have no roots here, we need to engage the many layers of oppressive discourses and practices that maintain and perpetuate injustice.

It is my argument that **Kaupapa Māori** and **Mana Wahine** theories provide distinctive tools through which we can view our world and analyse our experiences as **Māori** women. This does not assume homogeneity of **Māori** women, or a singular definition of what constitutes a **Māori** woman. Both **Kaupapa Māori** and **Mana Wahine** theories have a multiplicity of expression. To assume a homogenous 'ideal' **Māori** woman would be antithetical to the intentions of either of these theoretical expressions. It does however assume that there is a need to work in ways that are able to actively incorporate analyses of all forms of oppression and that there are fundamental ways in which representations of **Māori** women inform the ways in which **Māori** women as a collective are viewed, and that these representations if founded upon colonial beliefs about what constitutes **Māori** womanhood need to be challenged. Discussing theoretical ways of engaging the world is in my opinion a necessary part of a wider decolonisation intent. Theory, has historically been used against our best intentions as **Māori** people, however what is argued here is that we can and will take control of our own critical understandings and theoretical explanations and understandings. Those theories must in my view be able to contribute to change that will benefit all **Māori** and not a privileged few,

²⁹ This is discussed fully in Chapter five.

³⁰ Hoskins, T. K.C. 2000 *Kia Whai Kiko Te kōrero, Constituting Discourses: Exchanges at the Edge*, Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland

they must also be challenging of those processes that continue to marginalise many of our **whānau**, **hapū** and **iwi** and seek to challenge all forms of injustice.

Crafting the thesis

This has not been an easy thesis to craft. I have been hesitant to remove writings that I feel I have poured by heart and soul into, and so have needed to think carefully about how the various chapters and sections of this thesis are able to come together in a relatively coherent piece of writing and reading. I'm not sure that I have been successful in doing that and hope that readers are able to 'see' the connections with, of course, the help of the various pointers that I have included to support the journey. This is, I believe, a consequence of the topic itself which is complex and requires a constant remembering of the ways that colonisation, race, gender and class continually intersect in often complicated ways. The outcome of which is that in some parts of the thesis I have written in ways that I would consider deeply personal and in other areas I have been theoretically heavy in my writing.

Such is the nature of engaging this topic. I can not remove myself from the issues and therefore I have drawn on my own experiences of the world as an important part of my writing. In his doctoral thesis Graham **Hingangaroa** Smith refers to himself as 'the author'.³¹ This he states is a deliberate cooption of the 'third person removed' into a cultural and political paradigm that is premised on the idea that it is not for the author to elevate themselves over the voices of others. Graham notes that the terms 'I', 'we' and 'me' work to elevate the work of the individual over the collective foundations of the work. This is an important point. The writings undertaken by **Māori** are built upon foundations of collective endeavour and existing cultural knowledge, and therefore Graham's use of the term 'the author' is appropriate to his argument. The difficulty I have with such an argument is that it does not challenge the fundamental premise of academic assumptions in regard to naming ourselves. Furthermore, using third person references does not necessarily mean an author doesn't privilege themselves, rather most academic texts show otherwise.

A further point of consideration is that where the term 'I' in English is clearly individual, in **Māori** terms the individual never moves alone, we are always surrounded and guided by generations past. As such the term 'I' is not used in this thesis to elevate myself as an individual. A similar notion is referred to in the **Waitangi** Tribunal Report on the **Taranaki** claim. In outlining the manipulation of land 'sales' and the individualisation of land title in **Taranaki**, the Tribunal highlighted that in letters from **Wiremu Kingi**, resisting the Crowns assumption of ownership, he used 'I' consistently, however according to the Tribunal he was not referring to himself as an individual but was referring to **Te**

³¹ Smith, Graham **Hingangaroa** 1997 *The Development of Kaupapa Māori Theory and Praxis*. Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy thesis, School of Education, University of Auckland, Auckland

Ātiawa as a whole. In regard to **Wiremu Kingi**, the Tribunal referred to his role as **rangatira**³² and noted:

... the **rangatira** were not merely the leaders of the people - they were the people. They were inclined to use 'I' where others would use 'the people' or 'we'. They owned everything and yet might claim nothing personally.³³

This example gives an indication of the complex ways in which **Māori** use of English could be influenced by our own cultural world view. Likewise the term 'we' is increasingly problematised as a universalising, essentialist notion. In **te reo Māori** there is more than one 'we', for example **mātou** refers to we not including the person being spoken to, and **tātou** is we including all present, physically, spiritually, politically, culturally. I have also been reminded recently of the use of the term '**tāua**'. '**Tāua**' which is regarded as a two person inclusive pronoun, that is it includes the speaker and the person they are speaking to, however it is regularly used to relate to the groups that two people connect to and in that sense is collective rather than individual.³⁴ The essence of the terms is relational. My use of the English word 'we' is not to assume a generalised universal position, it will sometimes be **mātou** and other times **tātou**, that of course is dependent on the positioning of the reader.

A further reason for using personal pronouns is that I do not accept the academic assumption that researchers act as objective observers and that as a consequence we must write ourselves out of the text through a third person style. I have been fortunate to have good models in such an exercise. Indigenous, Black women, and Women of Colour such as Linda **Tuhiwai Smith**, **Kuni Jenkins**, Kathie Irwin, **Ngahuia Te Awekotuku**, Haunani K. Trask, Cheryl **Waerea-i-te-Rangi Smith**, Margie **Hohepa**, Glynnis **Paraha**, Lee Maracle, bell hooks, Angela Davis, Trinh T. Minh-ha, Gloria Anzaldúa, Winona La Duke, Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, Audre Lorde and many others, serve as powerful models.³⁵ The outcome is what I could best refer to as an undulating style, which I have no doubt readers will see as you move through the thesis. There is no set style, rather the writing style is dependent on my relationship to the material. Readers will see that where I feel personally involved and passionate with the issues the writing appears more personal and passionate, where I feel removed

³² **rangatira** refers to a person, either female or male, of chiefly status.

³³ **Waitangi Tribunal Report, Wai 143**, 1996 op.cit.: 73

³⁴ Jenkins, **Kuni** 2001 Personal communication.

³⁵ Many of these authors have been referenced earlier in the chapter, those that have not are as follows; Trask, Haunani-Kay *From A Native Daughter*, Common Courage Press, Monroe; **Hohepa**, Margie '**Hei Tautoko I Te Reo**': *Māori Language Regeneration and Whānau Bookreading Practices*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland; La Duke, Winona, 1999 *All Our Relations: Native Struggle for Land and Life*, South End Press, USA; Davis, Angela Anzaldúa, Gloria, 1990 *Making Face, Making Soul: Haciendo Caras*, An Aunt Lute Foundation Book, San Francisco; Maracle, Lee, 1996 *I am Woman: A Native Perspective on Sociology and Feminism*, Press Gang Publishers, Vancouver; Kame'eleihiwa, Lilikalā *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu; Lorde, Audre 1996 *The Audre Lorde Compendium: Essays, Speeches and Journals*, Pandora, London; Moreton-Robinson, Aileen 2000 *Talkin' Up To The White Woman: Indigenous Women And Feminism*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane

or positioned as 'other' in relation to issues my writing tends to be dispassionate and detached. Initially I would angst over the changes in style and ways of relating to the material, I now take it as a part of how I am as an academic, there are things that enthuse, motivate and inspire me and those things bring out a passion in writing. There are also things that have to be written in a thesis because the expectations of a doctoral thesis demand that they are present, or because in engaging a field such as this there is a need to critique particular pieces of work, those things I often found tedious and would write in ways that showed my distance. This can be conceptualised in a number of ways. Firstly, my distance is directly related to the ways in which colonisation, and the consequent establishment of unequal power relations between **Māori** and our colonisers, has constructed knowledge and what constitutes valid knowledge.

I have a resistance to writing about Western knowledge and Western theories in ways that centre those understandings, and therefore consciously stand from the outside looking in, a place where most Indigenous Peoples have been positioned by our colonisers. Throughout my undergraduate degree I recall the struggle of trying to 'fit' into Western analyses, of trying to see myself in theories that ultimately cared little about my existence as a **Māori** woman. I now celebrate the fact that I was unsuccessful in that task. Looking in from the outside is now for me a way of detaching myself, maintaining my own centre and making choices as to what is or is not useful. Secondly, I have become increasingly aware of notions within **te reo Māori** that express cultural ways of relating. Pat **Hohepa** in describing the terms **nei**, **nā** and **rā**³⁶ noted that within a narrative the narrator would be standing a distance from the person being referred to but still use the term '**nei**' as a way of placing themselves politically or philosophically alongside that person.³⁷ Similarly a narrator could distance themselves philosophically by using the term '**rā**' in relation to someone standing near them. I was also introduced recently to the use of the term '**noho atu**', **noho** meaning to sit and **atu**, away from. I was told that if someone who you didn't agree with wanted to sit near you this would be the term to use, '**noho atu**' which also indicated a political or philosophical difference. The point here is that inherent within cultural definitions is a notion of positioning oneself not just physically but politically and philosophically through language. I have also done this through the process of naming authors.

Having begun writing the thesis referring to authors by their last name, as is the academic habit, I found it increasingly difficult to discuss the works of **Māori** people whom I have close relationships with in a way that suggested otherwise. This also extended to the works of writers for whom I felt a strong political or cultural connection. As such I have chosen to move from the taken-for-granted

³⁶ These terms indicate location, **nei**: near to the speaker, **nā**: over there, **rā**: over there distant

³⁷ **Hohepa**, P. 1981 'A look at **Māori** Narrative Structure' in Hollyman, J. & Pawley, A. *Studies In Pacific Languages and Cultures*, Linguistic Society of New Zealand, Auckland

academic practice of using only last names to indicate authors. Again, there is not necessarily a set, stringently defined pattern of naming used within the thesis, however on the whole I would indicate that for those people with whom I have a personal or cultural and political relationship I have tended to firstly introduce their work using their full names and then have moved to first name references. Then there are those whose works I am inspired by but I have maintained last name reference because their works have been referred to through last name references, for example the work of Paulo Freire is often referred to as the writings of Freire. Writers of the critical theory fields who are known primarily by their last names also fit within this vein, for example; Habermas, Giroux, Gramsci etc are all referred to as such. It is my view that it is appropriate in those cases to maintain such a use. For those whose work is somewhat distant from my own either culturally or politically I have retained the use of last name references after the initial introduction. I would note that the philosophical positioning in terms of naming is evident to the critical reader. This textual discussion relates also to the use of footnotes. I have chosen to use footnotes for a number of reasons. Firstly, footnotes allow a continual flow in the text by providing references, translations and interpretations separately. Secondly, footnotes also provide a space to expand on areas that require further depth but which if placed in the main text would detract from the particular point being made. Finally, footnotes are used as a process of defining and providing translation of **te reo Māori**. It took some time to decide on how to do such a process, in particular whether to use footnote, endnotes or a glossary. Where endnotes are also able to provide this, I personally find looking to the end of a piece for definitions irritating and therefore they are not my preferred option. Glossaries, where useful tools for defining terms tend to provide general meanings and therefore the context of the word usage can be lost. Therefore, I have chosen to footnote definitions in order to locate particularly words and definitions in the context within which they are being used. Defining **Māori** terms in English can be a difficult task given the multiple meanings and understandings that each term carries, therefore footnoting the definitions allows for the term to be discussed relative to the actual context. Another reason for footnoting definitions of **Māori** terms is that for those who have an understanding of **te reo Māori** the flow in the main text is maintained and the discussion is not interrupted.

In continuing on a discussion of language there is an ongoing issue for **Māori** people writing in English but who use **Māori** words interchangeably with the colonisers' language. I accept the position laid by Linda **Tuhiwai** Smith in her Doctoral thesis that we can as **Māori** academics privilege **te reo Māori** by making distinctions within our texts.³⁸ This she argues makes it clear that **Māori** language cannot just be placed into the English language without some form of appropriation or alienation occurring. As such Linda chose to both bold and italicise **Māori** words in the text. **Kuni** Jenkins and **Rapata Wiri** also chose to draw the distinction in terms of **te reo Māori**, in a predominantly English

text, through the use of italics.³⁹ This raises ways in which textual representation impacts on language and constructions of knowledge. As I type this thesis the word 'normal' appears in the styles box of my computer, this only changes when I choose a different style, that is a style defined as something other than 'normal'. Italics, bolding etc are not set in this technology as normal. Publishers do not, on the whole, publish entirely in italics or in bold. Our aesthetic relationship to text is constructed within particular frameworks and we are presented daily with what constitutes 'normal' text. Having said that I still agree with the notion that **Māori** language can not be read as an addition to the English language and therefore I have chosen to bold all **Māori** words that appear in this thesis. It is a process of what I consider accentuating the distinctiveness of **te reo Māori**, validating the presence and power of our language in a text that is primarily articulated in English.

A further point regarding textual decisions in the use of **te reo Māori** is that of using the macron. There are a number of positions taken in regard to indicating long vowels, the choices being; (i) the use of double letters to indicate long vowels; (ii) the use of macrons and (iii) to use neither macrons nor double letters but to rely on the fluency of the readers to 'know' the word. In this thesis I have chosen the option of using macrons for my own text and those quotes that have macrons in their original text. As a second language learner and speaker of **te reo Māori** knowing whether a vowel is long or short makes all the difference to my understanding of a given statement. Also I am cognisant of the fact that not indicating long vowels in words like **tāngata** or **mātua** have often culminated in 'male' oriented translations being made.⁴⁰

Outlining A Journey : Thesis overview

This thesis is a theoretical discussion. Each chapter seeks to either develop some aspect of theory or to engage particular theoretical constructions that impact upon **Māori** people, and **Māori** women in particular. The intention of the thesis is to contribute to the development of **Mana Wahine** theories, building upon and extending both **Mana Wahine** theories and **Kaupapa Māori** theory. Where the thesis itself is not physically separated into sections there are clear shifts that occur throughout which provide quasi-sections.

The first part of the thesis (Chapters 1-3) focuses on my personal and academic journeys to that have brought me to this particular research area. It includes a process of locating myself as a **Māori**

³⁸ Mead, L.T.R., 1996 *'Nga Aho o Te Kakahu Matauranga: The Multiple Layers of Struggle by Māori in Education'* Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, Education Department University of Auckland:31

³⁹ Jenkins, K.E.H. 2000 op.cit.; Wiri, R. 2001 *The Prophecies Of The Great Canyon Of Toi: A History Of Te Whāiti-nui-a-Toi In The Western Urewera Mountains Of New Zealand*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland

woman, lesbian, mother, academic, who comes from specific **whānau**, **hapū** and **iwi** experiences. It gives the reader a general introduction to the thesis topic through an exploration of my own experiences. This is apt, in my view, as what has brought me to this place of writing a PhD thesis has been highly influenced by the many experiences I have known as a **Māori** woman. The intention of the Chapters One to Three is to locate the thesis within a context. It is my view that in order for me to write **Kaupapa Māori** theory and **Mana Wahine** that I needed to state clearly where I am coming from. That is very much in line with the basic argument of this thesis, that all theory derives from particular understandings, worldviews, cultural and political constructions. It is noted that where Western theories may hold major currency within the academy the usefulness of such frameworks is limited by the cultural and social understandings from which they have been developed.

This is followed in the second part of the thesis by a discussion of **Kaupapa Māori** theory. **Kaupapa Māori** theory, which it is argued provides a foundation for theoretical engagement, and development, from a distinctively **Māori** worldview. Where **Kaupapa Māori** theory is located as a central framework for the thesis I am working towards that argument that the expression of **Mana Wahine** theories as forms of **Kaupapa Māori** theory are essential in addressing issues for **Māori** women. Chapters Four and Five provide an engagement with existing theoretical discussions of **kaupapa Māori** theory and what I identify as key elements within current expressions of **Kaupapa Māori** theory. It is in these Chapters that I outline the necessity for the further expansion of **Kaupapa Māori** theory and lay the foundations for the need for a strongly defined **Mana Wahine** analysis. It is noted that a key western theoretical paradigms that has influenced **Kaupapa Māori** theory within the academy is the Frankfurt School Critical Theory. As such Critical Theory can be viewed as a **hoa mahi**,⁴¹ a theory that is able to work alongside **Kaupapa Māori** theory. Both race and gender discourses have had significant impact on the lives of **Māori** people and the status and positioning of **Māori** women in particular. It is argued that in order to develop theoretical frameworks that theorise, explain and provide understandings for transformative action there must be an analysis of how ideologies of race, gender and class are constructed in the context of colonisation.

The third part of the thesis provides a range of examples of how the impact of hierarchies of race, gender and class are constructed to support a colonial agenda that marginalises **Māori** women.

⁴⁰ **Tāngata** refers to people, whereas **tangata** refers to person, but is often translated as 'man'; also **mātua** refers to parents and **matua** to father.

⁴¹ **Hoa mahi** refers to a companion in work and is influenced by the writings of **Taina** and **Hariata Pohatu**. **Taina** refers to 'hai hoa haere' as being *companionship affirming the importance of the cultural grouping/s in any cultural context*. **Pohatu, Taina** 1996 *I Tiipu Ai Taatou I Ngaa Turi O O Tatatau Maatua Tiipuna: Transmission and Acquisition Processes Within Kaawai Whakapapa*. Unpublished Master of Education thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland; **Pohatu, H.R. & T.W.**, 1999 *Names: Distance Travellers*, Unpublished Paper, Auckland

Definitions of race, gender and are outlined, followed by an overview of the intersection of these ideologies and colonisation for **Māori** women. It is argued that for issues for **Māori** women to be actively engaged there must be an approach that is able to engage the intersections of race and gender from a cultural foundation that is able to adequately inform our analysis. In order to highlight this further Chapters Seven and Eight provide illustrations of the impact of race, gender, class and colonisation. The areas discussed, to provide illustration of this are, the historical sources of representation and the construction of both legislation and curriculum in the Native Schools system from 1816-1940. The arguments posited in these Chapters are not new. They have been expressed by a diverse range of authors. What is presented here however is a process of tracking through discourses or representations of **Māori** women in order to highlight that current forms of representation are not new but can be sourced through a series of colonial ideologies. An examination of historical sources of representation and Native Schooling demonstrates this, identifying the source of and impact of dominant discourses and representations of **Māori** women.

The final chapters of the thesis are dedicated to the discussion of **Mana Wahine**. Chapters Nine and Ten argue that **Mana Wahine** is a theoretical framework that engages the complexities of **Māori** women's experiences. Chapter Nine outlines general philosophical underpinnings of a **Mana Wahine** theoretical framework as a **Kaupapa Māori** theory. It is argued that **Mana Wahine** theory can stand as a **Kaupapa Māori** theory in its own right. Furthermore, it is argued that the intersections of race and gender has been instrumental in the undermining of the status and positioning of **Māori** women, therefore theoretical analysis of issues for **Māori** women must actively engage those issues alongside wider cultural, social and political analysis. Chapter Ten, draws upon works of a range of **Māori** women theorists who utilise frameworks that I believe can be viewed as **Mana Wahine** theoretical assertions. From the writings of **Māori** women theorists and visionaries, I have identified a range of elements that appear consistently, which may be viewed as necessary elements of **Mana Wahine** theory. I want to note clearly that these elements are not considered exclusive or definitive, as with any theoretical framework there is also ongoing critique and expansion. Chapter Eleven is the concluding Chapter. It is focused upon the idea that it is essential for **Māori** women to develop theoretical frameworks that will support critical transformation. This final Chapter provides concluding statements in regard to the role of **Mana Wahine** and **Kaupapa Māori** theories in processes of asserting analysis from **Māori** frameworks and providing a foundation for revealing; engaging; resisting and intervening in the unequal power relations that exist within **Aotearoa**. This is what drives my involvement in this process of theoretical developments, the hope and desire to contribute to a discussion that supports transformation, and which validates our many experiences as **Māori** people.

Framing the Research

What has happened in our colonial experience is that many **Māori** women have been denied access to what may be termed **mātauranga**⁴² **wāhine**, or **Māori** women's knowledges. When we place that alongside the denial of **Māori** theories, language and culture we find ourselves in a position where in order to theorise about the world and about our experiences of colonisation we must recreate for ourselves our theories and means of analysis. What this has been called in some **Māori** women's circles is **Mana Wahine**. This thesis indicates the importance of **Mana Wahine** and **Kaupapa Māori** Theory, as affirming each other. The process of coming to a point where I am able to discuss the importance of the relationship between **Mana Wahine** and **Kaupapa Māori** theory has been a long journey that includes experiences from diverse range of people and events.

In Chapter One I sought to give the reader an indication of some key influences in my life that have impacted on how and why I see the world the way I do. My experiences, background and worldview is important to my theoretical development. It provides me a starting place, a foundation of understandings and a place from which to reflect. As such the theoretical discussions are those which I have chosen as useful in my life and in particular in my coming to understand the complexities of race, gender, class and the experience of living in a colonised context, and means of developing resistance and radical transformation.

It is not my intention to lay a universal theory for **Māori** women. I do not assume to speak for **Māori** women as a group. Nor do I assume that our experiences are homogenous. I am aware that language can appear one dimensional on paper, however what I ask of readers of this thesis is that you draw into the reading the many possibilities that are available. It is not my desire or aspiration or intention to write a thesis that confines either **Kaupapa Māori** theory or **Mana Wahine** theory. I do not wish to exalt theory to an extent that a monolithic framework is created that then suffocates our creativeness or diminishes the incredible complexity that is a part our own being of **Papatūānuku**.⁴³ My engagement in academia and research is driven by a fundamental belief that the work I am involved in within **Māori** Education, film making and information sharing supports wider **Māori** aspirations for **tino rangatiratanga**,⁴⁴ and contributes to a philosophy of transformation in a societal context that

⁴² **Mātauranga** refers to **Māori** knowledge. This is discussed more fully in Chapter Four.

⁴³ Barbara Christian warns of the danger of monolithic constructions of theory that becomes prescriptive and in doing so denies possibilities. This is discussed further in Chapter Four. Christian, Barbara 1990 'Doing Theory' in Anzaldúa, Gloria (ed) *Making Face, Making Soul: Haciendo Caras*, An Aunt Lute Foundation Book, San Francisco pp 335-345

⁴⁴ **Tino rangatiratanga** is a term used by many **Māori** in articulating our fundamental rights as guaranteed by **Te Tiriti o Waitangi**. Within **Te Tiriti** our ancestors agreed to our people maintaining our '**tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua, o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa**', rather than lean on official interpretations of what this means I note that for me those words agreed on by our **tūpuna** ensured the absolute authority over our lands, estates – including fisheries, forestries all things on the land -and all things treasured or held important by our people, both tangible and intangible

mitigates against such positioning. **Kaupapa Māori** and **Mana Wahine** theories are for me powerful, creative, culturally defined theories of change.

This thesis is not written solely for my self or my **whānau**. There is a hope and intention that what I explore in this research will be of wider collective use; writing for the sake of writing is a privilege most **Māori** women can ill afford. I do recognise also the resources and possibilities open to me as a **Māori** woman academic. This is also what drives me in a pursuit of transformative action. Few of our people have access to the resources and status of a University and therefore how we use that access is critical. Many of my colleagues have been through the process of doctoral research and have through their research been instrumental in critical changes in the area of **Māori** Education. I would hope that this work will contribute to the ongoing developments in terms of engaging the fundamental injustices that exist within this society, that have been imposed in the first part by our colonisers and maintained over the past 200 years through a range of mechanisms, including through the involvement of our own. This thesis argues that to engage those injustices we must be constantly aware of the complexities and intersections of oppressive regimes and their impact on **Māori** women and **Māori** men.

Theory is important for me. It is a way of developing analyses that are well founded and thought through. It is also a means by which we as **Māori** can affirm the knowledges of our **tūpuna**, who we know have always engaged in theorising about their world. Anyone who reads this thesis will see that **Māori** theorising is something that I am willing and able to struggle for. We have a right to have our worldviews and understandings validated. Equally we have a right to be affirmed in the use of the understandings and explanations that have been handed down to us. To not practice those would be to deny their existence and therefore support a colonial objective, which was to remove **Māori** thinking from the face of the earth. This may appear extreme but the records of the Native Schools system are evidence to the many attempts by our colonisers to remove all semblances of **te reo Māori me ōna tikanga**.⁴⁵

This research discusses **Kaupapa Māori** theory and **Mana Wahine**, as theoretical frameworks and as a means of affirming and validating **Māori** epistemologies. There is a growing body of literature by **Māori** that challenges the hegemony of colonial knowledge and which challenges each of us to reclaim and reproduce **Māori** knowledge forms within our communities, our **whānau**, **hapu** and **iwi**.⁴⁶ These writings are a part of a wider struggle that engages many **Māori** at various times in our lives,

⁴⁵ Refer Simons, J., 1998 op.cit.

⁴⁶ Nepe, Tuakana 1991 *E Hao nei e tenei Reanga: Te Toi Huarewa Tipuna, Kaupapa Māori, An Educational Intervention*, Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland; Pohatu, Taina 1996 op.cit.;

that is the struggle of what it means to be **Māori** and to live within a state of colonial dominance. As such it is my hope that this thesis will contribute to that wider struggle through providing analysis that can address some of the fundamental assumptions that underpin the colonial positioning of **Māori** women and which serve to maintain ongoing injustices and inequalities for **Māori** girls and women. The key to this analysis is the privileging of **Māori** women's voices within the thesis. I remain convinced that for change to occur for **Māori** women we need to have the space to articulate our thoughts and desires. This is not to say that **Māori** men, and others, don't have a role in removing the oppressive structures and ideologies that marginalise **Māori** women. **Māori** men, in particular, have both a role and an obligation to engage with issues that marginalise **Māori** women. The failure of most **Māori** men to engage critically with these issues means that **Māori** men themselves are not having to reflect on their own positions and their contribution to wider societal sexist structures. Given that many **Māori** argue an idea of complementarity between **Māori** women and **Māori** men, then understandings about the role of **Māori** men becomes integral.

Recent statistical data points to the maintenance of inequalities in terms of **Māori** girls and women's experiences of society. In the May 2000 report from **Te Puni Kōkiri** to the Minister of **Māori** Affairs the following general comment was made,

The report shows that, at the very start of life, **Māori** infants are more likely to die than non-**Māori** infants. Moving along a little further the report identifies **Māori** children are less likely to be participating in early childhood education... some years further on young **Māori** are leaving Secondary school with much lower levels of qualifications than non-**Māori**. More disturbing is that the majority of young **Māori** are leaving school with qualification levels that will disadvantage them when attempting to gain access to quality post-school education and employment. Following on from this, it is not surprising to find that **Māori** youth are less likely to move directly into tertiary education than non-**Māori** and are far less likely to be participating in formal tertiary education. Hence **Māori** are over-represented in second-chance schemes, such as the Training Opportunities Programme (TOP). **Māori** unemployment rates continue to be significantly higher than for non-**Māori**. **Māori** are also less likely to be participating in the labour force... not surprising therefore, **Māori** incomes are lower than those for non-**Māori**, and **Māori** are more likely to require government assistance or be totally dependent on a benefit. This in turn impacts upon **Māori** access to adequate housing and **Māori** health status. Although the causal links are complex, there is little doubt that all these factors have contributed to the much higher offending and victimisation rates within the **Māori** community.⁴⁷

The **Te Puni Kōkiri** report provides table after table of data across the various sectors that indicate that the state of education, justice and health for **Māori** continues to be in crisis. This does not deny the positive developments that are occurring across the sectors but it does highlight that change is coming too little, too slow for our people. One would think that after 200 years of white colonisers theories and remedies not working there would at be some openness to the idea that perhaps **Māori**

Timutimu, Ngareta A., *Kei Ngaro To Tātou Reo Rangatira: Middle Generation Māori Language Crisis*, Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland; Jenkins, K. 2000 op.cit.

⁴⁷ **Te Puni Kōkiri**, Ministry of **Māori** Development 2000 *Progress Towards Closing Social and Economic Gaps Between Māori and non-Māori*, **Te Puni Kōkiri**, Wellington

solutions are what need to be engaged and supported. However, as is the struggle for **Kaupapa Māori** theory within the academy so too is there an equivalent struggle by **Kaupapa Māori** service providers to affirm that **Māori** based provision is not only affirming but is also transforming for our communities. The data in the **Te Puni Kōkiri** report is not broken down in terms of sex. However, the 1999 report '**Māori Women In Focus**' developed collaboratively by **Te Puni Kōkiri** and the Ministry of Women's Affairs does give some statistical information in regard to **Māori** women.⁴⁸ The report notes that young **Māori** women are three times more likely to have their first child between the ages of 15-19 than non-**Māori** women, and that the fertility rate up to the age of 24 for **Māori** women is twice that of non-**Māori** women. **Māori** women tend to have a higher rate of abortion than non-**Māori** women. Young **Māori** women are less likely to be in tertiary education than non-**Māori** women, however **Māori** women 35+ have a slightly higher rate of tertiary attendance than non-**Māori** women. **Māori** women have lower rates of employment in their twenties and tend to return to the workforce in their late-thirties and forties. Between 1981 and 1996 single parent families rose from 19% to 41%, a high proportion of those being headed by **Māori** women. **Māori** women's household income was shown to be lower in contrast to non-**Māori** women. In 1996 47% of **Māori** women had no formal school qualifications and were half as likely to have a tertiary qualification as non-**Māori** women. Unemployment rates for **Māori** women in 1996 were recorded as three times that of non-**Māori** women.

Where the '**Māori Women in Focus**' report is limited, in that its categorisation of 'non-**Māori**' women hides the 'real' picture in terms of comparisons between **Māori** women and **Pākehā** women,⁴⁹ it does indicate that the social indicators for **Māori** women in this country continue to be abysmal. What that says is that the measures put in place by successive governments have been inadequate to bring about change for **Māori** women. It is my argument that such measures are inadequate because they are, on the whole, based on understandings that are foreign to this land. This thesis argues that for change to happen for **Māori** women, it must be driven from a **Kaupapa Māori** base. Therefore it is asserted that developing a **Māori** women's analysis of **Mana Wahine** that is build on foundations that are **Māori** is essential. **Mana Wahine** theory is grounded in **Papatūānuku**.

This research highlights that the representation of **Māori** women and girls is complex and therefore our analysis must be able to engage those complexities. Western feminisms have tended to regard issues of race, gender and class in ways that seek to show these divisions as parallel. However, this is inadequate in that such analysis does not engage the cumulative effect of these ideologies upon

⁴⁸ **Te Puni Kōkiri** & Ministry of Women's Affairs *Māori Women In Focus: 'Tūtiro hāngai, ka mārama'*, Ministry of Māori Development, Wellington

⁴⁹ The 'non-**Māori**' category includes Pacific Nations women and Asian Women, and therefore the figures do not highlight the 'disparity' that exists between **Māori** women and **Pākehā** women.

Māori.⁵⁰ Writing in regard to Black Women, Hazel Carby highlights the inadequacies of a parallel analysis;

The experience of black women does not enter the parameters of parallelism. The fact that black women are subject to the simultaneous oppression of patriarchy, class and 'race' is the prime reason for not employing parallels that render their position and experience not only marginal but also invisible.⁵¹

It is hoped that this thesis will contribute to the development of theoretical analysis that enables more complex analysis of the experiences and situations of **Māori** women and girls. Within formal State schooling the complexities of these experiences have been made invisible as **Māori** girls experiences have subsumed under the headings of 'Māori Education' or the 'Education of Girls'.⁵² Very little recognition of the interrelationship between race and gender has been made, in fact we are now seeing a further denial of both race and gender with the increasing focus on economic and class explanations within research.⁵³ This thesis focuses on these intersections and supports the development of theoretical understandings and ideas that promote ways of interpreting both historical and contemporary acts of marginalisation experienced by **Māori** women.

Western feminisms have been dominant in the explanation and analysis of gender relations. The history of Black and Indigenous women's attempt to be 'included' within those explanations have, on the whole, been unsuccessful. In many instances this has meant a retreat by Black and Indigenous women from 'white women's' movements, and a reformulation as black women's groups. For **Māori** women, there has been a movement away from **Pākehā**/western feminisms to a reclamation of **Māori** women's theories. An exploration of this movement is critical to this thesis. The development of **Māori** women's theories is not however contingent on the existence of Western feminisms. It is my argument that **Kaupapa Māori** theory is not dependent on Western theories. **Mana Wahine** stands irrespective, and often in spite of, the existence of Western feminist frameworks. On the whole Western feminisms have denied the existence of 'others' and have tended to serve the interests of white women. It is argued in this thesis that there are **Māori** women actively in the development and

⁵⁰ Carby, Hazel (1987) 'Black Feminism and the Boundaries of Sisterhood' in Arnot, M. & Weiner, G. (eds) *Gender and The Politics of Schooling*, Hutchinson, London

⁵¹ *ibid*:65

⁵² Currie, G. 1962 *Report Of The Commission On Education In New Zealand*, Government Printer, Wellington; Hunn, J.K., 1960 *Report On Department Of Māori Affairs*, Government Printer, Wellington

⁵³ For **Māori** this has come in recently in the form of the 'Chapple Report'. The Chapple report submits that the key determining factor within **Māori** education is that of class, or more specifically poverty. The report denies cultural, racial and gender oppression, as having any major contribution to success factors for **Māori**, and in doing so returns to the deprivation theories of the 1960s and 1970s. This is not surprising. While the neoliberal economic focus continues with the existing Coalition government agenda we can expect an increase in educational research 'on' **Māori** that follows the same line. Refer Chapple, S., Jefferies, R. & Walker, R. 1997 *Māori Participation and Performance in Education: A Literature Review & Research Programme*, Ministry of Education, Wellington

articulation of theoretical frameworks that are more able to engage issues pertaining to **Māori** women, with all our diversity.

Where the focus of this thesis is one which prioritises **Māori** women's and girls experiences, that can not be done in total isolation from **Māori** men and boys. I agree with Kathie Irwin that we are, as **Māori** women, entitled to focus on the experiences of girls and women.⁵⁴ I also agree with the argument that **Māori** women's experiences are contexted not solely within our being 'women' but are by necessity contexted by our being **Māori**, being working class **Māori** women, being lesbian **Māori** women and that the differences between women account for many of our life experiences.⁵⁵ This has been a point of debate within many white feminist movements and between Black/Indigenous women/Women of Colour and white women.

What is evident, to me, about the process of writing this thesis is that it is a means through which to tell my own story. That is, to tell a story, myself as a writer, and equally to tell a story about myself, as a **Māori** woman. One thing that I have learnt over the past seven years, working in the **Māori** Education Department, is that stories are important and need to be told, in whatever form. A doctoral thesis, with all the difficulties and academic requirements, is a form through which I can tell a story. It may be theoretically dense at times, it may be unreadable in places, it may even be somehow important to our futures as a people, but ultimately I have selected this area of research as I believe it is an area that needs exploration. There have been many instances that I have seen **Māori** women silenced. There are times that I have felt that there are **Māori** women present who have much to offer but the space is not made available for them to speak. There are times I have felt frustrated or angered at the denial of **Māori** women's input. It is all epitomised in that one action, that told a young **Māori** girl that she could not express herself with the words of **Hineahuone**, of her **tūpuna whaea**.⁵⁶

It is my opinion that there is a need for **Māori** women to speak to and for ourselves. To focus our work on engaging the issues that are important to us. That is what I am seeking in this thesis. Often when writing academic work I feel a constant pressure to write for an audience that exists outside myself, an audience that is that group which constructs us as the 'other'. I write in explanation of who I am and in a mode of justifying the positions that I take that may differ from dominant group positions. The constant justification of who we are is a part of the **Māori** experience. It is our experience at individual and collective levels. That justification stems from the privileging of western knowledge and **Pākehā** notions of how we should all be.

⁵⁴ Irwin, K., 1992 op.cit.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, see also Smith. L.T. 1992 op.cit.

⁵⁶ **Tūpuna whaea** is used here in relation to female ancestors. The term **whaea** is used to refer to a range of women, our lives, including mother, auntie and as a term of respect for other women.

This thesis is about challenging those ideas. In order to do that I need to engage with the ways in which **Māori** women's historical construction has, and continues to, inform discourses about us. That is a key element in this thesis, a searching for the **pūtake**,⁵⁷ the origin of the **kōrero** that now has such dire effects on **Māori** women. As with any form of **Kaupapa Māori** research it is essential that we are constantly curious. Likewise, I see it as a necessary part of engaging with dominant discourses, but it is not curiousness just for the sake of knowing but for the need to seek the underpinning assumptions and beliefs that inform us and the power relationships that are a part of those assumptions. This means having a serious look at representation, not only in what is documented but more importantly how, by whom and why it was documented. Asking whose knowledge frames such documentation and whose interests are served are critical aspects of re-searching, of searching the origins of beliefs. I am of the fundamental belief that it is for **Māori** women to engage discourses about our place in **Aotearoa**. This may be dismissed in academic circles as 'essentialist', idealistic or even separatist. I am aware of such criticisms and ask whose interests are served by them. Are **Māori** women's interests served by the ongoing documentation of who we are by **Pākehā**, male and female, anthropologists? I don't think so. This is not to deny the usefulness or importance of many works, but I suggest that there is an increasing number of **Māori** researchers and academics who are able to undertake **Māori** research from our own foundation, a **Kaupapa Māori** foundation. For the purpose of further clarification of this point I will move to a discussion of **Kaupapa Māori** research which will outline the research philosophies and processes that is the methodology of this thesis.

Kaupapa Māori Research

The methodology that informs this thesis is that of **Kaupapa Māori** research. It is one that locates **Māori** understandings as central to the research process and analysis. **Kaupapa Māori** research as a term was instigated originally through the works of Linda **Tuhiwai** Smith and Graham **Hingangaroa** Smith in the mid 1980's. The history of research for **Māori** has not been a favourable one. Linda states that **Māori** society was viewed as a "*fertile ground*" for research as our colonisers sought to 'expand' their knowledge. Much of what was documented was generalised as the way of being for all **Māori**.⁵⁸ The consequence of that is that many **Māori** have actively rejected the process of research as '**Pākehā**' or colonial.⁵⁹ This is in fact true of many forms of research and given our historical objectification through research we as **Māori** have every reason to be not only wary but actively defensive. **Māori** researchers I am involved with in both **Māori** education and **Māori** research have sought to reinstitute fundamental **Māori** values as a part of the research project. This is **Kaupapa Māori** research.

⁵⁷ **Pūtake** refers to the source or origins

⁵⁸ Mead, L.T. 1996 op.cit.:179

Kaupapa Māori Research is a methodology that is able to take into consideration the current situation of **Māori** whilst simultaneously seeking to inform our practice through **Kaupapa Māori**. In returning to the notion that **Kaupapa Māori** is itself part of those knowledges that have been with us and our tupuna for many generations, then we are able to recognise that whilst **Kaupapa Māori** research is a relatively recent methodological development, it is founded in cultural practices that are thousands of years old.

Kaupapa Māori Research has both local and national aspirations. Local in the sense of **whānau**, **hapū** and **iwi** and national in terms of urban **Māori** and multi-tribal **Māori** focus. This means that **Kaupapa Māori** research can not be universalised to one set of **Māori** knowledge as to do so would be to marginalise **whānau**, **hapū** and **iwi** knowledges. However, to operate as a methodological framework we need to outline fundamental principles for operation that are based within **Kaupapa Māori**. This may appear somewhat contradictory, however for **Māori** researchers the need for framework that has multiple possibilities fits well within a context where relationships are multiple and are actively negotiated. This has been a necessary part of moving from the position of researched to researcher.

Kaupapa Māori Research is a growing field of discussion amongst **Māori** researchers. At the **Te Oru Rangahau** conference a vast array of papers were delivered in regard to research issues for **Māori**.⁶⁰ Many of those papers engaged **Kaupapa Māori** Research. Not all **Māori** researchers refer to the term **Kaupapa Māori** Research, as we would expect there are various ways in which **Māori** researchers draw upon **tikanga Māori**, **mātauranga Māori** as a basis for developing research methodologies. **Te Ahukaramū** Charles Royal outlines in his paper 'Te Ao Mārama – A Research Paradigm', a theory of **Māori** knowledge referred to as **He Ariā Whakapae mō te Mātauranga Māori** : Towards a Theory of **Mātauranga Māori**.⁶¹ **Te Ahukaramū** highlights a need for **Māori** to take control of definitions and to develop research methodologies that are located within **Māori** worldviews. In this case he is referring specifically to definitions that are being developed at **Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa**.⁶² This work is one example of the multiple ways in which **Kaupapa Māori** can be expressed when drawing on the diverse positioning of **Māori** people including **whānau**, **hapū**, **iwi** or urban **Māori** knowledge and experiences.

⁵⁹ For further discussion of these issues refer to Smith, L.T. 1999 *Decolonising Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Zed Books Ltd. London

⁶⁰ **Te Oru Rangahau** was a **Māori** Research Conference hosted by **Māori** studies of Massey University, Palmerston North. see **Te Pūmanawa Hauora** 1999 *Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau: Māori Research and Development Conference*, School of **Māori** Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North

⁶¹ Royal, **Te Ahukaramū** Charles, 1998 'Te Ao Mārama – A Research Paradigm' in **Te Pūmanawa Hauora**, 1999, *Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau: Māori Research and Development Conference*, School of **Māori** Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North, pp 78-86

In terms of structural issues a number of key points were raised in regard to the continued marginalisation of **Kaupapa Māori** Research within wider research structures. Margaret **Mutu** highlights attempts to bring about change in the processes of refereeing **Māori** projects undertaken by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology.⁶³ Margaret notes that recommendations to the Foundation for **Kaupapa Māori** Research to be administered differently resulted in assistance for **Māori** to shape applications to fit the Foundations expected framework. Attempts to reframe **Kaupapa Māori** initiatives is not an uncommon situation for **Māori** to face. Our experiences tell us that dominant group institutions will not easily recognise **Māori** calls for change, in particular structural change. We need merely to look at the ways in which successive governments over the past 160 years have approached **Te Tiriti o Waitangi** to see that **Māori** have been denied expressions of **tino rangatiratanga**. **Moana** Jackson notes, for instance, that colonisers operate with an arrogance, which he states is based on their assumption that they have the right to dispossess the 'primitive other'.⁶⁴ Part and parcel of that arrogance is the ongoing marginalisation of **Māori** knowledge, of **te reo Māori me ōna tikanga**.

In her seminal publication 'Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples'⁶⁵, Linda **Tuhiwai** Smith outlines in some depth the relationship between 'research' and colonial imperialism. Fundamentally, the relationship has been one that has been based within colonial power relations, with our colonisers defining what constitutes research and constructing the parameters of how research should be undertaken. Linda argues that such relationships in the research field continues and that Indigenous Peoples are now faced with new forms of exploitation.

Researchers enter communities armed with goodwill in their front pockets and patents in their back pockets, they bring medicine into villages and extract blood for genetic analysis. No matter how appalling their behaviours, how insensitive and offensive their personal actions may be, their acts and intentions are always justified as being for the 'good of mankind'. Research of this nature on indigenous peoples is still justified by the ends rather than the means, particularly if the indigenous peoples concerned can still be positioned as ignorant and undeveloped (savages).⁶⁶

The continuance of colonial paternalism in research is further intensified by technological developments that open Indigenous communities to wider global exploitation. As Linda indicates above biodiversity is a growing area of exploitation. Indigenous Peoples are being exploited at all

⁶² **Te Wānanga o Raukawa** is a higher learning institution controlled and operated by the **iwi** of **Ngāti Raukawa**.

⁶³ **Mutu**, Margaret 1998 'Barriers to Research: The Constraints of Imposed Frameworks' in **Te Pūmanawa Hauora** 1999 *Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau: Māori Research and Development Conference*, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North, pp 51-61

⁶⁴ Jackson, **Moana**, 1998 'Research and The Colonisation of Māori Knowledge' in **Te Pūmanawa Hauora**, 1999 *Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau: Māori Research and Development Conference*, School of Māori Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North, pp 70-77

⁶⁵ Smith, L.T., 1999 op.cit.

⁶⁶ *ibid*:24-25

levels of our existence including the fundamental essence of what it means to be Indigenous.⁶⁷ What this means is that there is a critical political project as a part of **Kaupapa Māori** Research which is to develop **Māori** centred, defined and preferred ways of research and also which seeks to intervene in the colonial project. The exploitation and appropriation of **Māori** knowledge, language and culture, which in the context of biotechnology includes our genetic makeup, must be interrupted and challenged at every opportunity. That is a part of the **Kaupapa Māori** Research agenda.

Kaupapa Māori Research carries particular cultural expectations. Those are based within fundamental notions that are expressed through **tikanga Māori**. As a **Māori** researcher I have been fortunate to work with **Māori** people who are actively seeking ways of undertaking research that critique dominant imposed research processes whilst simultaneously seeking ways of participating in transformative research in ways that affirm and validate **Kaupapa Māori**. Russell Bishop provides a range of case studies that outlines differing approaches to **Kaupapa Māori** research.⁶⁸ Russell places **whakawhanaungatanga**, as creation of relationships between those involved in the research, as a central theme to each case study. Whilst **Kaupapa Māori** Research employs **Māori** defined elements it is able to draw upon a range of methods. Fiona Cram identifies this in an opening discussion on a recently commissioned report on **Kaupapa Māori** principles. She writes;

As an analytical approach, **Kaupapa Māori** is about thinking critically, including developing a critique of **Pākehā** constructions and definitions of **Māori** and affirming the importance of **Māori** self-determinations and self-valuations. A **Kaupapa Māori** approach does not, however, exclude the use of a wide range of methods, but rather signals the interrogation of methods in relation to cultural sensitivity, cross-cultural reliability, useful outcomes for **Māori** and other such measures.⁶⁹

Given that this thesis is a theoretical discussion I have not needed to interview or to negotiate with others in the research, however I have needed to engage a topic that I believe will be of 'use' to **Māori**, and in this particular exercise of specific usefulness to **Māori** women. This thesis has transformative potential in that it challenges the origins of representations, discourses and constructions of **Māori** women with an intent to support the ongoing development of theoretical frameworks that will advocate for change in a situation that currently works against the interests of many **Māori** women. Important to **Kaupapa Māori** research is the desire and intention of **Māori** to represent ourselves.

⁶⁷ Harry, Debra., Howard, Stephanie., Shelton, Brett., 2000 *Indigenous Peoples, Genes and Genetics: What Indigenous Peoples should know about Biocolonialism*, Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism, Nevada. For further information regarding issues of biocolonialism refer to the Council's web site at www.ipcb.org

⁶⁸ Bishop, R., 1996 *Whakawhanaungatanga: Collaborative Research Stories*, The Dunmore Press, Palmerston North

⁶⁹ International Research Institute for **Māori** and Indigenous Education in collaboration with **Te Rōpu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare** 2000 *Māori Research Development: Kaupapa Māori Principles*, A report prepared for **Te Puni Kōkiri**, The Ministry of **Māori** Development, Wellington

The International Research Institute for **Māori** and Indigenous Education (**IRI**) has been instrumental in the development of **Kaupapa Māori** Research. Research projects from the Institute are assessed on their value in relation to a range of key elements in terms of **Kaupapa Māori** research. A key element in **Kaupapa Māori** Research is one of transformation, that the research undertaken will make a difference for **Māori**.⁷⁰ As a **Māori** researcher I have a fundamental belief that any research that we participate in needs to be transformative in nature, that it needs to bring about possibilities of change for **Māori**. It is the position of **IRI** that in the context of injustice and unequal power relations there needs to be real change for **Māori** as a part of our research objectives.⁷¹ **Moana** Jackson refers to this in ways that encourage **Māori** researchers to be visionary in our research developments. In his paper to the **Te Oru Rangahau** conference **Moana** states,

If I have a request for this conference, and I commend you for that work that you are doing, it is the hope that we reclaim, for ourselves, our own reality. That we be brave enough not just to do research that will have a practical application in the world as it is, but rather that we are visionary enough to undertake research that will help our people in a world as it may be. That we be not afraid to dream, and that we accept that if we are spiritual people, and I believe we are, then we understand that the spirit is the base of our dreams. For if we conduct research in a dreamless world then we do not create a vision of hope for our **mokopuna**.⁷²

The dreaming that **Moana** reminds us of is part of being visionary in our research aspirations. Graham **Hingangaroa** Smith also relates to this vision in regard to **Kaupapa Māori** Theory. Drawing and expanding on the Habermasian notion of 'utopian vision' Graham argues for **Māori** to engage notions that support emancipatory outcomes.⁷³

Other elements within **Kaupapa Māori** Research relate directly to the affirmation and validation of **te reo Māori me ōna tikanga**. **Kaupapa Māori** Research alongside its theoretical counterpart **Kaupapa Māori** Theory have at their centre the validation and affirmation of **te reo Māori me ōna tikanga**.⁷⁴ This provides a foundation from which we as **Māori** researchers and academics can locate ourselves, and which supports a desire to research and theorise the world from our own understandings. What it states is that there are clearly **Māori** ways of exploring and conceptualising issues that face us as **Māori** people. As such, **Kaupapa Māori** Research is explicit in its positioning. It does not seek to appear neutral in any form. The naming of this research framework as **Kaupapa Māori** research explicitly states the position from which the **Māori** researchers involved are engaging their research process. As a researcher I engage my analysis from a **Kaupapa Māori/Mana Wahine** base that is

⁷⁰ Smith, L.T. 1996 op.cit.

⁷¹ The **kaupapa** for **IRI** states a purpose to conduct and disseminate research, scholarship and debate that will make a positive difference for **Māori** and other Indigenous Peoples. Refer www.iri.arts.auckland.ac.nz

⁷² Jackson, **Moana** 1998 op.cit.

⁷³ This will be discussed in more depth in relation to **Kaupapa Māori** Theory in Chapter Four

⁷⁴ Chapters Four and Five related to **Kaupapa Māori** Theory provide indepth discussion of this point

broad in its parameters and which has been developed from both my own life experiences and from my theoretical development and engagement in the University setting.

Summary

This chapter indicates a need for openings. Those openings are multiple and continue an assumption, which underpinned the previous chapter, that our experiences and understandings inform and shape the journeys we take in our lives. The inclusion of statistical data is not to indicate that **Māori** women experience huge disparities across all sectors and that past explanations have done little to interrupt the oppressive nature of those disparities. It is for **Māori** women to develop both theories and interventions to engage and transform the inequities that exist.

This chapter began with the case of a young **Māori** girl who chose to begin her **kōrero** with the words of **Hineahuone**, '**Tihei Mauri Ora**'. That opening was turned on her as a form of closing her right to speak. That is a fundamental denial of the right for us to speak the words of our **tūpuna wāhine**, of our **atua wāhine**, of the **Māori** woman **Hineahuone** that appears in the beginnings of the **whakapapa** of human beings. **Tihei Mauri Ora** is reclaimed in this thesis both as title and as the first worlds of **Mana Wahine** in the articulation of our life force. The life force of **Māori** women is the life force of **Māori** people, it must be nurtured and fed. It must be treated not with a passive reverence but with passion and life and meaning. That is my understanding of **Māori** women. I understand our women to be powerful, active, inspiring and alive. The representation of **Māori** women as passive receptacles to be 'done to' by men, **Māori** or otherwise, is not the understanding I have of **Māori** women. Nor is it how I view our **tūpuna wāhine**. I will never be convinced that our **tūpuna wāhine** were 'unclean', 'common', 'profane', 'inferior', 'savages' as ethnography and anthropology has so often portrayed us. I will never be convinced because it does not fit with the knowledge I have of our **tūpuna wāhine**, nor does it fit with the many **Māori** women who daily struggle for the survival of their **whānau**, **hapū** and **iwi**. This is not an idealistic notion, nor is it my intention to deny the increasing atrocities that are being committed within the walls of homes in this country. We do have **Māori** women who inflict pain and at times death on those who carry their **whakapapa** lines, their **tamariki**⁷⁵ and **mokopuna**.⁷⁶ That is the power of the fragmentation and breakdown that many of our **whānau** have experienced in their lifetime.

⁷⁵ **tamariki** is children. **Rangimarie Pere** notes that **Māori** relationships to children can be seen in the term itself, she writes: "**Tama** is derived from **Tama-te-ra** the central sun, the divine spark; **ariki** refers to senior most status and **riki** on its own can mean smaller version. **Tamariki** is the **Maori** word used for children. Children are the greatest legacy the world community has." **Pere, R. T., 1991 *Te Wheke: A Celebration of Infinite Wisdom*, Ao Ako Global Learning New Zealand Ltd., Gisborne:4**

⁷⁶ **mokopuna** refers to grandchild or descendant, and relates to the notion of children as the reflection of the wellspring that has come before them. *Ibid.*

Recognising the power and potential of **Māori** women is a means by which we can seek change. Reconnecting ourselves with a belief in who we are and a knowledge of where we are from is a part of bring forward knowledge that can be healing for **whānau**, **hapū** and **iwi**. It is my hope that the theoretical openings that are laid out in this thesis will contribute to a wider project of bringing theory out from the academy and back to the domain of the people where it belongs. Both **Kaupapa Māori** theory and **Mana Wahine** theory it is argued are driven by a need to bring about change. That need and desire is engaged in the next chapter as I move to explore roles and obligations that are inherent in the position of being a **Māori** woman academic.