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**A Thematic Analysis of Māori Mana Wāhine Knowledges in
Academic Articles:
A Pākehā Researcher's Journey Between Worlds**

A literature review submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
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Abstract

This literature review presents a thematic analysis of mana wāhine knowledges drawn from 93 peer-reviewed articles authored by Māori scholars, explored through the lens of a Pākehā researcher committed to respectful, critically reflective allyship. Prompted by the 2024 NCEA English refresh and its principle of Mana Ōrite mō te Mātauranga Māori (equal status for Māori knowledges), this study asks: How are mana wāhine knowledges represented in academic literature, and what insights does this offer English literature teachers seeking to authentically engage with wāhine Māori perspectives in their teaching practice? Employing a qualitative, systematic review grounded in Kaupapa Māori, Mana Wāhine, and decolonising frameworks, the research compiles a vibrant body of knowledges, organising key quotations into 14 themes and accompanying subthemes that reflect the complex and nuanced realities of wāhine Māori experiences. Alongside producing practical resources, including appendices with article summaries and thematic quotations, this review reflects on the researcher's reflexive journey and invites Pākehā to transform their perception of themselves and their worldview. The findings highlight mana wāhine scholarship as a rich resource for deepening understanding, supporting Mana Ōrite in English classrooms, and guiding educators in creating respectful, culturally sustaining programmes that honour Māori women's wisdom and promote equity in Aotearoa New Zealand education.

Acknowledgements

He wāhine, he whenua, e ora ai te tangata! He wāhine, he whenua, e mate ai te tangata!

"Through women and land, people live! Through women and land, people die!"

(Campbell & Campbell Seymour, 2021)

This whakataukī acknowledges the vital role wāhine play in carrying and passing on the cultural knowledge, values, and practices that nurture and sustain not just the physical home, but also the social, spiritual, and emotional wellbeing of whānau and community. Just as the whakataukī says, the women in my life have been living examples of this nurturing force and upholders of the culture, strength, and spirit that support those around them. Their guidance, love, and resilience have helped shape and strengthen the people and spaces they care for. At the same time, this whakataukī reminds us that the wellbeing of people is closely tied to how we honour and protect both wāhine and whenua. When either is harmed or disconnected, the whole whānau and wider community is affected. For me, as Pākehā, this whakataukī is a powerful reminder of the deep connection between people, place, and the women who carry so much of our collective wellbeing. The beauty and wisdom held in this whakataukī are not mine to claim, but I deeply admire and respect the truths it carries. It honours the strength, wisdom, and leadership of wāhine, whose mana supports and sustains all of us.

I wish to sincerely thank my supervisor, Dr Donna Campbell (Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Ruanui), for her invaluable guidance, encouragement, patience, and generous heart in supporting me as a Pākehā researcher. I am deeply grateful for her generosity and unwavering belief in this kaupapa.

I acknowledge and give heartfelt thanks to all mana wāhine who have generously shared their knowledge and supported me throughout my life, enriching and inspiring this kaupapa. My deepest gratitude goes to my parents, my son and daughter, and close whānau, whose unwavering love, support, and belief in my identity have been fundamental to this journey.

To mana wāhine everywhere, I am truly grateful.

Glossary of Māori Terms and Concepts¹

Atua: (noun) Ancestor with continuing influence; god, deity, supernatural being. Many Māori trace ancestry from deities who influence particular domains and help explain the world. Usually invisible but sometimes represented visually.

Atawhai: (noun/verb) Kindness, generosity, benevolence; to show kindness or care.

Hapū: (noun) Subtribe or clan; a kinship group within an iwi, often linked by descent from a common ancestor. Also means to be pregnant or conceived in the womb.

Harakeke: (noun) (1) New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*), a native plant valued for its strong, fibrous leaves; (2) A culturally significant plant used in weaving, cordage, and traditional practices; (3) Symbolically associated with whānau and nurturing, as in the proverb: “Hutia te rito o te harakeke...”

Hine-nui-te-pō: (personal name) Goddess of death and the underworld. Once Hine-tītama, she became Hine-nui-te-pō after choosing to guide the spirits of the dead. A symbol of wāhine strength, transformation, and compassion.

Iwi: (noun) Extended kinship group, tribe, or nation; a large Māori social and political unit.

Kaitiaki: (noun) Guardian, steward, custodian, protector of the land or natural world.

Kaitiakitanga: (noun) Guardianship, stewardship, trusteeship.

Kaupapa Māori: Māori approach, topic, custom, institution, or principles; a philosophical doctrine embodying Māori knowledge, values, and practices.

Knowledges: (plural) Term used by Māori scholars to acknowledge multiple, diverse ways of knowing, affirming the validity of Māori and Indigenous knowledge systems. For example, “mātauranga wāhine (Māori women’s knowledges)” (Simmonds, 2011, p. 12).

Marae: (noun) (1) A communal tribal meeting place; courtyard and complex; (2) (verb) To be generous or hospitable.

Mana: (noun) Prestige, authority, spiritual power, influence, and status. Mana is inherited from divine sources and is linked with sacredness, granting authority and social power. It can increase or decrease and applies to people, places, and objects. It is also connected with the responsibility of guardianship.

¹ All definitions in this glossary are derived from *Te Aka Māori Dictionary* (n.d.) unless otherwise stated.

Mana Wāhine: (noun) Māori feminist discourse examining the intersection of Māori and female identities (Simmonds, 2011).

Mana Ōrite mō te Mātauranga Māori: Equal status for Māori knowledge (Ministry of Education, 2025a).

Mātauranga: (noun) Māori knowledge; the collective understandings, traditions, values, and worldviews that underpin Māori culture and society.

Pākehā: (noun) New Zealander of European descent.

Papatūānuku: (proper noun) Earth Mother; the physical earth and ancestral figure from whom all life originates.

Pūrākau: (noun) Myth, ancient legend, story.

Rangatahi: (noun) Young person or youth; also refers to the younger generation collectively

Raranga: (verb/noun) To weave or plait (e.g. mats, baskets); also refers to the act of weaving itself.

Tā moko: (verb/noun/modifier) The traditional practice of tattooing the skin; a form of cultural adornment deeply linked to identity.

Taonga: (noun) Treasure or anything prized, including culturally valuable objects, ideas, and phenomena.

Te Ao Māori: (noun) The Māori world.

Te Reo Māori: (noun) The Māori language.

Te Taiao: (noun) (1) The natural world; the environment, including all living and nonliving things; (2) A holistic Māori concept of the interconnected relationship between people, the land, waters, skies, and all living systems; (3) A foundational principle in Māori worldviews, emphasising balance, reciprocity, and guardianship of the environment.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi: (noun) The Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 between Māori chiefs and the British Crown, establishing partnership, protection of Māori self-determination, and shared governance of Aotearoa New Zealand. It affirms Māori rights to land, resources, and treasures, and sets a framework for mutual respect and responsibility.

Tikanga: (noun) Correct custom, habit, procedure, or protocol embedded in social context.

Tino rangatiratanga: (noun) Absolute chieftainship, self-determination, or sovereignty; the exercise of full authority and autonomy, especially in relation to Māori governance and tino mana over their own affairs.

Wahine: (noun) Woman, female (singular).

Wāhine: (plural) Women, female, feminine; signifies “the multi-valences of the word wahine ... [and] time and place of Hine” (Wood, 2007, p. 29), linking to ancestral women and goddesses. Local stories vary but connect tribes through shared cultural histories.

Wairua: (noun) Spirit or soul; the immortal non-physical essence of a person or thing, connected to ancestors and the spiritual realm.

Whakapapa: (noun) Genealogy or lineage; central to Māori identity, leadership, and land rights.

Whakawhanaungatanga: (noun) Process of establishing relationships and relating well to others.

Whānau: (noun) Extended family or family group, encompassing multiple generations and relationships bound by genealogy, shared responsibilities, and mutual support.

Whanaungatanga: (noun) Relationship, kinship, and sense of family connection through shared experiences and obligations.

Whāngai: (verb/noun) To feed, foster, raise, or nourish; a customary Māori form of adoption.

Whatu: (verb/noun) Finger-weaving or fibre-weaving; can also mean the “eye” or “kernel” of fruit.

Whenua: (noun) Land or placenta; refers both to the physical land to which a person is connected and the placenta that nourishes life in the womb. In te ao Māori, whenua embodies identity, belonging, and the deep ancestral relationship between people and place.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Centring Mana Wāhine in Secondary English: Background and Significance

The refreshed 2024 National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) English curriculum in Aotearoa New Zealand, signals a pivotal moment in educational practice by embedding Mana Ōrite mō te Mātauranga Māori, the principle of equity between Māori and Pākehā knowledge systems, into subject teaching and learning (Ministry of Education, 2025a). This significant shift in the English curriculum, which historically has been shaped by colonial structures and epistemologies, represents a new focus for English teachers and students, guiding them toward a more inclusive curriculum that supports a deeper engagement with diverse perspectives and social change.

At its core, mana wāhine knowledges honour the lived experiences, spiritual insights, and cultural frameworks of Māori women. Integrating these perspectives within English classrooms not only supports the curriculum emphasis on identity, connection, and power, but also contributes to decolonising education by creating space for Māori voices that have long been marginalised. The English curriculum's guiding whakataukī, “Ko te reo te tuakiri, ko te reo tōku ahurei, ko te reo te ora” (Language is my identity, uniqueness, and life; Ministry of Education, 2025b), exemplifies the curriculum's focus on language as an expression of self, culture, and vitality. The voices, storytelling, and oral traditions of wāhine Māori embody values and knowledges central to their identities and should be centred.

The inclusion of mana wāhine knowledges supports the English curriculum's vision to develop teachers' and students' self-awareness, empathy, and critical thinking. It encourages them to engage with a diverse range of texts, voices, and experiences, including those that reflect their bicultural environment. Studying Māori women's narratives, pūrākau, theory, and creative expression allows students to explore gender, identity, and power through the lens of te ao Māori. Through this approach, teachers and students do not merely learn about Māori women; they are invited into relationships with mana wāhine worldviews, resistance, and resilience.

The curriculum's emphasis on Mana Ōrite mō te Mātauranga Māori requires profound shifts in classroom practice. It demands that teachers incorporate Māori ways of knowing, being, and doing alongside Western literary traditions. As the Ministry of Education states, this is not simply about including Māori content, but about valuing and validating Māori knowledge systems as equally valid (Ministry of Education, 2025a). In the context of mana wāhine, this means making space for Indigenous feminist perspectives, spiritual knowledge, and the intergenerational transmission of wisdom through wāhine-specific cultural practices.

However, integrating mana wāhine knowledges into English literature classrooms, particularly in mainstream, Pākehā-dominated schools, is not without its challenges. Many Pākehā teachers acknowledge that the curriculum refresh has revealed significant gaps in their own knowledge and confidence around Māori cultural practices. The curriculum changes prompt a realisation of the need for a collective shift: not only in individual understanding but also in departmental approaches. The need for professional development that deeply engages with Māori knowledge, rather than simply ticking boxes, is therefore urgent. Furthermore, the new curriculum promotes the understanding that language is not neutral; it reflects and shapes social power dynamics. This aligns with mana wāhine insights, which interrogate the colonial and patriarchal discourses that have historically silenced Māori women. As students engage with texts that reflect mana wāhine epistemologies, they develop a more critical awareness of how language constructs identity, reinforces hierarchies, and can be reclaimed as a tool for empowerment.

In this light, the English curriculum's Big Ideas (the way texts reflect identity and culture, how language creates meaning, the role of critical thinking, communication that respects diversity, and literacy as empowerment; Ministry of Education, 2025b), particularly those related to identity, connection, and power, provide a valuable framework for weaving in mana wāhine perspectives. For example, studying wāhine characters in literature through a mana wāhine lens enables students to critically examine characterisation, voice, and agency. It also provides Māori students with affirming representations of themselves, which align with the curriculum's commitment to enabling success as Māori and reinforcing cultural identity within the classroom. This approach also offers benefits for Pākehā students, who gain opportunities to expand their cultural lens and learn the skills of respectful engagement and power-sharing. As the curriculum refresh extends beyond the classroom, it fosters critical citizenship and relational

understandings of equity. It positions Māori knowledge not as an add-on, but as integral to the intellectual and ethical foundation of all learners in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Embedding mana wāhine in mainstream classrooms requires overcoming entrenched colonial systems. As Smith, Tuck and Yang (2019, p. 1) emphasise, “Decolonization is not a metaphor ... for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools.” Teachers must confront the ‘hidden curriculum’ (Apple, 2004), the unspoken norms and values that shape schooling in favour of dominant worldviews. English teachers must therefore reflect on their positionality, interrogate their biases, and resist the urge to present Māori knowledges in tokenistic ways. The transformative integration of mana wāhine also demands institutional support. Teachers need access to high-quality resources, time for critical reflection, and training from Māori experts. As Hook, Waaka and Raumati (2007) argue, educational programmes that aim to uplift Māori knowledge must be developed in partnership with whānau, elders, and communities, and not imposed top-down. This highlights the need for relational, co-constructed approaches to curriculum design and delivery.

Looking ahead, centring mana wāhine perspectives aligns closely with broader goals of equity, identity, and critical engagement in English education. The integration of mana wāhine offers a means to decolonise English education by honouring Māori women’s voices, challenging colonial narratives, and empowering students through culturally rich, transformative learning. It is both a challenge and an opportunity, one that calls on educators to embrace new ways of knowing and to centre Māori perspectives as vital, not peripheral, to the educational landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand.

My Positionality as a Pākehā Researcher and Ally

Tēnā koe. Nō Ingarangi, Kotirana, Ateria ōku tūpuna. Engari ko Raukawa te whenua i tipu ahau. Ko Tokoroa te kāinga. Ko Victoria Louise Wolfe taku ingoa. Tēnā tātou katoa.

I am a Pākehā teacher and mother whose whakapapa connects me to Aotearoa New Zealand, England, Scotland, and Austria. Raised in Tokoroa, a multicultural community with Cook Island, Samoan, and Māori whānau, my early experiences nurtured values of community, cultural diversity, and service. My father was a cabinet-maker and woodwork teacher, and my mother

was a music teacher and gardener. Both modelled a strong commitment to creativity, community, and the sharing of knowledge.

My children, of Chinese and European heritage, faced challenges in blending their diverse cultural backgrounds. I lived in Singapore for six years, and, surrounded by a society shaped by colonial history and diverse traditions, I gained greater insight into gender roles, cultural preservation, and the passing down of knowledge through wāhine across generations. These experiences have strengthened my commitment to decolonisation and Indigenous self-determination.

My professional learning has been deeply influenced by Māori scholars including Bishop's *Te Kotahitanga* (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2009), Bevan-Brown (2009) on Māori giftedness, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (2012). I've also been guided by Dr Hayley Cavino on decolonising theory and Dr Sarah Forgesson on sustainable research. These scholars affirm the need for critical reflexivity and culturally grounded research that centres mana wāhine perspectives.

As Sánchez (2010) explains, positionality reflects how gender, race, class, and values shape our worldview and are not fixed. Stating my positionality as a Pākehā woman is essential to acknowledge the privileges I hold and to clarify my intentional and respectful engagement with te ao Māori. My approach to research is guided by principles of partnership, transparency, and relational accountability. I recognise the risk of what Hook and Raumati (2011) call "Pākehā structures decorated with Māori influences" (p. 3), and so strive to ensure mana wāhine voices are not only included, but centralised, in both substance and method.

Wilson (2008) reminds me that Indigenous research requires respect, reciprocity, and relationality. These concepts are not easily grasped through a Western lens. Under the mentorship of Dr Donna Campbell, I have worked to overcome this limitation through genuine whakawhanaungatanga, reflexivity, and humility. These values have also shaped how I make sense of my own lived experience. My experiences of domestic violence and the support of a Māori wāhine lawyer have deepened my understanding of gendered power, injustice and the strength of mana wāhine. My work strives to be a genuine act of allyship, centering wāhine narratives while critically interrogating colonial and academic power structures. I carry these

responsibilities with care, aiming for my research to respectfully amplify mana wāhine knowledges and contribute to transformative, decolonising futures.

Scope of the Study

This literature review seeks to identify and examine reliable, authentic, and peer-reviewed sources of mana wāhine knowledges to support English literature teachers, particularly Pākehā educators, in meaningfully embedding Māori perspectives into their teaching practice. This is in direct response to the 2024 refreshed NCEA English curriculum, which emphasises Mana Ōrite mō te Mātauranga Māori. As Te Pōhatu Curriculum Centre – Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga | Ministry of Education (2025a) states, both Māori and Pākehā perspectives must be valued equally, necessitating a shift in pedagogy to reflect and uphold Māori ways of knowing in English classrooms.

This review recognises the barriers many Pākehā teachers face in accessing and applying Māori knowledges, including structural racism and colonial legacies that persist in education. Smith, Tuck and Yang (2019) assert that education must “transform colonialism at deep levels of knowledge, pedagogy, the shaping of minds and discourses” (p. 6). Understanding these systemic forces is critical for change. Consistent with Bishop’s (2010) argument that educators need to recognise how dominance culture affects students, this review seeks to support Pākehā teachers to reflect critically on their own positioning and to engage more ethically and effectively with mana wāhine knowledges in the classroom.

Acknowledging these complexities, this review focuses on digital, peer-reviewed mana wāhine scholarship. Limiting the scope in this way ensures accessibility for the researcher and supports a rigorous examination of scholarship that is both academically credible and meaningful for Māori women today. While primarily intended to inform Pākehā English teachers and classroom practice, the insights presented here may also benefit a wider range of educators, community leaders, and others committed to advancing mana wāhine in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Research Questions and Objectives

This literature review, *A Thematic Analysis of Māori Mana Wāhine Knowledges in Academic Articles: A Pākehā Researcher's Journey Between Worlds*, explores how mana wāhine knowledges are conceptualised, articulated, and shared in academic literature. It considers how this body of knowledge can inform, enrich, and transform English teaching practice in Aotearoa New Zealand. Aligned with the 2024 refreshed National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) English curriculum and its emphasis on Mana Ōrite mō te Mātauranga Māori, this review responds to the call for authentic, meaningful inclusion of Māori worldviews within mainstream education.

The central research question guiding this inquiry is: How are mana wāhine knowledges represented in academic literature, and what insights does this offer English teachers seeking to authentically engage with wāhine Māori perspectives in their teaching practice?

Supporting sub-questions include:

- What knowledges, values, and insights do mana wāhine scholars regard as important to uphold, promote and centre in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand?
- How can these mana wāhine knowledges be organised and presented in ways that are accessible and pedagogically valuable, particularly for Pākehā English teachers teaching literature studies in mainstream secondary schools?
- What does the process of collecting and analysing these knowledges reveal about the breadth and vitality of wāhine Māori perspectives in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand?
- In what practical ways can English teachers weave the review's themes and sub-themes into mainstream English programmes and learning activities?
- What tensions, self-reflection on positionality, and opportunities for growth and transformation might a Pākehā researcher experience when working within a mana wāhine worldview, and how can these be navigated ethically and respectfully?

The objectives of this review are to explore the diverse and vibrant themes within mana wāhine academic literature; to highlight the intellectual, cultural, and spiritual contributions of wāhine Māori; and to present a body of reliable, peer-reviewed knowledge that can be applied in English education. This review is primarily intended to support Pākehā English teachers in their professional and personal journeys, while also offering insights that may inspire a wider Pākehā audience to engage with Māori knowledge systems and undergo their own processes of reflection and transformation. It is offered as a model to encourage openness to being challenged and transformed.

Overview of Methodology

This literature review employs a systematic and reflective methodology to investigate the concept of mana wāhine. It is grounded in Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine research approaches, with a strong emphasis on decolonising practices. The research prioritises Indigenous epistemologies and Māori worldviews throughout all stages of the process. The article selection involved searching relevant academic databases using carefully chosen keywords and Boolean operators. This approach facilitated the identification of a diverse range of pertinent literature while maintaining a clear focus on mana wāhine. I also selected digital articles from different years to illustrate how mana wāhine ideas have developed over time (see Appendix 1). As the review progressed, I focused on authentically gathering mana wāhine knowledges from the articles, ensuring that both historical and contemporary perspectives were meaningfully included.

Key quotations were systematically extracted from the selected articles and organised into main themes and accompanying subthemes (see Appendix 2). These thematic categories and labels help reveal the depth and breadth of mana wāhine knowledges, while also breaking down complex ideas into digestible sections. Appendices have been provided to document the sources of these quotations and their thematic classifications (see Appendix 3 and Appendix 4).

Ethical considerations were integral to this research. I engaged in ongoing reflexivity regarding my positionality as a Pākehā researcher and the potential influence this may have on the study. Respect for Māori culture and knowledge was paramount, alongside an awareness of possible biases and power dynamics. This reflective practice supported the navigation of challenges

related to representing Māori perspectives with authenticity and cultural sensitivity.

To support the trustworthiness of this review, I applied a systematic and transparent process in article selection, data extraction, and thematic organisation. The use of clear criteria and documentation (see Appendices 1 - 4) helps ensure the review's credibility and replicability. I have also engaged in direct consultation with my Māori supervisor and have been guided by existing Māori scholarship and frameworks throughout the process. Limitations and research gaps related to the scope of digital, peer-reviewed literature and my positionality are acknowledged and discussed further in Chapter 3. Overall, this methodology combines rigorous academic standards with cultural respect. It seeks to contribute meaningfully to the discourse on mana wāhine by centring Indigenous perspectives and maintaining critical self-awareness throughout the research process.

Structure of the Literature Review

This literature review begins with an abstract summarising the purpose, methodology, and key findings of the review, followed by acknowledgements that recognise the support received during the research process. The introduction situates mana wāhine knowledges within English education, highlighting their cultural and educational significance. It also presents my positionality as a Pākehā researcher and ally, outlining the research questions, scope, and objectives. This section serves as a critical reflection on my identity and ethical responsibilities when engaging with Indigenous knowledge.

The methodology chapter details the research approach, grounded in Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine theoretical frameworks, with a decolonising intent. It explains the systematic article selection, thematic analysis, and data categorisation processes. Ethical considerations and reflections on navigating Pākehā positionality are also discussed.

The core of the review, presented in the findings and discussion chapter, maps fourteen interrelated themes and subthemes drawn from the literature. Then, as an example of the breadth and depth of these themes, three key themes are explored in more detail through the categories of aligned perspectives, critical perspectives, and curious perspectives. These role-model how a Pākehā ally might engage with mana wāhine knowledges. Each theme is

supported by key insights and scholarly quotes. English classroom applications and pedagogical reflections are included to demonstrate how these knowledges, along with the appendix resources, can inform culturally responsive teaching.

The review concludes with reflections on how engaging with mana wāhine knowledges reshapes understandings of identity and ethical allyship, followed by a summary of contributions to the field and suggestions for future research. Supporting materials include a comprehensive reference list and appendices detailing the distribution of articles by year, the thematic framework of themes and subthemes, article summaries with quote allocations, and referenced quotes organised by theme and subtheme.

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Chapter 2: Methodology

Research Approach and Theoretical Framework

This research used a qualitative literature review focused on mana wāhine within Māori cultural and academic contexts. The review combined elements of a scoping review and thematic synthesis to capture both breadth and depth. A scoping approach was appropriate because mana wāhine scholarship is a growing field with diverse perspectives and emerging areas. This method helped map key concepts, theories, and gaps across the literature. Sources were found through comprehensive database searches (explained in the following section) and selected for relevance, credibility, and contribution to understanding mana wāhine theory and practice.

From the outset, a Kaupapa Māori, Mana Wāhine, and decolonising lens guided the review, centring mana wāhine voices and critical perspectives that challenge colonial narratives. Kaupapa Māori theory, as described by Smith (2012), recognises the validity and uniqueness of Indigenous experiences and the importance of enabling Māori to interpret and make sense of those experiences according to their own cultural frameworks and priorities. Mana Wāhine, according to Simmonds (2011), “is often understood to be a type of Māori feminism. It extends Kaupapa Māori theory by explicitly exploring the intersection of being Māori and female... making visible the narratives and experiences, in all of their diversity, of Māori women” (p. 11). Simmonds (2014) highlights the importance of “decolonising the research process by shifting dominant expectations about who can produce knowledge and how” (p. 104). While I include this key insight to frame the kaupapa of this review, I recognise that as a non-Māori researcher, the responsibility for leading decolonising research lies primarily with Māori scholars and communities. My role is better framed as an ally or supporter who defers to Māori leadership and authority, upholding this kaupapa by grounding the review in Māori-authored scholarship and privileging Māori voices. This stance respects Māori leadership and authority in shaping research that centres their knowledge and perspectives.

My research approach was shaped by an evolving commitment to critical reflexivity, particularly regarding my positionality as a Pākehā researcher. Through sustained engagement and

dialogue with my supervisor, I became increasingly aware of how colonial assumptions might shape the lens through which I interpreted literature and conducted analysis. This recognition raised important concerns about how research methods, even when well-intentioned, can unintentionally replicate colonial patterns if not carefully reflected upon and named.

As a Pākehā researcher, I became particularly conscious of how academic structures, especially those that rely on categorisation and thematic analysis, can conflict with the holistic, relational, and interconnected nature of Māori knowledge systems. For example, I chose to keep the categorised structure of the main appendices (Appendices 3 and 4) because it clearly demonstrated the depth and breadth of the knowledge. I believed this structure would be familiar to Pākehā educators and other readers of the review who are used to these types of colonised categories. At the same time, I recognised the importance of naming and critically reflecting on these limitations rooted in Western worldview thinking within my findings. This process was essential for acknowledging the tensions between my Pākehā research conventions and Indigenous ways of knowing.

Engaging more deeply with the literature and theory clarified my responsibility to explicitly name and be accountable to the frameworks that shaped my work. Kaupapa Māori, Mana Wāhine, and decolonising theory formed the foundation of my research practice, guiding how I selected and interpreted the literature, developed themes, and approached ethical responsibilities. Although the processes of collecting, organising, and thematising information inevitably reflected Pākehā research traditions, I aimed to approach the work with humility, critical awareness, and deep respect for Māori women's knowledge. This foundation shaped both the content of this review and the way it was held with care, accountability, and a commitment to integrity.

As a literature-based project, this research does not claim to speak for Māori communities or to replace lived knowledge. Rather, it seeks to synthesise and highlight insights from existing mana wāhine scholarship, with the goal of informing respectful, culturally sustaining practice in English classrooms. Credibility and rigour were supported by systematic article selection, an iterative process of reading, reflecting, and regrouping ideas to draw out themes, as well as regular supervisory dialogue to test and refine interpretations. Although the categorisation and organisation of findings inevitably reflect colonial epistemologies that require ongoing critical reflection, care was taken to preserve the integrity, whakapapa, and wairua of the knowledge, particularly through retaining original quotes and contextual framing. This review is offered as a

respectful contribution that defers to Māori leadership and authority within kaupapa Māori research and teaching praxis.

Article Selection and Thematic Analysis

Search Strategy and Databases

To develop a robust and culturally responsive literature review on mana wāhine, I conducted a systematic article search combining international academic databases with Māori-specific scholarly sources. International databases such as Gale Academic OneFile, HeinOnline, JSTOR, ProQuest, PubMed, SAGE Journals, Taylor & Francis Online, and Wiley Online Library provided peer-reviewed articles across disciplines including sociology, education, health, and law. These platforms enabled the identification of academic work that addressed Māori women's experiences, leadership, and resistance within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Specialist Māori and Indigenous journals such as Te Kaharoa, Maori Law Review, MAI Journal, Journal of Indigenous Wellbeing, New Zealand Women's Law Journal, and He Pūkenga Kōrero offered culturally grounded insights essential for understanding mana wāhine from within te ao Māori. Other journals such as Pedagogy, Culture & Society, Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment, and Te Whē Ki Tukorehe also contributed complementary and critically engaged perspectives. I also utilised the University of Waikato Library Catalogue to access student theses and institutional knowledge aligned with Aotearoa's historical, legal, and educational contexts. Together, these publications reflect Indigenous epistemologies and contribute directly to Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine methodologies.

To ensure the inclusion of high-quality and relevant literature, I supplemented these database searches with targeted methods such as examining reference lists of relevant articles, researching specific claims like Wai2700, and conducting author-specific searches. This process led to the creation of thematic categories including Definitions of Mana Wāhine, Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research, Leadership, Feminism, and Legislation and Policy, which later guided both keyword strategies and the overall structure of the literature review. This comprehensive and iterative approach ensured a wide-ranging yet focused literature base. It was both academically rigorous and culturally responsive.

Keyword Searches and Boolean Operators

I employed a detailed and iterative search strategy using targeted keyword searches and Boolean operators to identify relevant literature on mana wāhine. Initial keywords included “wāhine,” “mana wāhine,” “Māori women,” “Māori females,” “Indigenous women,” “mana and Māori women,” “mana wāhine definition,” and “mana wāhine research.” Boolean operators (AND, OR) were used to broaden or narrow results. For example:

- Māori women OR mana wāhine
- Indigenous women OR Māori women
- Aotearoa OR New Zealand AND Māori women
- Māori feminism AND Indigenous feminism
- Māori women AND gender roles
- Māori women AND colonisation
- Wāhine AND (health OR pregnancy OR pūrākau OR law)

As themes emerged during the review, I refined searches to focus on specific topics such as Māori feminism, colonisation, gender roles, and key case studies like Wai2700. I also explored influential authors in mana wāhine and Indigenous research including Dr Leonie Pihama, Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith, and Dr Naomi Simmonds using citation tracking and journal references to trace their work. Recognising the need to narrow the focus, I concentrated on specific themes within the broader literature to deepen insight into mana wāhine knowledges. For example, I examined literature highlighting the cultural, social, and political contributions of wāhine Māori, including representations of mana wāhine in leadership, health, and legal contexts, as well as the spiritual and cosmological significance of atua wāhine. This thematic focus led to the identification of dozens of relevant articles, contributing to a well-rounded understanding of mana wāhine.

Distribution of Articles by Year

The 35-year timespan of the selected articles was not intentionally chosen, but it does enable an exploration of how scholarly interest in mana wāhine has evolved. The earlier years (1988–1999) contain fewer publications, reflecting the gradual emergence of mana wāhine as a

focus of academic inquiry. In contrast, the 2010s and 2020s show a notable increase, peaking in 2022 with seven articles. This trend likely reflects both the growing recognition of mana wāhine in academic and cultural discourse and the rise of Māori women scholars contributing to the field.

A full breakdown of the yearly article distribution is available in Appendix 1, which shows the number of articles per year and highlights the steady growth of mana wāhine scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Refining the Scope and Topic

The initial phase of this research involved collecting articles discussing Indigenous women from a global perspective, including contexts such as Canada, Hawai'i, Australia, and Ghana. This broad scope acknowledged shared elements across Indigenous knowledges. However, to better align with the New Zealand Ministry of Education's curriculum refresh and the increased emphasis on mātauranga Māori within NCEA, the research focus was refined to concentrate specifically on mana wāhine within the Aotearoa New Zealand context. This narrowing of scope ensured the cultural specificity and relevance needed for English teachers engaging with local content and decolonial perspectives in their classrooms. It also facilitated a more focused and meaningful analysis that resonates with the historical, social, and cultural realities of Māori women.

Quote Extraction and Thematic Categorisation

After finalising the selection of articles, I undertook a careful and close reading of each text, selecting quotes that conveyed valuable and insightful knowledges about mana wāhine. The criteria for selection focused on quotes that deepened understanding of mana wāhine within literary analysis, particularly in relation to characters, themes, settings, and wider societal connections, and that could provide meaningful insights for Pākehā English teachers to enrich mainstream classroom discussions about Māori literature and culture.

When multiple quotes from the same article conveyed similar points, I recorded only the most insightful to avoid redundancy and maintain conciseness. For example, within the theme ‘What shapes mana wāhine research,’ the quote:

“Māori women’s artistic expressions are manifestos for challenging discourses of patriarchal and colonial dominance by reclaiming our voices and speaking back” (Campbell, 2019, p. 41).

was not copied because a prior quote from the same source had already expressed similar knowledge:

“Mana Wahine theory is a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework based in mātauranga Māori that challenges colonial patriarchal structures by providing a platform with which to critique said structures. Mana Wahine theories take into account multiple issues faced by wahine Māori, issues of patriarchy, colonisation, language and culture loss, marginalization” (Campbell, 2019, p. 39-40).

This approach enabled a streamlined collection of quotes, preserving clarity and focus while avoiding unnecessary repetition.

Some quotes held relevance across multiple themes, reflecting the interconnectedness of mana wāhine knowledges. For instance, the following quote, which discusses mana wāhine as both a theoretical and methodological framework and addresses feminist discourse, was included under both Theme 1 (Definitions of Mana Wāhine) and Theme 13 (Feminism):

“Mana wahine, often referred to as Māori feminist discourses, is a theoretical and methodological approach that explicitly examines the intersection of being Māori and female. There is little published academic work that engages with Māori women’s embodied, spatial and spiritual experiences from an explicitly Mana Wāhine standpoint. The exceptions, however, are significant. I draw on these, in this article, to highlight the exciting possibilities of mana wāhine, an extension of Kaupapa Māori theory, as a localised and place-specific theoretical approach that examines the diverse and complex geographies of Māori women” (Simmonds, 2011 p. 12).

Subjective judgements were made with careful attention to the quote’s relevance, and in cases of overlap, quotes were assigned to all themes to which they meaningfully contributed. This selective and thematic process supports a clear and coherent literature review that presents mana wāhine in accessible, insightful, and culturally responsive ways. The outcomes aim to

support English teachers in incorporating mana wāhine knowledges into literature discussions in ways that are academically grounded and respectful of Māori perspectives.

Data Categorisation and Theme Development

The data from the articles were categorised into two key appendices that organise and support the literature review. Appendix 3 provides an overview of each referenced article, including APA citations, database sources, country of origin, summaries, and the themes identified within each text. Māori authors are specifically named to honour their authority and expertise as holders and sharers of mana wāhine knowledges. Appendix 4 contains referenced quotes organised by theme and subtheme, where quotes were copied exactly as written to preserve their original context and meaning. Each quote is accompanied by its article number and page reference (e.g., 1, p. 3). Patterns were identified through multiple readings, and related ideas were grouped into themes and subthemes. When quotes applied to more than one theme, they were allocated to the theme with the strongest connection; in more ambiguous cases, placements were guided by reflective internal dialogue. No quotes were discarded, as all were recognised for their valuable contribution to the richness and nuance of the subthemes.

The fourteen key themes and accompanying subthemes identified in the mana wāhine literature reflect my own interpretation, shaped by a Pākehā lens. This perspective influenced what I recognised as important, how I interpreted wāhine knowledges, how I categorised quotes, and the choice of language I used in the theme and subtheme titles. My way of grouping and naming ideas reflects my interpretation of the literature; I acknowledge that this structure is not universally shared. While this categorisation supports thematic organisation, it inevitably imposes a structured lens on mana wāhine knowledges, which are inherently holistic, fluid, and relational. This may shift or limit how such knowledges are understood and represented. Rather than imposing predetermined categories, themes and subthemes were developed organically from the content and keywords in the quotes themselves, emphasising authentic and rich mana wāhine headings. Headings were crafted with accessibility for users in mind, using plain, focused language such as Definitions of Mana Wāhine, Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research, and Mana Wāhine in Leadership. Subthemes aimed to balance brevity with depth, ensuring they reflected the complexity and nuances within themes without overwhelming the

reader. These headings were revisited and refined multiple times to maintain strong alignment with the content and meanings embedded in the quotes.

It is important to emphasise that the true taonga of this work lies not in the categories, but in the quotes themselves. These expressions of mana wāhine knowledges are powerful, relational, and grounded in lived experience, cultural practice, and spiritual identity. While the thematic structure offers one way of making sense of this literature, particularly for those who require clear titles to understand concepts expressed through different worldviews and languages, it must not overshadow or reduce the knowledges themselves.

The thematic framework reflects the broad and deep complexity of mana wāhine knowledges, encompassing both theoretical foundations and lived realities, including historical roles, cultural traditions, colonial impacts, and Indigenous feminist discourses. Each theme can stand alone, yet they also intersect and overlap, echoing the expansive, interconnected, and relational nature of mana wāhine worldviews. In this way, the framework reveals not only the core elements of the systems and structures that colonise wāhine, but also celebrates wāhine resilience, power, and the importance of preserving the integrity of mana wāhine knowledges within academic and cultural contexts.

Overview and Application of Appendices 3 and 4

To organise and support the literature review, the data from the selected articles were categorised into two key appendices (Appendix 3 and Appendix 4). These resources not only organise the information but also serve as practical tools for locating specific mana wāhine knowledges.

Appendix 3 provides a comprehensive overview of each scholarly article included in the review. For each entry, the database source is recorded, the article is formatted in APA style, and additional details include a summary of the article, the context or discipline the article sits in, the country of origin, and the key themes identified within the text, including how many quotes feature on that theme in each text.

The APA references elevate the names of the key scholars writing about mana wāhine research, show which databases and journals contain mana wāhine knowledges, and make it easy to locate full texts for deeper reading. The article summaries provide a time-saving tool by presenting the core content, arguments, and conclusions without requiring a full read, and allowing users to quickly determine whether an article aligns with their specific focus of inquiry. The summaries can be compared to reveal the scale and diversity of mana wāhine scholarship and show how different authors approach the mana wāhine topic from varied angles and methodologies, revealing how broad and deep mana wāhine knowledges are. What is not written in the summaries can highlight underexplored areas, offering useful starting points for further research or critical reflection. Appendix 3 provides details of articles that can be shared with colleagues, encouraging collective learning within professional communities.

The context and country of origin offer essential background information, as this gives the disciplinary lens, such as education, health, or law, to show how mana wāhine knowledges are interpreted across different fields. Furthermore, knowing whether an article originates from Aotearoa New Zealand and reflects an insider (Māori) rather than outsider (non-local or externally positioned) perspective affirms the authenticity, authority, and agency of mana wāhine knowledges as grounded in specific Māori contexts. This awareness can identify how author backgrounds and research approaches shape interpretations of mana wāhine, and where certain perspectives may be missing or underrepresented.

Appendix 3 can reveal which articles are from similar contexts by using a search function such as Ctrl+F. This makes it easier to compare and understand differences across places, topics, and subject areas. Using a search function can also help pinpoint which articles have similar focuses by checking the themes and the total number of quotes for each theme written beside it in brackets.

Beyond these features, Appendix 3 contributes to the trustworthiness and accuracy of material. Users can cross-reference to ensure authenticity, reinforcing confidence in the content being shared. Taken together, Appendix 3 showcases the scope and richness of mana wāhine knowledges, highlights the diverse expertise and lived experiences of wāhine Māori and affirms the significance of Indigenous scholarship and epistemology.

Appendix 4 contains direct quotes from the selected articles, organised according to the thematic and subtheme structure of the literature review. Each quote is preserved in its original wording to maintain clarity and context, and is accompanied by a reference to its article and page number, e.g., (1, p. 3). Quotes were analysed through multiple readings, allowing recurring ideas to be grouped into themes and subthemes. Where quotes related to multiple themes, they were placed under the theme with the strongest conceptual link. In some cases, this required careful debate and judgement. Importantly, no quote was discarded. Each quote reveals the nuanced complexity and layered depth of mana wāhine knowledges. While mana wāhine knowledges are deeply connected to the broader Māori mātauranga, examining them distinctly allows a clearer appreciation of their unique depth, complexity, and cultural significance.

Appendix 4 serves as a valuable resource providing access to powerful, authentic voices directly from the literature. It provides ready-to-use excerpts that can be incorporated into research, curriculum planning, or evidence-based practice. These quotes provide a foundation to support Mana Ōrite Mō Te Mātauranga Māori by grounding learning in authoritative Indigenous perspectives. Appendix 4 also complements Appendix 3 by prompting deeper exploration. If a user is particularly moved by a quote, they can refer to Appendix 3 to locate and read the full article for greater understanding. Together, these two appendices work in tandem, with one offering broad contextual summaries and the other preserving the richness and specificity of original voices. Users may also discover parallels between the lived experiences of authors and research participants, the fictional experiences of literary characters, and even their own lives. These connections can foster meaningful learning opportunities and deeper engagement with the material.

Ethics and Positionality

Conducting a literature review on mana wāhine as a Pākehā woman required careful and sustained ethical reflection, particularly in relation to Indigenous knowledges, representation, and methodological rigour. My positionality, shaped by a background in education and a commitment to decolonising learning spaces, influenced every stage of this process. I acknowledge that my lens is not neutral and that any interpretation or categorisation of wāhine knowledges is inevitably shaped by my own cultural worldview. This reflective stance guided the frameworks, decisions, and values underpinning my work, and informed how I engaged with the

literature.

A primary ethical obligation was ensuring cultural responsiveness and respect for mana wāhine epistemologies. This meant privileging wāhine Māori-authored sources wherever possible and engaging meaningfully with Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine frameworks. I prioritised Māori and Indigenous journals such as MAI Journal, Te Kaharoa, and He Pūkenga Kōrero to elevate Māori voices and intellectual sovereignty. In referencing these works, I was intentional about maintaining the original meaning of quotes and naming Māori authors explicitly, to honour their authority and the whakapapa of their knowledge. This commitment shaped the way I selected and presented material throughout the review.

The selection, interpretation, and categorisation of quotes was another critical site of ethical responsibility. Quotes were chosen for their depth of insight and relevance to classroom applications for English teachers. When multiple quotes conveyed similar ideas, I selected the most representative to avoid redundancy. However, when a quote contributed meaningfully to more than one theme, I included it in each relevant section to reflect the inherent interconnectedness of mana wāhine knowledges. Importantly, I presented quotes in their original form without editing for grammar or clarity, to preserve their mana and contextual integrity. Yet organising the quotes into themes and subthemes introduced further ethical tensions. While a thematic structure was necessary to make the review accessible to mainstream teachers, I was acutely aware that categorisation can impose a Western analytical frame on Indigenous knowledge systems. Mana wāhine knowledges are relational, holistic, and fluid, often resisting compartmentalisation. I attempted to mitigate this risk by allowing themes to emerge organically from the literature, rather than applying pre-existing academic frameworks. I also revisited and refined my headings to reflect the depth, spirit, and nuance of the quotes, striving to balance cultural depth with pedagogical accessibility. These choices were never easy, but they were essential to honouring the knowledges faithfully.

This tension between accessibility and cultural integrity was also visible in my broader methodological decisions. To support transparency and accountability, I chose to include appendices listing references, quote charts, and thematic structures. Appendix 3 identifies each article's origin, author, and contribution; Appendix 4 groups quotes by theme and subtheme. In doing so, I aimed to support critical engagement while safeguarding the authenticity of Māori voices, which remained central to the project's integrity. Similarly, ethical reflection guided

decisions around the scope and boundaries of the review. My initial research included Indigenous women globally, but I later refined the focus to mana wāhine in Aotearoa New Zealand to ensure the review remained grounded in local cultural, educational, and political contexts. This shift matched the Ministry of Education's curriculum refresh, which highlights mātauranga Māori. It also made sure that mana wāhine knowledges remained distinct, rather than being grouped into broader Indigenous categories. This focused approach helped honour the unique qualities of the knowledge.

Throughout this project, I continually returned to the question of relational accountability. Following Wilson (2008), I understood that we are answerable to all our relations. I used reflexivity not just as a mode of analysis but as an ethical tool. When I noticed moments where I was falling into Western habits, such as simplifying headings, prioritising concepts, or organising material too rigidly, I stopped and reconsidered. Writing became a space where I asked myself repeatedly: "Am I helping the mana wāhine voice to be heard authentically and respectfully?" This constant questioning kept me grounded and accountable. While decisions were made within the constraints of the assessment deadline, I remain open and committed to revisiting and refining these frameworks with further input from mana wāhine experts and those dedicated to advancing the kaupapa. This ongoing dialogue is vital to ensuring the work continues to be culturally responsive and true to the spirit of mana wāhine knowledges.

Representing mana wāhine knowledges authentically as a Pākehā woman was both challenging and deeply important to me. I often felt the tension of being a cultural outsider and was constantly reminded that these knowledges are not mine. I held a strong sense of responsibility to be non-exploitative and respectful. I kept asking, "Whose voice is this?" and reminded myself that some things are not mine to know. This helped me stay cautious and humble in my writing. Māori authors and kaupapa Māori literature shaped how I interpreted the texts, acting as cultural anchors to my analysis. I drew guidance from Smith's (2012) instruction to non-Māori: listen, be quiet, and embody the learning. I tried to centre the knowledge rather than myself. I wanted the strength of mana wāhine knowledges to come through, rather than my own academic voice. This intention shaped how I structured the review, and how I reflected on the authority and purpose of my writing. Supervision and feedback from the university supported this process, challenging me when necessary and holding me accountable to the kaupapa. At times, I experienced conflict between institutional expectations and the freedoms offered by a Kaupapa Māori approach. Western academic settings often demanded that I fit my ideas into linear

structures or theoretical templates, whereas Kaupapa Māori frameworks encouraged a relationship-based, organic connection with the knowledge. The more I let go of the need to control the material, the stronger my understanding became. It felt more appropriate to honour the knowledge than to master it.

Facing these challenges deepened my understanding of allyship, Māori sovereignty, and the ongoing nature of ethical engagement. Although I will never be Māori, the learning I experienced has significantly shaped how I understand myself as a woman in Aotearoa New Zealand, and how I might better support mana wāhine knowledges in classroom spaces. I now see this work not as a one-off project but as part of a longer commitment to ethical, respectful, and decolonising practice. This review was ultimately guided by the question: What is most useful? My aim was to present mana wāhine knowledges in ways that support Pākehā English teachers seeking to decolonise their pedagogy. The true taonga of this project lies in the quotes themselves. These quotes are embodied, place-based expressions of wāhine experience. While my thematic structure may help others understand them, it should never overshadow or simplify their spiritual or relational significance. I acknowledge my role as a facilitator, not an owner, of these knowledges, and I carry that responsibility beyond this project.

Chapter 3: Findings and Discussion

Approach to Analysing and Applying Findings

This chapter presents a thematic analysis of mana wāhine knowledges as gathered in this literature review, guided by my position as a Pākehā researcher navigating between worlds. Titled *A Thematic Analysis of Māori Mana Wāhine Knowledges in Academic Articles: A Pākehā Researcher's Journey Between Worlds*, this review seeks not only to examine scholarly contributions to the field of mana wāhine but also to model how a Pākehā researcher might respectfully engage with and unpack these knowledges as an ally. Readers may observe one possible approach for non-Māori to meaningfully and ethically engage with mana wāhine literature.

To support this, I have adopted a structured analytical framework that moves from a broad overview to detailed thematic engagement. I begin with an overview of the literature and its content, noting key patterns, limitations, and gaps. I then identify fourteen key themes and accompanying subthemes drawn from the body of literature, which are summarised and grouped to reflect both the diversity and depth of mana wāhine scholarship. My analysis then moves into a reflective engagement with these themes and subthemes, noting the authors who have most shaped my understanding and offering insights into their contributions.

To make the discussion more accessible and practically relevant for educators, I focus closely on three key themes: one that aligns with my values and understandings as a Pākehā researcher (Aligned Perspectives — Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine), one that I approach with critical caution regarding its use in mainstream English classrooms (Critical Perspectives — Theme 2: Shaping Mana Wāhine Research), and one that inspires further inquiry and curiosity (Curious Perspectives — Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives/Pūrākau). Each of these is explored in detail, including their subthemes, key insights and quotations, and lists of relevant contributing authors. For each theme, I provide an example of how mana wāhine concepts could be applied within a mainstream English classroom. I propose a learning activity for each theme that seeks to bring mana wāhine knowledges into pedagogical practice in culturally

responsive and transformative ways. These are accompanied by reflections on teacher preparation, potential challenges, and the ethical and pedagogical considerations that arise when working across cultural frameworks.

Throughout, I aim to approach mana wāhine not only as a body of academic knowledge but also as a source of cultural wisdom, lived experience, and transformative potential. This approach offers a model for other Pākehā researchers and educators who wish to engage in allyship that is accountable, reflexive, and grounded in Indigenous-led scholarship.

Overview of Literature Content

This review of mana wāhine literature reveals a remarkable wealth of knowledge across a multitude of domains, showcasing the depth and breadth of Māori women's contributions to cultural, spiritual, social and political spheres. The literature highlights the diverse ways mana wāhine knowledge is woven into everyday life, from traditional practices and Indigenous governance to contemporary activism and leadership. It presents mana wāhine as a dynamic, culturally grounded body of Indigenous theory and practice that centres the lived experiences, voices and worldviews of Māori women. Shaped by Māori epistemologies, language, spirituality and whakapapa, it resists the erasure caused by colonisation, patriarchy and Western academic frameworks. Rather than offering a single fixed definition, mana wāhine emerges through storytelling, leadership, embodiment and relational connections to land, whānau and atua wāhine. It critiques and reclaims spaces where Māori women have been silenced and affirms their authority, creativity and continuity across generations, making it a powerful source of identity, resistance and transformation.

Outline of Fourteen Themes and Subthemes

Below is an outline of the fourteen key themes, with accompanying subthemes, drawn from the literature on mana wāhine. A full list of these themes and subthemes is provided in Appendix 1. Each theme reflects critical aspects of Māori women's lived experiences showing how aspects, such as colonialism, patriarchy, activism, resilience, leadership, culture, and identity, intersect in their lives. From defining mana wāhine and exploring leadership to examining the impacts of

colonisation and reclaiming cultural knowledge, these themes offer insight into the realities of wāhine Māori. Overall, the themes highlight the importance of decolonisation, resistance, and the restoration of mana wāhine through cultural practices, leadership, and activism.

Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine defines mana wāhine as a culturally grounded framework shaped by Māori women's identities, experiences, and resistance.

- **Subtheme 1: *Difficulties of Translating Mana Wāhine Concepts into English*** highlights the challenges of translating mana wāhine due to its deep, relational, and spiritual meanings that resist simplified interpretations.
- **Subtheme 2: *Nuances in the Cultural Meanings of 'Mana' and 'Wāhine'*** explores how these terms carry complex cultural significance, influencing Māori women's identity and life stages.
- **Subtheme 3: *Foundational Epistemological Definitions of Mana Wāhine*** presents Mana Wāhine as an epistemological framework rooted in Māori women's lived experiences, histories, genealogies, and connection to whenua, atua, and whakapapa, while challenging misrepresentation.
- **Subtheme 4: *Mana Wāhine as a Theoretical Framework*** highlights how this critical Māori feminist approach centres Māori women's knowledge, cultural identity, and lived experience, while actively confronting colonial impacts.

Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research explores how Māori worldviews, and decolonising frameworks such as Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine methodologies shape research through wāhine experiences, while challenging colonial and patriarchal structures by decolonising practices.

- **Subtheme 1: *Concepts of Te Ao Māori: Language, Tradition, and Spirituality*** highlights how whakapapa, wairua, te reo, and tikanga are central to mana wāhine identity, resistance, and cultural continuity.
- **Subtheme 2: *Kaupapa Māori Methodologies*** emphasise Māori values, language, and traditions in research, empowering wāhine and challenging colonial ideologies through practices like pūrākau and Te Whare Pora.
- **Subtheme 3: *Mana Wāhine Theoretical Framework*** presents a Māori feminist perspective that centres Māori women's experiences, knowledge, and power, focusing on decolonisation and empowerment.

- **Subtheme 4: *Colonising and Decolonising*** critiques colonial and patriarchal marginalisation while reclaiming Indigenous knowledge and asserting wāhine authority in order to resist and transform oppression into resilience and self-determination.

Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives/Pūrākau focuses on the vital role of women in Māori cosmology and storytelling.

- **Subtheme 1: *Deities and Their Stories*** explores Māori spiritual narratives, offering leadership models and cultural insights through female archetypes such as Papatūānuku and Hinenuitepō. These deities shape perceptions of wāhine as strong, nurturing, and authoritative figures.
- **Subtheme 2: *Pūrākau in Research*** highlights the importance of storytelling in Māori theory, with scholars such as Dr Moana Jackson using pūrākau to convey messages about gender equality, the colonial impact, and reclaiming wāhine voices through Māori feminist perspectives.

Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership explores the significant contributions of Māori women in leadership.

- **Subtheme 1: *Prominent Wāhine Leaders and Their Accomplishments Across Various Fields*** highlights influential figures such as Wairaka, Hinemoa, and Te Puea Hērangi, who have shaped cultural, political, and spiritual life.
- **Subtheme 2: *Contemporary Wāhine and Māori Leadership Attributes, Styles, and Philosophies*** examines leadership attributes such as mana wāhine, whanaungatanga, tino rangatiratanga, vision, decision-making, and cultural fluency among Māori women leaders.
- **Subtheme 3: *Challenges for Wāhine in Leadership*** addresses the underrepresentation of Māori women, reactive appointments, gender bias, and the ongoing fight for recognition and resources, reinforcing resistance to patriarchal structures and the reassertion of mana wāhine.

Theme 5: Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori explores how wāhine Māori reclaim identity and resist colonialism through voice, language, and cultural expression.

- **Subtheme 1: *Wāhine Compositions: Storytelling, Oral Traditions, Pūrākau, Whakatauki, Ihirangaranga, Autoethnography, Korikori Kōrero, Karanga, and***

Waiata highlight their cultural strength and significance, fostering mana wāhine and Māori feminism.

- **Subtheme 2: *Linguistic and Cultural Identity in Te Reo Māori*** reveals how Māori's gender-neutral language affirms gender equality and supports language revitalisation as a key form of resistance.
- **Subtheme 3: *Wāhine Voices of Advocacy and Activism*** challenges colonial structures by highlighting how Māori women, and other Indigenous women globally, engage in decolonising practices, assert self-determination, and play critical roles in cultural, political, and social transformation.
- **Subtheme 4: *The Silencing of Wāhine*** examines how wāhine voices and perspectives are marginalised, erasing their contributions and reinforcing colonial narratives.

Theme 6: Cultural Continuities and Knowledge Transmission highlights how wāhine sustain and transmit cultural identity and resistance through whakapapa, creativity, spirituality, and kaitiakitanga.

- **Subtheme 1: *Wāhine Perspectives on Whānau within Māori Involvement*** highlights collective child-rearing, identity formation, spiritual connection, and cultural continuity, reinforced by whāngai, atawhai, and whakapapa practices.
- **Subtheme 2: *Wāhine Perspectives on Māori Spaces, Places, and Spirituality*** explores connections with Papatūānuku, wairua, and cultural spaces, empowering wāhine through the restoration of mana and the creation of safe, tikanga-affirming environments.
- **Subtheme 3: *Wāhine Cultural and Creative Practices and Knowledge Transmission within Māori Contexts*** includes creative practices like raranga and whatu which transmit mātauranga Māori, challenge colonial norms, and regenerate cultural identity.
- **Subtheme 4: *Wāhine Identity, Self-Determination, Resistance, and Reclaiming within Māori and Pākehā Contexts*** involves asserting mana through art, law, storytelling, and tā moko.
- **Subtheme 5: *Wāhine Connection to the Land and Kaitiakitanga*** reflects embodied ties to Papatūānuku, expressed through food sovereignty and intergenerational guardianship.

- **Subtheme 6: *Wāhine Perspectives on Intersectional Oppression within Māori Contexts*** addresses the layered oppressions of race, gender, class, and colonialism, where Māori women's voices are often marginalised in various systems.

Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles

explores how Māori women traditionally held spiritual and leadership power, with autonomy over their bodies and land through whakapapa. They emphasised gender balance in Māori society, with wāhine holding mana as leaders and guardians in both spiritual and community roles.

- **Subtheme 1: *Mythological and Divine Roles*** shows the balance between the feminine and masculine divine, with goddesses guiding spiritual realms.
- **Subtheme 2: *Challenges and Resistance Arising from Inequities, Colonisation, and Cultural Oppression*** shows how Māori women have resisted marginalisation and reclaimed traditional practices.
- **Subtheme 3: *Contemporary Identity and Perspective*** highlights how Māori women, such as Donna Awatere Huata and Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith, are reshaping leadership and identity in response to colonial influences.

Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality explores how resistance, reclamation, and embodied knowledge are central to restoring bodily and cultural sovereignty.

- **Subtheme 1: *General Knowledge: Wāhine Body Knowledge and Cultural Practices*** highlights how wāhine bodies are both biological and social constructs, shaped by whakapapa, mana, and colonial disruption.
- **Subtheme 2: *Cultural and Spiritual Concepts of Menstruation, Reproduction, Maternity, and Abortion*** explores sacred birthing knowledge and spiritual understandings of the body, suppressed by colonial systems.
- **Subtheme 3: *Wāhine Bodies' Connection to Pūrākau*** shows how pūrākau reclaim the body's sacred ties to Papatūānuku and sovereignty.
- **Subtheme 4: *Colonial Impact on Wāhine Bodies*** exposes how colonisation racialised and medicalised wāhine, eroding mana and control.

Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment explores how decolonising frameworks can restore and strengthen the mana and tino rangatiratanga of wāhine Māori by reclaiming their voices, knowledge, and leadership.

- **Subtheme 1: *Mana Wāhine and Kaupapa Māori as Decolonising Approaches*** focuses on reclaiming Māori women's voices, knowledge, and leadership to promote tino rangatiratanga and equity, grounded in Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
- **Subtheme 2: *Decolonising by Critiquing and Challenging Misrepresentation*** addresses dominant Eurocentric portrayals of wāhine Māori, emphasising the need for truthful, empowering representations.
- **Subtheme 3: *Decolonising Approaches for Naming*** exposes how the naming of experiences, places, and people is a vital decolonising practice for wāhine, enabling resistance to structural oppression, healing from colonial erasure, and reclamation of identity.
- **Subtheme 4: *Decolonising Approaches for Wāhine Stories and Research*** highlights revitalising diverse Māori birth stories and cultural narratives to challenge colonial invisibilisation and regenerate Māori knowledge through Kaupapa Māori methodologies.
- **Subtheme 5: *Decolonising Approaches for Health and Maternity*** advocates for reclaiming Māori birthing knowledge.
- **Subtheme 6: *Decolonising Approaches for Creative Practices*** emphasises Māori art as a tool for empowerment and decolonisation.

Theme 10: Impact of Colonisation reveals the profound and lasting effects on Māori women's cultural, social, spiritual, and political lives.

- **Subtheme 1: *Colonial Worldview and Governance*** explores how imposed legal and political structures stripped Māori women of their traditional authority and identity, prompting ongoing decolonising efforts.
- **Subtheme 2: *Colonial Impact on Education and Knowledge Systems*** shows how Western education marginalised Māori knowledge and replaced it with colonial and misogynistic narratives, eroding wāhine roles.
- **Subtheme 3: *Colonial Impact on Gender Dynamics and Social Constructs*** examines how colonisation disrupted traditional gender balance, reinforcing patriarchal systems that silenced Māori women.
- **Subtheme 4: *Colonial Disruption of Cultural and Spiritual Identity*** addresses the severing of sacred connections through Christianisation and renaming.
- **Subtheme 5: *Colonial Impact on Health and Well-being*** reveals how traditional maternal practices were dismissed, causing long-term health disparities.

Theme 11: Patriarchy highlights the complex impact of colonial and internalised gendered power structures on wāhine Māori.

- **Subtheme 1: *Colonial Patriarchal Influence on Wāhine*** shows how Western ideologies marginalised wāhine through distorted representations of menstruation, spiritual roles, and gendered knowledge, imposing institutional and religious sexism.
- **Subtheme 2: *Internalisation of Patriarchy by Māori Men and Impact on Wāhine*** demonstrates how some Māori men adopted colonial patriarchal norms, gaining status in reshaped hierarchies that excluded wāhine from decision-making.
- **Subtheme 3: *Mana Wāhine Resistance and Reclamation*** captures how wāhine resist these structures through activism, cultural theory, and the revitalisation of traditional, non-gendered power systems.

Theme 12: Gender explores various aspects of Māori gender identity and roles.

- **Subtheme 1: *Gender in Tikanga*** emphasises the collective responsibility of all genders in supporting wāhine, highlighting the interconnectedness of mana wāhine, mana tāne, mana whānau, iwi, hapū, and marae.
- **Subtheme 2: *Fluidity of Cultural Gender*** shows that Māori gender identity is non-binary, with examples such as Tamatea-ūpoko and the absence of gendered pronouns in the Māori language.
- **Subtheme 3: *Gender-Based Oppression Under Colonial Rule*** illustrates how colonisation diminished Māori women's mana and distorted their roles.
- **Subtheme 4: *Gender Patterns in Gambling and Alcohol Consumption*** highlights how Māori and Pacific young women's experiences with alcohol and gambling require nuanced harm reduction strategies that consider cultural and gender dynamics.

Theme 13: Feminism in Mana Wāhine research focuses on developing Māori-centred feminist discourses.

- **Subtheme 1: *The Necessity of Developing Māori Feminist Discourses*** advocates for Māori women's voices, sovereignty, and cultural values, challenging both colonial patriarchy and Western feminism.
- **Subtheme 2: *Critiquing Western Feminism's Inadequacy in Addressing Māori Feminist Perspectives*** critiques Western feminism for overlooking the intersectional struggles of Māori women, focusing on the limitations of white feminist theories, which often neglect non-white women's experiences.

- **Subtheme 3: *Tikanga Māori Feminist Methodologies Challenge Western Hegemonic Discourses*** uses Mana Wāhine methodology to integrate Māori identity, spirituality, and gender, challenging colonial masculinist ideologies and critiquing Western feminist frameworks.

Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine explores the historical and ongoing impacts of colonial laws on Māori women.

- **Subtheme 1: *Dated Legislation and Its Impacts*** examines how laws, such as the Treaty of Waitangi, Education Ordinance Act, and Native Land Acts, marginalised Māori women by limiting their legal, political, and educational rights, with lasting socio-economic consequences.
- **Subtheme 2: *Māori Worldviews, Frameworks and Their Impact*** highlights Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine approaches that support Māori women's reclamation of knowledge, identity, and spaces, alongside community health initiatives addressing intersectional oppression.

Reflections on Themes and Subthemes

The theme and subtheme titles reflect a careful effort to honour Māori concepts, language, and voices. The inclusion of reo Māori terms such as mana wāhine, pūrākau, and Kaupapa Māori centres Māori worldviews and highlights the depth of cultural knowledge in the literature. I aimed to balance the use of reo Māori and English to support accessibility. At the same time, I acknowledge that, as a Pākehā researcher, organising mana wāhine knowledges into distinct themes and subthemes draws on Western academic traditions of categorisation and hierarchy. These structures can sit in tension with Māori ways of knowing, which are relational, holistic, and nonlinear. This raises important challenges around how Indigenous knowledge is interpreted, represented, and shaped by research practices, and reinforces the need for ongoing reflexivity and guidance from Māori knowledge holders to ensure both clarity and cultural integrity.

Although influenced by Western structures, the thematic framework reveals interconnectedness and holism within mana wāhine knowledges. The subthemes often overlap and recur across multiple themes, illustrating the integrated worldview of te ao Māori. For example, pūrākau ideas

appear in Theme 3 (deities and stories), Theme 5 (storytelling), and Theme 8 (wāhine bodies), demonstrating their vital role in cultural transmission and resistance. Key concepts such as mana wāhine, kaupapa Māori, wellbeing, colonisation and decolonisation, leadership, language, identity, advocacy, and intersectionality similarly weave through the subthemes. This approach balances academic rigour with cultural responsiveness and supports a nuanced understanding of mana wāhine as a living, evolving, and relational knowledge system.

Insights on Key Authors

The literature reviewed draws on the interdisciplinary work of Māori scholars, Indigenous thinkers, and cultural practitioners who have shaped mana wāhine as both a lived reality and a critical framework. Foundational figures such as Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Dr Leonie Pihama, and Dr Kathie Irwin have laid essential theoretical groundwork, while newer scholars explore practical expressions of mana wāhine across areas including birth practices, fibre arts, education, and law. Together, they contribute to a vibrant body of work reclaiming Māori women's voices, histories, and leadership.

These authors consistently ground their work in Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine methodologies, drawing on principles such as whakapapa, wairua, tikanga, and mātauranga Māori to centre Māori worldviews (Rarere, 2022; Yates-Smith, 2019; Pihama, 2020; Simmonds, 2011). Mana wāhine is framed as inherently relational, connecting individuals to whānau, whenua, and spiritual realms (Simmonds, 2014; Pond, 2016; Pihama, 2019; Jahnke, 1997), and as a means of resisting colonial narratives that have historically marginalised Māori women's authority and knowledge.

The literature also emphasises the importance of intersectionality to understand how gendered experiences intersect with race, colonisation, health, and socio-economic factors (Murphy, 2017; Quince, 2022). Authors employ creative and culturally grounded methods, including pūrākau, weaving, song, and storytelling, to revitalise Māori knowledge systems and reaffirm mana wāhine (Cleaver, 2020; Jenkins, 1992).

This body of scholarship not only challenges the ongoing legacies of colonisation and patriarchy but also creates spaces for affirmation, healing, and empowerment (Simmonds, 2011,

Campbell, 2019; Pihama, 2020). Together, these works build a strong and growing knowledge base that recognises wāhine Māori as leaders in cultural renewal, decolonisation, and Indigenous knowledge development.

Limitations

As a Pākehā researcher, I acknowledge that my background inevitably influences how I interpret, engage with, and understand mana wāhine knowledge. My limited fluency in te reo Māori also affects my ability to fully grasp the depth and nuanced meanings of many Māori concepts, which often carry rich spiritual significance that can be difficult to capture in English translations and dictionaries. For these reasons, this literature review draws primarily on English-language sources, which may limit access to the full breadth of mana wāhine knowledges.

Through the university's online databases, I had extensive access to digital academic articles on mana wāhine and used research tools to efficiently gather and analyse them. However, the digitised collection is limited by the range and publication dates of articles made available online. This restricts access to older or non-digitised material that may contain valuable insights. Another limitation is the predominance of academic articles reviewed. Although mana wāhine knowledge exists in many forms, such as oral storytelling, performance, ceremony, and creative expression, this review focused on written academic texts due to time, format, and accessibility constraints.

Relying on written sources may reflect a Western way of organising knowledge, which can differ from the embodied, spiritual, and relational ways that Māori knowledge is often transmitted. Although some community-based knowledge appears in academic writing, this review does not fully reflect the richness of knowledge shared through oral traditions, activism, and community practice. Importantly, while I sought guidance and feedback from my supervisor throughout this research, this review did not involve direct consultation with mana wāhine or Māori communities, which may limit its grounding in lived, relational, and intergenerational knowledge. Nevertheless, the 93 peer-reviewed articles studied provide a rich and valuable foundation for the purposes of informing English teachers. These sources were selected for their academic rigour, the clarity

with which they unpack complex ideas, and their relevance to this project. My appreciation for Māori academic authors, developed through my studies in the Master of Māori and Indigenous Studies, also influenced my selection, as I have come to deeply value the integrity and intellectual depth of their work.

Research Gaps

Although this research's mana wāhine literature offers a compelling and rich body of work, several key gaps exist. One such gap is the lack of quantitative research. The field is predominantly shaped by qualitative and theoretical approaches, which emphasise narratives, storytelling, autoethnography, and lived experience. For example, significant contributions such as Toi's (2019) doctoral thesis on Indigenous governance, Simmonds' (2009, 2014) theses exploring mana wāhine geographies and birth, Campbell's (2019) research on Māori fibre arts, and Erai's (2011) critical analysis of visual representations of Māori women all employ qualitative methodologies. While these methods are culturally appropriate and essential for honouring mana wāhine voices, they are rarely complemented by quantitative research. Incorporating such research could help quantify key ideas, build on existing knowledge, and provide data-driven advocacy for mana wāhine, while still valuing the depth of narrative-based knowledge systems.

The literature focuses on Māori women and epistemologies but includes limited reference to Indigenous perspectives outside Aotearoa New Zealand. This may not constitute a gap, as the articles were chosen to highlight Māori experiences. However, comparisons with other Indigenous groups could deepen understanding of shared colonial histories and resistance strategies, showcasing the global strength and resilience of mana wāhine. This would be valuable for readers seeking a broader context of Indigenous knowledge and feminism beyond Aotearoa New Zealand.

Youth perspectives remain underrepresented in the literature, which tends to focus on adult wāhine voices, with limited inclusion of rangatahi Māori. Young Māori women may be expressing identity and resistance through contemporary platforms such as social media, music, and activism, which are spaces often overlooked in academic research. This reflects both generational differences and the time lag between lived experience and academic publication.

Including more up-to-date insights would offer a fuller picture of where Māori women are at in their lived realities today.

While some Māori-led analyses of Māori representation in literature and media exist, there remains a notable scarcity of critical engagement, especially in relation to how Māori, and wāhine Māori in particular, are portrayed across both Māori and non-Māori-authored texts. For instance, in this literature review, Diamond (1999) discusses how Dr Leonie Pihama addresses the misrepresentation in film, Ka'ai (2005) critiques Niki Caro's interpretation of Witi Ihimaera's *Whale Rider* (2002); Wood (2008) examines characters in Gardiner and Grace-Smith's *Cousins* (2021); and Stewart (2019) unpacks Ans Westra's *Washday at the Pa* (1964). This work is essential to promoting wāhine voices and realities. Māori scholars can play a vital role in revealing what has been the colonised aspects within these texts, exposing underlying ideologies, the invisibilisation of wāhine, and distortions that shape such portrayals. Through a decolonising lens, Māori academics offer new readings of characters, themes, and narratives that move beyond tokenism or stereotype, instead centering Māori values and perspectives. These contributions enable authentic Indigenous knowledge to be shared in literary studies, breaking down barriers and allowing truths to be told, while setting a standard for respectful engagement with Māori texts and representations. Decolonising pedagogies will help fulfil Mana Ōrite mō te Mātauranga Māori expectations in NCEA. Interestingly, the lack of fully Pākehā-authored work in the mana wāhine space reveals a gap in Pākehā educators' access to this mātauranga, reinforcing the need for direct engagement with Māori-produced scholarship.

Additionally, there is a notable gap in the literature regarding the impact of past, and especially contemporary, laws and policies on wāhine Māori, as well as the revitalisation movements they have led or contributed to. This literature review addresses this through Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine, where scholars such as Mikaere (2019), Sykes (2019), Wana (2022), and Quince (2022) explore the effects of a range of legislation, including the Treaty of Waitangi (1840), the Tohunga Suppression Act (1907), the Hunn Report (1961), the Resource Management Act (1991), and, as the most recent legislation referenced in this review, the Law Commission Report 53 (1999). However, personal stories detailing the lived experiences of wāhine Māori in relation to these policies are not widely described. Nor is there significant exploration of how these experiences have fuelled the development of resistance movements and research frameworks such as Kaupapa Māori theory, Mana Wahine research, intersectionality theory, and language and education initiatives. A more focused, chronological

investigation could provide valuable insights into the systemic barriers wāhine Māori have faced over time and highlight their transformative efforts to reclaim autonomy and cultural identity.

There are still clear gaps in the literature on the broad contributions of wāhine Māori across all sectors of society. While some scholars' work explores their roles in education (e.g., Manawatu 2020; Whiu, 1994), government (e.g., Toi, 2019; Adams-Hutcheson et al., 2019), and the arts (Campbell, 2019; Māta Aho Collective & Corballis, 2018), there is limited attention to leadership in other sectors like language revitalisation, kaupapa Māori education, and iwi-led initiatives. Even less is known about their work in areas such as environmental care, business, trades, media, sport, hospitality, and justice. Greater attention must also be given to the everyday leadership, care, creativity, and resistance by wāhine Māori, especially where dominant systems are challenged by offering transformative Māori ways of being. A broader focus would deepen understanding of Māori social structures and affirm the central role of wāhine Māori in shaping Aotearoa New Zealand's future. However, despite their critical and innovative contributions, these areas remain under-researched, and how their roles support the preservation of cultural values while navigating systemic barriers is still not well understood, highlighting the need for further exploration.

Aligned Perspectives — Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine

Rationale for Alignment

Theme 1 explores the complexity of the terms 'mana' and 'wāhine', showing how they carry deep cultural, spiritual and relational meanings within te ao Māori. The theme is divided into four subthemes: The Difficulties of Translating Mana Wāhine Concepts into English, Nuances in the Cultural Meanings of 'Mana' and 'Wāhine', and Epistemological Foundational Definitions of Mana Wāhine.

I align with this theme because it affirms the value and complexity of Māori women's knowledge systems, which I seek to centre in my thinking and professional practice. As someone committed to re-privileging wāhine knowledge and activism, I strongly connect with the view that mātauranga mana wāhine cannot be simplified through English translation or confined within

Western categories such as gender or feminism. Rather, it must be recognised and honoured as a unique and powerful body of knowledge. I have long admired the resilience, creativity, and enduring strength of Māori women, and I resonate with the portrayal of wāhine not only as individuals but as cultural leaders and holders of intergenerational wisdom.

I also value the theme's attention to language and translation. The difficulty of translating mana wāhine into English is not a weakness but a reflection of the richness and specificity of te reo Māori. For me, this reinforces the importance of engaging with Māori language and worldview on their own terms, rather than filtering them through colonial or hierarchical Western frameworks. Upholding the integrity of Indigenous knowledge systems requires resisting reductive translations and recognising the cultural depth embedded within Māori concepts. The framing of Mana Wāhine as a theoretical and epistemological framework is particularly powerful. It supports my belief that research and education must move beyond solely dominant or superficial frameworks and instead enable deep personal and cultural transformation. This requires questioning Western knowledge structures and creating space for Indigenous ways of knowing. The emphasis on 'mana' and 'wāhine' as layered and interconnected concepts reinforces my commitment to education that values cultural and spiritual dimensions of identity alongside academic development.

From an educational perspective, I see this theme as a valuable guide. Although there are real challenges in applying Mana Wāhine theory within mainstream classrooms, especially for non-Māori educators, the framework provides a compelling basis for reimagining curriculum and pedagogy. I support the theme's call to honour Māori language, spirituality and historical context in education, and I believe this approach can benefit all students by encouraging more inclusive, critically reflective and culturally grounded learning environments. This theme affirms my commitment to culturally sustaining education, the reclamation of Māori women's voices and the development of research and teaching practices grounded in relational and decolonising values. It calls me to think critically, listen respectfully and teach with care.

Key Insights and Quotes

Subtheme 1: The Difficulties of Translating Mana Wāhine Concepts into English

An important insight emerging from Subtheme 1 comes from Simmonds (2014), who explains that translating 'mana' and 'wāhine' directly into English often leads to a superficial and oversimplified understanding. This misses the profound, relational, and holistic meanings deeply embedded in te reo Māori. As she notes, "there is a unique way of explaining and relating to the world that is difficult, if not impossible, to adequately convey in English" (p. 6). The Pākehā worldview, with its different ways of knowing, may lack the cultural and philosophical depth needed to fully express these complex concepts. Therefore, it is crucial for Pākehā to engage authentically with te ao Māori by building respectful relationships, learning from Māori voices and perspectives, and reflecting critically on their own assumptions in order to gain a deeper and more respectful understanding of mana wāhine.

This subtheme also shows that translating mana wāhine knowledges into English risks erasing the depth, sacredness, and relational meaning carried within te reo Māori. The layered and culturally embedded nature of both 'mana' and 'wāhine' points to the need to move beyond Western ways of thinking. As Simmonds (2014) explains, "providing a more detailed translation of mana wāhine is somewhat problematic... there are definite and distinct limitations when trying to explain complex concepts such as 'mana wahine' in the English language" (p. 6). This highlights that meaningful respect and understanding of mana wāhine require ongoing cultural learning and engagement beyond just translation.

This subtheme offers key insights into how mana wāhine is dynamic and evolving rather than fixed. It reveals the deep relationship between 'mana' and 'wāhine', emphasising the interconnectedness of Māori women's spiritual, cultural, and social roles. Challenging mainstream gender categories, mana wāhine embraces fluidity and diverse expressions of femininity and masculinity within Māori culture. As Simmonds (2014) explains, mana is "multi-layered, relational, spatial, informed by wairua and intimately linked to tapu" (p. 7), framing Māori women's roles not only in terms of power but also connection and balance. This offers valuable perspectives for both academic inquiry and everyday practice.

Understanding 'mana' requires engagement with Māori tikanga and recognition of the relational contexts where mana is expressed. As Waitere-Ang (1999) explains, mana is not only found in human relationships but also in connections to spiritual and biophysical domains, highlighting its deeply relational, multi-layered nature (as cited in Simmonds, 2014, p. 7). It is often understood as an individual's power, influence, or prestige acknowledged by others (Pihama, 2020). Mana

also involves psychic influence, authority, extraordinary power, and a presence that connects people to the natural world. It is earned and validated by the collective, situating the individual within their community (Campbell, 2019). These perspectives show mana as a dynamic, relational force central to Māori identity and connection with the environment.

Similarly, the concept of 'wahine' in Māori culture is fluid and sacred, extending well beyond the narrow English translation of 'woman' (Pihama, 2001 in Simmonds, 2014). Unlike Western fixed gender binaries, te ao Māori embraces the multifaceted and relational nature of 'wahine', where masculine and feminine traits coexist and are drawn upon according to context (Campbell, 2019). This understanding challenges Western dualisms and highlights the interconnectedness of all genders in the Māori worldview. The spiritual and sacred aspects of 'wahine' are deeply rooted in Māori mythology and reflect women's profound connections to both natural and supernatural realms (Wood, 2007).

Building on these meanings, 'wahine' also carries everyday and temporal significance, encompassing roles such as mother, daughter, sister, partner, manager, and elder, illustrating the diverse identities Māori women hold in society (Simmonds, 2014). The word itself holds layered meaning, with 'wā' referring to time and space, and 'hine' to femininity – together embodying "the time and place of Hine" (Pihama, 2020, p. 359; Wood, 2007, p. 29). Mana wāhine theory recognises the intrinsic mana within wahine, shaping individual empowerment and societal roles. By linking 'mana' with 'wahine', this framework honours Māori women's societal standing and collective recognition, affirming their vital cultural presence and authority.

Subtheme 2: Nuances in the Cultural Meanings of 'Mana' and 'Wāhine'

This subtheme offers important insights into how mana wāhine is dynamic and evolving, not a fixed definition. It examines the deeper relationship between 'mana' and 'wāhine', showing how this extends beyond traditional views and emphasises the interconnectedness of Māori women's spiritual, cultural, and social roles. The concept challenges mainstream gender understandings by embracing fluidity and recognising the diverse expressions of both femininity and masculinity within Māori culture. Additionally, Mana Wāhine serves as a unique theoretical framework, offering a valuable perspective for both academic exploration and everyday practice, where Māori women's roles are framed not just in terms of power, but also in terms of connection, authority, and balance. The following insights, supported by quotes, illuminate these nuances.

One insight is that the meaning of 'mana' transcends simple translation, as it is a complex and multidimensional concept that encompasses cultural, spiritual, and conceptual elements. To truly understand 'mana' requires engagement with Māori tikanga and recognition of the relationships where mana is embedded. It is often seen as an individual's power, influence, or prestige that others observe in them (Pihama, 2020). Mana also incorporates a range of multi-faceted ideas, including psychic influences, authority, prestige, extraordinary power, and an essence or presence that connects people to the natural world. It is earned and recognised by the collective, marking the individual's status within the community (Campbell, 2019). Furthermore, mana engages Māori women in conceptual, cultural, spiritual, emotional, and material ways, signifying a deep essence and power that cannot be reduced to a single translation (Pihama, 2020). Together, these ideas reveal mana as a dynamic and relational force that is central to Māori identity and connected to the world around them.

Another insight is that in Māori culture, the concept of 'wahine' is fluid and sacred, extending far beyond the simplistic English translation of 'woman' (Pihama, 2001 in Simmonds, 2014). While Western culture imposes fixed, binary gender definitions, te ao Māori embraces the multifaceted and relational meanings of 'wahine', where masculine and feminine traits are not seen as oppositional but as qualities that can be drawn upon depending on context and relationships (Campbell, 2019). This perspective challenges the Western dualism of gender and highlights the interconnectedness of all genders in Māori culture, where roles are fluid and context-dependent. The spiritual and sacred dimensions of 'wahine' are deeply embedded in Māori mythology and are intrinsically linked to women's profound connection with the natural and supernatural worlds (Wood, 2007).

Building on these understandings, another insight is that 'wahine' carries both an everyday and temporal meaning, connecting a wide range of roles such as mother, daughter, sister, partner, manager, elder, and more, illustrating the diverse responsibilities and identities that women hold in Māori society (Simmonds, 2014). The term also holds a temporal significance, with 'wā' representing time and space, while 'hine' denotes femininity, creating the understanding that 'wahine' is the embodiment of "the time and place of Hine" (Pihama, 2020, p. 359; Wood, 2007, p. 29). Mana Wāhine, as a theoretical framework, recognises the intrinsic mana within wahine, shaping individual presence, empowerment, and societal roles. By linking 'mana' with 'wahine', this framework honours and uplifts Māori women, asserting that mana is integral to Māori

women's societal standing and collective recognition.

Subtheme 3: Foundational Epistemological Definitions of Mana Wāhine

Subtheme 3 presents mana wāhine as a living and flexible way of thinking based on the real lives and experiences of Māori women. It connects spiritual, emotional, cultural, and physical parts of life, showing how all of these are linked and important. Mana wāhine thinking is also about strength and resistance, helping Māori women push back against unfair systems and stand strong in their identity. It celebrates the power, knowledge, and leadership of Māori women in many different ways. The subtheme provides the following four insights supported by quotes.

The quotes reveal that mana wāhine knowledges represents a dynamic, evolving epistemological grounding rooted in the lived realities of Māori women. It is not fixed or rigid but a fluid, responsive, and living philosophy shaped by everyday experience. Rather than offering a universal definition, this way of understanding the world adapts to the diverse, shifting, and often complex contexts in which Māori women live. As Simmonds (2014) explains, “Mana wahine stems from the lived, embodied and spatial experiences of Māori women. It is not a universal or homogenous theory. It must provide for the mutability of Māori women’s lived realities” (p. 52). At its core, Mana Wāhine considers the “intersection of being Māori and being a woman” (Simmonds, 2014, p. 11), recognising lived experience as a valuable form of knowledge. This philosophy is also deeply connected to struggle and resistance, having “grown out of wider cultural and political struggles of which Māori women have often been at the forefront” (Johnston & Waitere, 2009, in Simmonds, 2011, p. 15). This adaptability is echoed by Hutchings (2002a, as cited in Simmonds, 2014), who asserts that “the existing elements of mana wāhine are not definitive or exhaustive” (p. 40), while Pihama (2020) adds a temporal dimension, describing mana wāhine as “the past, present and future” (p. 362). Together, these voices affirm that mana wāhine is a dynamic, evolving space grounded in lived realities, shaped by the past, responsive to the present, and open to the aspirations of the future.

Subtheme 3 reveals that mana wāhine is a holistic and interconnected way of thinking, where different aspects of experience are deeply entwined. These elements cannot be understood in isolation, as doing so risks fragmenting their essential unity. As Simmonds (2009) explains, “Mana wahine legitimises its spiritual, material, emotional and cultural understandings, and

separating these components risks misunderstanding the holistic nature of mana wahine” (p. 26). A helpful metaphor for this is the harakeke where “the roots... are Māori women, whānau, and tikanga Māori... grounded in Papatūānuku and interacting with Te Taiao” (Simmonds, 2009, p. 25). This metaphor shows how Māori women are connected to the land and culture. Spiritually, mana wāhine is linked to Hineahuone, the first Māori woman, who was shaped by Tāne Mahuta with the help of Papatūānuku (Pihama, 2019). This connection to the earth and the divine is central to the epistemological grounding of mana wāhine. As cited in Pihama (2019), Irwin (1992) and Simmonds (2014) note that “bringing forward our understandings from a source that is deep within Papatūānuku and revitalising that knowledge to support the wellbeing of Māori women” (p. 195). This shows how mana wāhine is a holistic approach, rooted in spiritual and cultural traditions that support the well-being of Māori women.

Another insight gathered in this subtheme is that mana wāhine, as a concept, functions as an epistemological space of resistance, empowerment, and authenticity. It affirms and legitimises Māori women’s lived experiences, knowledge, and genealogies, serving as a powerful tool against colonisation and masculinist structures while promoting wāhine leadership and cultural strength. As Pihama (2019) states, “Mana wahine means affirming and recognising the power of Māori women’s resistance to colonisation and the efforts of our tūpuna wāhine to defend, protect, reclaim and assert Mana Wahine” (p. 195). Along with the message that mana wāhine centres the deconstruction of colonial discourses and the reclamation of Māori women’s place in society, the quotes highlight that mana wāhine reflects many diverse identities and experiences that resist being reduced to the colonial binary of Māori versus Pākehā. Simmonds (2009) explains, “Mana wāhine should not be viewed through a simplistic binary lens of Māori versus Pākehā, nor not provide for the plurality of Māori women’s lived realities” (p. 9). This plurality recognises the diverse identities, experiences, and perspectives of Māori women, acknowledging that their lives are shaped by various cultural, social, and historical factors, including challenges in areas like health, education, and legal protection. As Waitere and Johnston (2009) highlight, “Māori women’s precarious spaces are in terms of the quality of living, legal protection, education, health and representation in policy making and a voice to resolve their dilemmas” (p. 19). Mana wāhine resists inequities by embracing the diverse realities of Māori women, creating space for emancipation and empowerment.

Subtheme 3 expands on these ideas, highlighting that mana wāhine centres Māori women’s spiritual, intellectual, and cultural power as fundamental to their identity and authority. This

approach elevates wāhine agency, providing a space for Māori women to assert their voices and leadership. Pihama (2001, as cited in Hutchings, 2004) asserts, “Mana wahine is founded on the inherent power and authority of Māori women” (p. 17), highlighting the centrality of Māori women’s mana in the philosophy. Mana wāhine has evolved beyond an epistemological grounding to be a means for resistance, liberation, and empowerment. As Pihama (2001, as cited in Hutchings, 2004) further notes, mana wahine “is a foundational power, intellectual space, ethical discussion platform, resistance tool, and liberatory framework” (p. 17). In this way, mana wāhine challenges dominant Pākehā values, including the emphasis on appearance and visibility. As Waitere and Johnston (2009) point out writing, “Mana wahine resists the Pākehā focus on physicalities... and how wahine non-homogenised but deep and nuanced perspectives, experiences and knowledge is undervalued and overlooked” (p. 19). Furthermore, it acknowledges the diversity in Māori women’s lives. Irwin (1992, as cited in Pihama, 2020) explains, “Recognising diverse factors that shape wahine Māori lives including tribal affiliations, regional differences, socio-economic status, and personal histories” (p. 357), highlighting the complex and multifaceted nature of Māori women’s identities. These philosophies provide the foundation for the development of Mana Wāhine theory, offering a critical academic framework to challenge dominant paradigms and affirm mana wāhine as a source of strength and resistance.

Subtheme 4: Mana Wāhine as a Theoretical Framework

Building on earlier discussions of Mana Wāhine as a framework of resistance and reclamation, this subtheme delves more specifically into its theoretical dimensions. It explores how the theory articulates a distinctly Māori feminist response to colonisation, one that elevates wāhine Māori knowledge, lived realities, and relationships to land, spirit, and community. The following quotes from Simmonds illustrate key aspects of Mana Wāhine theory, including its attention to embodiment, spatial and spiritual experience, and its grounding in the unique cultural and political context of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Key quotes reveal important insights about Mana Wāhine theory. Simmonds (2014) states, “Mana Wahine addresses the intersection of being Māori and being a woman, [while providing for and celebrating] the histories, cosmologies, geographies, genealogies, stories and lived experiences of Māori women” (p. 11), showing how the theory centres the complex and diverse identities of Māori women. Mana Wāhine also challenges dominant perspectives by prioritising

the physical, environmental, and spiritual dimensions of Māori women's experiences, areas often overlooked in mainstream scholarship. As Simmonds (2011) notes, "There is little published academic work that engages with Māori women's embodied, spatial and spiritual experiences from an explicitly mana wahine standpoint" (p. 12), emphasising how the theory can address gaps in understanding Māori women's lived realities. Furthermore, Mana Wāhine is a localised framework that "recognises the ideological, political, and cultural specificities of being located in Aotearoa" (Simmonds, 2009, p. 8), grounding the theory in the unique local contexts shaping Māori women's experiences. Together, these insights show that Mana Wāhine theory offers a powerful and culturally grounded feminist response. It reclaims space for Māori women's ways of knowing, centres relational knowledge systems, and resists Western frameworks. In doing so, it affirms Māori women's lived realities as a valid foundation for both theory and social change.

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Key Authors for Theme 1

Simmonds and Pihama have significantly advanced understanding of mana wāhine and its meaning for Māori women, making key contributions to Theme 1 by unpacking the complex definition of mana wāhine. Their work reveals Māori women's strength, identity, and spirituality, while challenging colonisation's impacts, and shows how Māori women preserve their knowledge and continue to assert their empowerment.

Dr Naomi Simmonds

Simmonds has made a significant contribution to Theme 1, offering key insights into mana wāhine through her articles, particularly *Mana Wāhine and the Māori Women's Struggles for Liberation* (2008), *The Intersectionality of Mana Wāhine in Contemporary Māori Women's Lives* (2009), *Indigenous Feminism and Mana Wāhine: A Theoretical Framework* (2011), and *Mana Wāhine: The Empowerment of Māori Women* (2014).

The 12 quotes from Simmonds provide valuable insights into the complexities of mana wāhine across four subthemes. They explore the challenges of translating mana wāhine concepts, particularly in conveying the deep cultural and spiritual meanings of 'wāhine.' The quotes also highlight the nuanced understanding of 'mana' and 'wāhine' as both masculine and feminine, as

well as the temporal significance of these terms. Additionally, the quotes emphasise mana wāhine's evolving nature as a dynamic theoretical framework grounded in Māori women's lived experiences, and its resistance to colonial structures that marginalise Māori women's presence and authority.

Simmonds' writings support educators and other readers in understanding the deep meanings behind mana and wāhine, showing how these concepts are closely tied to Māori women's identity, strength, and spirituality. Her work encourages those engaging with this review to value Māori worldviews and move beyond Pākehā or Western perspectives. She also offers examples and reflections that support critical thinking about how Māori women are portrayed in books and films, and how these portrayals can spark important conversations about power, voice, and identity in learning spaces. Overall, Simmonds' work encourages the inclusion of Māori perspectives, uplifts Māori voices, and helps ensure that all learners, especially wāhine, can see their stories reflected in education.

Dr Leonie Pihama

Pihama has made a significant contribution to Theme 1, offering foundational insights into Mana Wāhine through her key writings, particularly *Mana Wāhine Theory: Creating Space for Māori Women's Theories* (2019) and *Mana Wāhine: Decolonising Gender in Aotearoa* (2020). These works show how mana wāhine is a deep and powerful way of thinking that comes from Māori knowledge and the real-life experiences of Māori women.

Through 12 key quotes, Pihama reveals mana wāhine as a dynamic and evolving theoretical framework grounded in Māori women's lived experiences, cosmology and cultural knowledge. She highlights that mana is both a quality recognised by the community and an internal power that shapes Māori women's confidence and influence. By linking mana wāhine to the figure of Hineahuone, Pihama shows that mana wāhine includes many different experiences and challenges colonial narratives that focus only on what is visible. She affirms the emotional and cultural strength of mana wāhine, and advocates for nuanced understandings beyond simply dividing perspectives into Māori and Pākehā viewpoints. Her work also stresses the difficulty of translating 'mana' and 'wāhine' into English, highlighting their layered, relational, and culturally specific meanings.

Pihama's work offers valuable insights for those seeking to deepen their understanding of the cultural and spiritual meanings of mana wāhine, moving beyond superficial interpretations of Māori women. Her writing supports more respectful, informed, and empowering portrayals of Māori female characters, particularly within learning environments and discussions about representation.

English Classroom Application

This activity draws on Theme 1, particularly Subtheme 3, which highlights that mana wāhine is not simply about female strength or the general idea of 'strong Māori women.' Rather, it is a culturally grounded epistemological framework shaped by wāhine Māori through their lived experiences, resistance to colonial systems, and connections to atua, whenua, and whakapapa. The goal of the activity *Unpacking Mana Wāhine: Moving Beyond 'Strong Māori Women'* is to help students explore mana wāhine through its spiritual, political, and relational dimensions, as articulated by Māori scholars such as Simmonds (2009; 2011; 2014) and Pihama (2019; 2020). Through exploring a story of Hine-nui-te-pō and real-life leaders, students will consider how these examples demonstrate leadership, identity, and connection, and create their own responses that reflect their understanding of mana wāhine. This activity can be adapted to suit students at any level of secondary school.

To make this real for students, the activity begins by discussing the atua in pūrākau, Hine-nui-te-pō, who embodies the complex and sacred roles of wāhine in te ao Māori. Students are then asked to find wāhine in today's world who embody similar qualities.

First, students should be introduced to respectful versions of the pūrākau. The following information, drawn from Theme 3, could be included: Hine-nui-te-pō, first called Hine-tītama, is a powerful Māori goddess who protects the spirits of the dead. She was the daughter of Tāne, who also became her husband, although Hine-tītama did not know this at first. When she later discovered that Tāne was both her father and her husband, she was devastated and chose to leave the world of the living to reside in the underworld. There, she transformed into Hine-nui-te-pō. Though she could not change her past, she showed great strength by taking control of her own life and becoming the guardian of the dead. Hine-nui-te-pō stopped the hero Māui from gaining eternal life, showing women's power over life and death. Her story connects

to tapu, meaning sacred protection, and reminds us of the deep power women hold in creation, protection, and guiding the cycle of life and death (Jahnke, 1997; Jenkins, 1992; Gillon, 2020).

Students can now respond to the following questions. Example answers are included.

Q: What do you notice about Hine-nui-te-pō's role in the world?

A: Hine-nui-te-pō holds a powerful role as the guardian of the underworld, guiding spirits and maintaining the balance between life and death. In Mana Wāhine theory, she represents wāhine leadership, protection, and sacred responsibility. Hine-nui-te-pō shows that wāhine are not just part of the story; they are holders and protectors of spiritual, cultural, and relational knowledge. Her role shows epistemological power, meaning she carries important Māori ways of knowing that are passed down through whakapapa, pūrākau, and lived experience, which shape how we understand the world. Her story challenges Western views by showing that knowledge can come from emotion, spirit, and connection, and pushes back against the idea that only certain people or systems decide what is true.

Q: How does she lead with both spiritual authority and emotional power?

A: Hine-nui-te-pō's spiritual authority comes from her divine whakapapa, connection to atua, and sacred role as guardian of the spiritual world. Her emotional power is shown in her brave choice to leave the world of light and enter darkness to care for others. This reflects mana not as dominance, but as deep relational duty and emotional intelligence. From a mana wāhine perspective, leadership isn't about control or hierarchy; it is relational and collective, rooted in whakapapa and guided by spiritual and emotional awareness. Hine-nui-te-pō leads by putting future generations first, reflecting how many Māori women lead in their whānau, hapū, and communities today.

Q: What might her spiritual authority and emotional power tell us about the idea of mana wāhine?

A: Hine-nui-te-pō shows that mana wāhine is not just about being a strong Māori woman. Her story reveals that mana wāhine includes spiritual insight, emotional depth, relational leadership, resistance to injustice, and cultural change. Mana Wāhine theory sees wāhine Māori as epistemological leaders who carry and protect knowledges that have survived colonisation. Hine-nui-te-pō's pūrākau helps us understand mana wāhine as both ancient and ongoing. It is

found in atua wāhine, Māori women in history, and those in everyday life. Her story is both a metaphor and a living example of the theory.

Students then connect these ideas to real-life Māori women leaders, such as Dame Whina Cooper and Lisa Carrington, who embody leadership rooted in whakapapa, whānau, and community wellbeing. Students can explore questions such as:

Q: What mana wāhine qualities do Whina Cooper and Lisa Carrington have?

A: Whina Cooper is celebrated for her courageous leadership, especially through the 1975 Māori Land March, which was a significant political act of resistance and community advocacy. Her qualities include leadership, collective responsibility, and courage which are hallmarks of mana wāhine. Lisa Carrington is a champion athlete whose successes bring pride to her iwi and whānau, showing resilience, humility, and connection to whakapapa, which are key to mana wāhine.

Q: What whakapapa connections provide them strength?

A: They likely drew strength from their whakapapa, which connects them to ancestors, iwi, land, and atua such as Papatūānuku and Hine-nui-te-pō who symbolise natural elements and spiritual guardianship, creating a spiritual and cultural foundation for mana wāhine.

Q: What is the difference between seeing mana wāhine as just “strong Māori women” and understanding mana wāhine as a cultural and political framework?

A: Seeing mana wāhine as just “strong Māori women” focuses on individual strength and leadership in everyday life. But understanding mana wāhine as a cultural and political framework goes deeper. It helps us recognise the unique experiences of Māori women shaped by history, culture, and colonisation. This framework supports their empowerment and fights for their liberation from the effects of colonialism, honouring their spiritual authority, identity, and connection to land and ancestors.

By comparing atua wāhine to recently passed spiritual leaders and contemporary Māori women, students can understand that mana wāhine is a living and ongoing force. As Simmonds (2011) explains: “The presence of atua wāhine in our cosmologies reminds us that Māori women have always held important knowledge. Mana wāhine theory tells us to see these powers not only in the past but in everyday life” (p. 15).

Then students can reflect and create portraits of their own mana wāhine based on prompts like:

- How does your chosen wāhine show spiritual or ancestral aspects of mana?
- In what ways does she challenge colonial ideas about leadership?
- What does her story teach us about Māori women's ways of knowing?

Preparation, Challenges, and Ethics for Teachers

Teachers need a clear understanding of how colonisation has established dominant knowledge systems that marginalise Māori worldviews, including mana wāhine knowledge. They should recognise that Western knowledge has often been treated as the only 'truth', while Māori perspectives, especially those of wāhine Māori, have been excluded or invalidated. To engage effectively, teachers must be confident discussing key concepts such as mana wāhine, Mana Wāhine theory, whakapapa, atua, and be familiar with significant stories and figures connected to these ideas. Preparing accessible resources such as Māori dictionaries, story summaries, and background readings will support student engagement and understanding.

Because this activity is firmly grounded in research, Māori cultural narratives, and language sourced directly from mana wāhine scholarship authored by Māori scholars and published in peer-reviewed articles, teachers can trust this knowledge as authentic and reliable. This foundation provides a strong and ethical framework that supports teachers' confidence in delivering the material respectfully and meaningfully.

When teachers and students encounter challenges discussing Māori knowledge systems, it is important to seek professional development and collaborate with knowledgeable advisors to build cultural competence and confidence. Practically, teachers should design activities that include moments for personal reflection, relationship-building, and open, respectful conversations. Creating a classroom culture where all voices are heard and students feel safe to express their thoughts encourages deeper learning and authentic engagement with mana wāhine.

Critical Perspectives — Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research

Rationale for Critical Consideration

Theme 2 explores the foundational concepts and methodologies that underpin mana wāhine research, demonstrating how Māori women's experiences, identities, and knowledges are understood through spiritual, cultural, and ancestral frameworks. It is divided into four subthemes: Concepts of Te Ao Māori: Language, Tradition, and Spirituality, Kaupapa Māori Methodologies, Mana Wāhine Theoretical Framework, and Colonising and Decolonising. However, employing these research themes in mainstream English classrooms can be challenging for several reasons. They emerge from academic frameworks grounded in Māori ways of knowing, being, and doing, rather than conventional literary analysis, which typically focuses on elements such as narrative structure, character development, themes, and symbolism. As Campbell (2019), drawing on Marsden and Henare, explains, "Māori epistemologies are founded on the way we view the world, from our creation pūrākau, tikanga practices, and Mātauranga Māori, informing the relationship Māori have with the environment" (p. 60). This highlights that mana wāhine research is embedded in holistic cultural and spiritual knowledge systems that differ significantly from standard English literary tools.

Theme 2 also raises pedagogical concerns due to the depth and complexity of these frameworks, which require cultural expertise and ethical engagement. Without such knowledge, there is a risk of misinterpretation, oversimplification, or tokenistic use of mana wāhine concepts, potentially leading to misrepresentation of Māori culture and knowledge. Introducing these themes without consultation or collaboration with Māori therefore raises both ethical and pedagogical concerns. Teachers would require tikanga-informed learning environments, professional development, and support from Māori educators to teach these themes responsibly and respectfully.

Without appropriate cultural context and preparation, both Māori and non-Māori students may struggle to engage meaningfully with these ideas. Māori students may feel their culture is being misrepresented, while non-Māori students may find it difficult to grasp the depth and significance

of mana wāhine research without appropriate guidance. For this reason, mana wāhine research themes must be taught with careful cultural framing to preserve their integrity and meaning. Despite these challenges, Theme 2 offers rich insights into the priorities and contributions of Māori women in academic spaces. It provides valuable knowledge for Pākehā teachers and others seeking to deepen their understanding of *te ao Māori* and mana wāhine knowledges. When approached with care, this theme offers essential cultural grounding for respectful and informed engagement with Māori literature.

Key insights and quotes

Subtheme 1: Concepts of Te Ao Māori: Language, Tradition, and Spirituality

Subtheme 1 explores how mana wāhine is deeply grounded in te ao Māori concepts such as wairua, whakapapa, tikanga, and decolonisation. These elements affirm Māori women's identities, bodies, and lived realities. However, they are often misunderstood or misrepresented in mainstream English classrooms, risking tokenism or reinforcing colonial views when taught without informed cultural understanding. The subtheme offers eight key insights supported by scholarly literature.

One foundational insight is the centrality of wairua in mana wāhine. Wairua provides a spiritual and cultural grounding that challenges Western dualisms, particularly the separation of spirit from body. Instead, it affirms the interconnectedness at the heart of Māori women's experiences and Indigenous knowledge. Wairua is simultaneously a source of spiritual strength and a foundation for cultural empowerment. As Simmonds (2014) states, "Wairua is a critical site of resistance for mana wāhine and for Māori. It is this spirituality that, as Smith (1996) argues, marks the clearest contrast between indigenous knowledges and the west" (p. 50). She adds, "Reclaiming wairua... can be transformative for understandings of Māori women's subjectivities, knowledges and bodies" (p. 51), emphasising its role in resisting colonial erasure and reaffirming Māori ways of being.

A second key insight is how whakapapa serves as an ethical and relational framework that guides respectful connections between researchers and Māori communities. It also supports Māori women in navigating both ancestral ties and the realities of colonisation. As Simmonds

(2014) notes, “Whakapapa can also serve as a symbolic connection between researcher and researched” (p. 48), while in later work she writes, “An intricate web of connections... will carry [Māori women] into the future and enable them to navigate the complex systems of power that are part of our colonised realities” (2019, p. 160). This affirms whakapapa as both a cultural anchor and a decolonising tool.

A third insight is the need to critically re-examine tikanga through a mana wāhine lens. Colonisation has profoundly compromised traditional practices, often in ways that undermine their original meanings and purposes. Simmonds (2014) urges,

“The notion of authenticity in relation to tikanga must also be interrogated... careful analysis of ‘tradition’ and ‘tikanga’ from a mana wāhine perspective may prompt a drastic reconsideration of those tikanga which are distorted colonial versions of what our tūpuna would likely have practiced” (p. 49).

This critical lens enables the reclamation of tikanga grounded in ancestral integrity rather than colonial adaptation.

A further insight from this subtheme positions decolonisation as central to mana wāhine research. This involves reclaiming Māori spirituality, practices, and knowledge suppressed by colonial systems. Campbell (2019) writes, “Western knowledge systems are in direct contrast with the Māori world view... highlighting the appreciation of the ancestral arts as knowledge, as Mātauranga Māori” (p. 30). Similarly, Pihama (2020) explains, “In the context of discussing Māori women’s theories, mana relates to notions of power, status and collective affirmation of our place within our communities” (p. 355). These perspectives show how mana wāhine research works to restore suppressed knowledges and empower Māori women through cultural affirmation.

This subtheme also highlights the deep connections between Māori women’s bodies, spirituality, and the land. Simmonds (2014) states, “The body is always already spiritual, cultural, and material” (p. 52), reinforcing the inseparability of spirit and body. Māta Aho Collective and Corballis (2018) echo this: “Our very being is shaped by the land... and the waters that run through our veins” (p. 55). Similarly, Ellis (2022) adds, “Land is more than just material – it carries wairua, histories, genealogies, and responsibilities” (p. 101), affirming land as a living relation. These understandings challenge Western divisions between land and body, spirit and matter, and instead reposition them within Indigenous knowing, being, and doing.

Insights from this subtheme also reveal that Māori gender roles must be understood relationally and through a decolonial lens. Stewart (2019) explains, “The positioning of Māori women cannot be separated from the roles and expectations placed on Māori men” (p. 98), indicating that Māori concepts of gender are interdependent. Cleaver (2020) adds, “Colonisation distorted both Māori masculinity and Māori femininity” (p. 145), showing how colonial systems reshaped gender relations, leading to ongoing impacts on Māori identity and social roles.

Another insight centres on the role of whānau in shaping Māori women’s responsibilities and self-understanding. As Erai (2011) states, “Whānau is at the centre of Māori women’s realities... shaping our understandings of ourselves” (p. 87). Pihama (2020) reinforces this with the view that, “Mana wahine is always relational – it does not exist in isolation” (p. 119). Whānau is therefore not simply a social structure but a fundamental element of Māori women’s identity and cultural location.

The final insight highlights the importance of mātauranga wāhine as lived, embodied, and intergenerational. This knowledge has often been marginalised within male-dominated or Western academic frameworks. As Simmonds (2011) argues, “Mātauranga Māori has long been dominated by male voices, but mātauranga wāhine insists... our knowledge systems are incomplete without the voices and experiences of wāhine Māori” (p. 87). Pihama (2020) similarly affirms, “To speak of mātauranga wāhine is to speak of knowledge that is lived, breathed, and felt... carried in the everyday lives of Māori women” (p. 133). These views assert that mana wāhine knowledge is not abstract theory, it is lived reality.

Subtheme 2: Kaupapa Māori Methodologies

This subtheme outlines how Kaupapa Māori is grounded in Māori knowledge, values, and traditions, supporting Māori identity and resisting colonial frameworks. It is guided by ethical principles that centre Māori voices and ways of knowing. This section introduces two core insights, each supported by key quotes from mana wāhine scholarship.

The first key insight from this subtheme is that Kaupapa Māori is a decolonial and transformative framework that centres Māori knowledge, values, and traditions to affirm cultural identity, empower communities, and challenge colonial ideologies. This is evident in the work of

several scholars. For example, Mahuika (2011, as cited in Simmonds, 2014), describes how Kaupapa Māori “places Māori values, language, traditions and metaphysical foundations at the centre” (p. 42), directly challenging colonial dominance. Building on this, Simmonds (2014) states that Kaupapa Māori scholars are “(re)creating and (re)claiming avenues to liberate and transform the everyday geographies of whānau, hapū and iwi” (p. 42). Similarly, Campbell (2019) affirms that Kaupapa Māori is “an affirmation and assertion of our cultural worldviews” (p. 23). Smith et al. (2017) further highlight its ethical commitment by asking, “What ways could we assist our participants?” (p. 228), underscoring its focus on benefiting Māori communities. Collectively, these examples show how Kaupapa Māori advances Māori-led research that is culturally grounded, community-focused, ethically driven, and actively resistant to colonisation.

The second key insight from this subtheme is that Kaupapa Māori research has ethical and relational principles. Heke (2023) outlines seven key Kaupapa Māori research practices originally developed by Smith (1999), which include: (i) aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people), (ii) kanohi kitea (presenting yourself to people face to face), (iii) titiro, whakarongo ... kōrero (look, listen ... speak), (iv) manaaki ki te tangata (generosity towards people), (v) kia tūpato (be cautious), (vi) kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people), and (vii) kia māhaki (don't flaunt your knowledge). Heke (2023) emphasises that “kanohi kitea (the seen face) is fundamental to the Kaupapa Māori approach and is arguably integral to the application of the other six” (p. 4). She stresses that acknowledging Māori participants' values through respectful researcher positioning and credibility is essential for ethical engagement.

Subtheme 3: Mana Wāhine Theoretical Framework

This subtheme explores how Mana Wāhine theory centres Māori women's experiences, voices, and identities, valuing their knowledge while resisting colonialism. The insights and supporting quotes reveal how this research empowers Māori women and reclaims cultural spaces and roles. It offers the following four insights supported by quotes.

One important insight is that Mana Wāhine theory values Māori women's lived experiences as legitimate knowledge, affirming diverse, embodied, and spiritual ways of knowing. For instance, Mikaere (1995, as cited in Campbell, 2019) highlights that “Women as repositories of knowledge... are inspirational to, and inform the nature of, the creative work” (p. 23). Similarly,

Mikaere (2003, as cited in Simmonds, 2014) calls to “validate the full range of Māori women’s experiences” (p. 52). Simmonds (2011) further explains that “Mana wahine is often understood to be a type of Māori feminism... [which] extends Kaupapa Māori theory by explicitly exploring the intersection of being Māori and female” (p. 11), emphasising the importance of making visible diverse Māori women’s narratives and experiences. This focus on lived experience challenges dominant knowledge systems that have historically excluded Māori women’s voices, thereby legitimising their perspectives as vital knowledge sources.

A second key insight is that Mana Wāhine theory provides space to reclaim Māori women’s identities and voices, actively challenging their historical silencing. Simmonds (2011) notes that a core aim is to “make visible the narratives, experiences, in all of their diversity, of Māori women” (p. 11), while Pihama (2001, as cited in Rarere, 2022) describes Mana Wāhine as a response to colonial disruptions aimed at “reassert[ing] Māori identity” (p. 4). Smith (2020) reinforces this by stating that the theory “centres Māori women’s voice” (p. 80), highlighting the active reclamation and affirmation of identity. Together, these perspectives illustrate how Mana Wāhine functions as a restorative framework that empowers Māori women to assert their place within cultural and academic spaces.

A third insight is that Mana Wāhine operates as a decolonising and political force that confronts colonial structures impacting Māori women’s lives. Pihama (2020) asserts, “Mana Wahine Theory speaks directly to that impact...and practices that perpetuate ongoing oppressive systems on our lands” (p. 360). Stewart (2019) affirms that Mana Wāhine provides “theoretical and analytical spaces that reinforce and sustain movements of cultural and political reclamation” and stands as “a direct challenge to colonialism in all of its many forms” (p. 688). Moreover, Stewart explains, “Mana Wahine is a Māori form of theory that draws on indigenous Māori culture and perspectives... Mana Wahine means something like the term ‘Kaupapa Māori feminism’” (p. 688). These insights collectively highlight the political dimension of Mana Wāhine theory as an active tool for resisting colonial oppression and fostering Indigenous sovereignty.

Finally, Mana Wāhine theory embodies collective responsibility, particularly for the wellbeing of Māori women and children, reflecting a relational ethic central to Māori values. This is powerfully demonstrated by the Māori Women’s Welfare League’s (MWWL) response to Ans Westra’s *Washday at the Pa*, where the League, motivated by a shared sense of mana, demanded the withdrawal of photographs that caused distress to Māori women and children (Stewart, 2019).

Pihama (2001, as cited in Campbell, 2019) further emphasises that “Mana Wahine theories embrace the diversity of wahine Māori worlds” (p. 40) and caution against assuming uniformity of perspectives. Mikaere (1995, as cited in Campbell, 2019) underscores Māori women’s roles as knowledge holders across contexts. Together, these sources illustrate how Mana Wāhine prioritises collective care and inclusive representation, fostering responsibility to uphold the dignity and diversity of wāhine Māori experiences.

Subtheme 4: Colonising and Decolonising

Subtheme 4 explores how colonisation silenced wāhine Māori voices and disrupted Māori knowledge systems. Colonisation imposed foreign ideas that fractured and marginalised Māori identities, creating tensions within Māori women’s experiences. Decolonisation, in contrast, allows Māori women to restore their mana by reclaiming the spiritual, political, and cultural authority found in mātauranga Māori. This process enables them to resist oppression and define their identities through Māori worldviews. The following two insights, supported by scholarly quotes, illustrate this subtheme.

One insight is that colonisation has unsettled Māori women’s sense of identity, forcing them to navigate between their Māori heritage and imposed colonial values, which often creates tension and conflict. Additionally, colonial and patriarchal systems have actively excluded Māori women’s knowledge from mainstream cultural and spiritual narratives, using this exclusion to maintain their own dominance and control. These insights are illustrated by Simmonds (2009), who explains that “Māori women’s colonised realities mean they occupy hybrid, complex and sometimes contradictory subjectivities, spaces and places” (p. 11), showing how colonisation has altered the way Māori women see themselves and their place in the world. Simmonds (2009) also states that “the invisibility of Māori women’s knowledges in dominant conceptualisations of mythology, tikanga, and wairua discourses is not a harmless omission; rather, it contains a political imperative that maintains the hegemony of colonialism and patriarchy” (p. iv). These insights reveal the profound and ongoing impact of colonisation in shaping Māori women’s identities and marginalising their knowledges.

A further insight emphasises that decolonisation involves actively reclaiming and asserting Māori women’s autonomy, voices, and knowledge systems by rejecting colonial views and centring Māori experiences. Hutchings (2002b, as cited in Simmonds, 2014) asserts that

decolonisation means Māori women determine how they live within their communities, rejecting non-Māori analysis and valuing their own identities. This creates space for ongoing critical analysis of systems such as education, language, and health. Irwin (1992, as cited in Simmonds, 2014) highlights the power inherent in controlling the frameworks for understanding and transformation, emphasising that “real power lies with those who design the tools – it always has” (p. 47). Pihama (2001, as cited in Simmonds, 2014) further stresses that mana wāhine involves reclaiming control over the “processes and vehicles of representation” (p. 47). Smith (2012) highlights how marginalised spaces can become sites of resistance and hope, reinforcing the empowering aspects of decolonisation for Māori women. Collectively, these perspectives show decolonisation as a transformative and political process that empowers Māori women to reclaim their identities and spaces.

Key Authors for Theme 2

In Theme 2, two key authors have significantly contributed ideas on the themes shaping mana wāhine research. Their work offers valuable insights into Māori women’s identities, spirituality, and processes of decolonisation, as well as the development of mana wāhine as a framework. Collectively, they highlight the crucial role Māori women play in preserving knowledges and resisting the historical marginalisation of their voices and experiences.

Dr Naomi Simmonds

Simmonds offers key insights through her 20 quotes in the articles *Mana Wāhine Geographies: Spiritual, Spatial and Embodied Understandings of Papatūānuku* (2009), *Tū te Turuturu nō Hine-te-iwaiwa: Mana Wāhine Geographies of Birth in Aotearoa New Zealand* (2014), and *Never-Ending Beginnings: The Circularity of Mana Wāhine* (2019). Her research speaks directly to the subthemes *Concepts of Te Ao Māori: Language, Tradition, and Spirituality*, *Kaupapa Māori Methodologies*, and *Mana Wāhine Theoretical Framework*, offering rich analysis of the intersections between cultural identity, feminist thought, and Māori knowledge systems. Simmonds’ work is essential for understanding decolonisation, Māori spiritual and cultural practices, and the development of Mana Wāhine as a theoretical framework, making her contributions highly relevant to Theme 2.

In her 2009 article, she explores Māori women's embodied connections to Papatūānuku across material, symbolic, spiritual, and discursive dimensions. This challenges colonial binaries such as coloniser/colonised and scientific/spiritual, while highlighting wairua as central to resisting colonial narratives. She engages in decolonising knowledges by reclaiming Indigenous worldviews and integrating feminist, post-colonial, and queer critiques. Building on this, Simmonds (2014) centres wairua and whakapapa in Māori women's resistance to colonisation, emphasising wairua as a means to reclaim spiritual and cultural identities and to challenge Western colonial mind-body separations. Her work aligns with Kaupapa Māori methodologies by prioritising Māori values to contest Western research paradigms. Through her Mana Wāhine framework, she critiques colonial distortions of tikanga and advocates restoring cultural sovereignty and authentic Māori women's voices, forming a powerful decolonising approach that supports Māori self-determination. In Simmonds (2019), whakapapa is framed as a fundamentally decolonising concept. This is an expansive framework that helps Māori understand their origins, navigate the present, and envision futures. It guides relationships and identity by connecting Māori women to ancestral knowledges, providing tools to resist and navigate contemporary colonised realities.

Dr Donna Campbell

Campbell has made a meaningful contribution to Theme 2 through her doctoral thesis *Ngā kura a Hineteiwaiwa: The embodiment of mana wāhine in Māori fibre arts* (2019). Her work provides extensive insights, supported by 14 key quotes, that inform the subthemes of Concepts of Te Ao Māori: Language, Tradition, and Spirituality, Kaupapa Māori Methodologies, and the Mana Wāhine Theoretical Framework.

She affirms Indigenous perspectives by highlighting the value of culturally located approaches to knowledges and resistance, promoting the reclamation of identity, place, and power. She explains that Māori epistemologies are grounded in pūrākau, tikanga, and mātauranga Māori, all of which shape how Māori understand and relate to the environment. This is illustrated in her statement: "By acknowledging the Māori world-view of the interconnectedness of all things, the relationship we have with the whenua becomes more meaningful" (2019, p. 60–61).

Campbell (2019) asserts that Kaupapa Māori praxis enables Māori to address challenges in education and culture from their own perspectives. Rather than relying on external frameworks,

it promotes the use of Māori knowledges and experiences to resist dominant systems. She describes it as “a viable, organic ‘theory’ of transformation” (p. 32) that fosters Māori-led approaches. Her insights on Mana Wāhine theory show that it provides a critical tool to challenge colonial and patriarchal systems affecting Māori women. It addresses interconnected issues such as patriarchy, colonisation, language and cultural loss, and marginalisation, while recognising that Māori women’s experiences and perspectives are diverse rather than uniform. As Campbell (2019) states, Mana Wāhine theory “challenges colonial patriarchal structures [and] embrace[s] the diversity of wahine Māori worlds” (p. 40).

English Classroom Application

This activity is designed to teach key concepts from Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research. It focuses primarily on Subthemes 1 and 4 within Theme 2, while also connecting to Theme 3 on atua wāhine. Titled *Mana Wāhine and Papatūānuku: Wairua, Whakapapa, Tikanga*, this inquiry enables students to explore how spiritual connection, ancestral identity, and cultural practices are impacted by colonisation and reclaimed through Mana Wāhine theory. It particularly highlights the symbolic and epistemological role of Papatūānuku. This activity demonstrates how a Pākehā teacher, guided by mana wāhine knowledges, can translate the thematic analysis from this research into meaningful, culturally responsive pedagogy. While additional elements such as writing, artmaking, and student-led sharing can enhance engagement, the core focus is on centering the strength of Mana Wāhine theory through discussion and reflection. This activity can be adapted to suit students at any level of secondary school.

The activity starts by scaffolding the learning in pūrākau about Papatūānuku, an atua wāhine who embodies wairua, whakapapa, and tikanga. These are not abstract ideas but living knowledges that express spiritual, relational, and political strength, and are protected by wāhine Māori. Students are encouraged to think critically about how these concepts are affected by colonisation and reclaimed through acts of decolonisation, as well as their own positioning in relation to cultural knowledges and the ethics of decolonisation.

Firstly, students should be introduced to respectful versions of the pūrākau. The following information drawn from Theme 3, could be included: Papatūānuku is the Earth Mother and

source of all life in te ao Māori. She represents creation, nourishment, and the sacred feminine force. In union with Ranginui, she birthed the atua who shaped the world. After their separation, she continued to nurture her children, symbolising strength, endurance, and care.

Papatūānuku's body is both physical and spiritual, holding the realms of life and reminding us that wāhine are central to creation and connection. In Mana Wāhine theory, she embodies whakapapa, wairua, and the deep relational ties between wāhine Māori, the land, and atua (Sykes, 2015; Rarere, 2022; Wood, 2007).

Students can now respond to the following questions. Example answers are included.

Q: How is wairua (spirit or energy that connects us) shown in this pūrākau?

A: Papatūānuku represents the wairua of the natural world. Her ongoing presence beneath us grounds all life in spiritual connection. She nourishes through rain, plants, and soil; not just physically, but spiritually. Her breath and being are expressions of living wairua.

Reflect on how this quote adds to your understanding of mana wāhine in the story of Papatūānuku: "Wairua is a critical site of resistance for mana wāhine... It marks the clearest contrast between Indigenous knowledges and the West" (Smith, 1996, cited in Simmonds (2014, p. 50).

A: Wairua connects Māori women to spiritual and ancestral knowledges. Papatūānuku's role highlights this connection and resists Western ideas that separate the physical from the spiritual, showing that mana wāhine is grounded in sacred relationships with the land and ancestors.

Q: How is whakapapa (genealogy; where we come from) featured in the story?

A: Papatūānuku is at the origin of all whakapapa. Every atua and human traces their lineage back to her. She connects all living beings to the earth and to each other. Her whakapapa is not linear, it is a network that includes land, sky, and spirit.

Reflect on this quote and explain how whakapapa supports wāhine Māori sustaining knowledge across generations: "Whakapapa is an intricate web of connections... that will carry [Māori women] into the future" (Simmonds, 2019, p. 160).

A: Whakapapa connects wāhine Māori to their ancestors, culture, and identity, helping them carry knowledges, strength, and responsibility into future generations.

Q: How does this story show tikanga (cultural values and practices)?

A: Papatūānuku teaches us about care, reciprocity, and balance. Māori customs like kaitiakitanga are based on the understanding that the earth is a living ancestor. This view of the land is part of tikanga; it shapes how people relate to each other and to the natural world.

Reflect on this quote and explain how the power of mana wāhine is expressed through tikanga: “A mana wāhine perspective may prompt a drastic reconsideration of those tikanga which are distorted colonial versions...” (Simmonds, 2014, p. 49).

A: Mana wāhine strengthens tikanga by reclaiming its true meaning, challenging colonial distortions, and restoring Māori women’s authority in cultural practices.

Q: How is colonisation relevant to this pūrākau?

A: Colonisation imposed ideas of land as property and separated people from Papatūānuku. Her role was diminished or ignored. By dismissing her as myth or erasing her spiritual significance, colonisation disrupted the relational systems and values passed down by wāhine Māori.

Reflect on this quote to help you understand how colonisation impacts mana wāhine: “The invisibility of Māori women’s knowledges... is a political imperative that maintains colonialism and patriarchy” (Simmonds, 2009, p. iv).

A: Colonisation weakens mana wāhine by erasing Māori women’s knowledges, which helps uphold colonial and patriarchal power.

Q: How is this pūrākau a decolonising act?

A: Teaching about Papatūānuku honours her as an epistemological force, a source of valid knowledges. By restoring her voice and presence in education, this activity resists colonial erasure and affirms Māori values. It supports mana wāhine by placing wāhine atua at the centre of learning.

Reflect on these quotes to reveal what they say about decolonising mana wāhine spaces:

“Reclaiming wairua can be transformative for understandings of Māori women’s subjectivities” (Simmonds, 2014, p. 51), and “Western knowledge systems are in direct contrast with the Māori worldview...” (Campbell, 2019, p. 30).

A: Decolonising mana wāhine spaces means reclaiming wairua and Māori worldviews, which transforms how Māori women see themselves and challenges the dominance of Western thinking.

Preparation, Challenges, and Ethics for Teachers

Teachers preparing this activity should develop a strong understanding of Mana Wāhine theory and the cultural significance of Papatūānuku, ensuring they approach the material with respect and cultural humility. Many teachers, particularly those who are Pākehā, may initially find the Māori concepts, language, and ethical responsibilities challenging, especially when aiming to present authentic knowledges and ‘get it right.’ However, because this activity is firmly grounded in research, Māori cultural narratives, and language sourced from mana wāhine scholarship, it provides teachers with a reliable framework and confidence to engage ethically and authentically.

Challenges may include navigating students’ varying levels of familiarity with Māori concepts and addressing sensitive issues around colonisation without causing harm or misunderstanding. Ethically, teachers must prioritise whakapapa and tikanga protocols, honour Māori voices, and avoid appropriation or oversimplification. Creating a safe, respectful space for open dialogue and encouraging reflexivity about positionality are essential to support authentic engagement with these powerful concepts.

Curious Perspectives — Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau

Rationale for Curiosity

I am deeply curious about this theme because pūrākau presents ways of knowing that invite me to question and expand beyond my Western worldview. Rooted in whakapapa, mana, and wairua, these stories portray Māori women as sacred, powerful, and intimately connected to cosmology; roles that feel richer and more complex than those I’m accustomed to in typical Western narratives. They open up multiple truths that challenge and broaden my understanding

of identity, knowledges, and the world, encouraging me to explore relationality, spirituality, and cultural depth from new perspectives. I have organised this theme into two subthemes: Deities and Their Stories, which explores atua wāhine such as Papatūānuku and Hine-nui-te-pō; and Pūrākau in Research, which highlights pūrākau as a method for reclaiming and transmitting Māori knowledges.

I am curious about pūrākau because they hold rich knowledges of cultural practices and ancestral wisdom passed down through generations, offering ways of knowing that expand and challenge my Western worldview. Hyland (2018), drawing on the work of Jenny Lee, explains that pūrākau contain Māori philosophical thought, ways of knowing, and cultural practices that provide an essential framework for representing Māori perspectives. Hyland (2018) also highlights that recognising wāhine as the source of all creation reveals pūrākau's deeper role in understanding human actions and relationships, far beyond being simple myths. Engaging with pūrākau invites me to gain a more nuanced insight into Māori worldviews, cultural values, human relationships, the natural environment, and spirituality. It also encourages me to reflect on the similarities and differences between Māori and non-Māori perspectives. This process makes me wonder which stories about women have influenced my own Pākehā worldview, shaped my reality, and contributed to who I am today.

I find pūrākau curiously compelling because they feature wāhine whose power is immense and multifaceted, expressed not through domination but through creation, resistance, and relational strength. Female figures such as Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother, and Hine-nui-te-pō, who holds power over death, embody profound spiritual authority and creative force. This stands in stark contrast to Christian and Western narratives that portray women as passive, sinful, or subordinate, such as the biblical Eve and the fairy tale character Cinderella. As Mikaere (2003) explains, "Hineahuone...clearly possesses an awesome sexual power that comes from deep within her female being [and] Hinetītama...exercises absolute control over her own destiny" (as cited in Simmonds, 2019, p. 158). These narratives present a radically different model of power, one grounded in interdependence, transformation, and sacred embodiment, which challenges the limited views of female power I inherited as a Pākehā woman raised within Western traditions. This depth of wāhine power, encompassing life, death, and renewal, is what makes pūrākau so fascinating and invites me to rethink female strength and authority.

I am especially curious about wāhine portrayed in pūrākau as powerful, sacred agents of creation, transformation, and continuity. Their roles span cosmological, spiritual, and everyday domains, reflecting a cultural logic where menstruation, sexuality, grief, and birth are not taboo but recognised as sacred parts of life. Wāhine figures embody complexity, strength, contradiction, and wisdom. For example, Hineahuone, the first woman who breathed the breath of life, was formed from Kurawaka, the fertile red clay of Papatūānuku, symbolising menstruation and sacred birth (Pihama, 2020). As Jenkins (1992) notes, Māori women in myth hold a “balance of power,” grounded in deep spiritual and cosmological authority, including the ability to traverse sacred realms and manage key resources (p. 84). This challenges dominant Western traditions where female characters are often confined to narrow archetypes or peripheral roles, with aspects of womanhood diminished or moralised. Consider the female figure in Rumpelstiltskin who is the victim of her father’s boast, is locked away, must marry the king, gives birth to a child, and saves the baby from being taken by Rumpelstiltskin, yet remains a one-dimensional, secondary character. I wonder how my understanding of female identity has been influenced by such tales. Their presence invites me to rethink the cultural stories I have internalised and opens new ways to value women’s roles, bodies, and knowledges.

This deepens my curiosity about mana wāhine by highlighting how pūrākau reveal a fuller and more complex view of Māori women’s identities than Western frameworks often allow. It invites me to question and unlearn dominant narratives that diminish or erase this complexity. Through pūrākau, I see a more holistic and spiritually grounded vision of female power and feminism, one that challenges Western models and inspires both Māori and non-Māori women to rethink their own identity, power, and connection. This ongoing process of relearning fuels my interest in how these stories shape new ways of being.

Key Insights and Quotes

Subtheme 1: Deities and Their Stories

This subtheme examines how Māori cosmology and creation narratives centre mana wāhine as powerful, transformative beings and knowledge holders linked to both physical and spiritual realms (e.g., Papatūānuku, Hine-nui-te-pō). It highlights wāhine’s roles in creation, life cycles, death, and renewal (e.g., Hineahuone and menstrual symbolism), and recognises their agency

in shaping environment and cultural identity (e.g., wāhine ancestors supporting Māui). Additionally, it emphasises female creativity, fertility, leadership, resistance, and the ways wāhine often defy or transcend traditional gender norms (e.g., Wairaka, Rona). The following sections explore these themes with detailed pūrākau and scholarly perspectives.

Subtheme 1 reveals how Papatūānuku embodies foundational themes of connection, nurturing, resilience, and sacredness that are central to Māori women's identity and worldview. Scholars emphasise that all Māori, especially wāhine, share a deep ancestral bond with Papatūānuku through whakapapa, linking them both physically and spiritually to the land. As the source of life and procreation, Papatūānuku holds a central place in Māori cosmology. From her earth, the first human woman, Hineahuone, was formed, embodying nurturing power that connects wāhine to all creation and sustenance. Hutchings (2004) affirms this connection, stating, "Whakapapa identifies Māori women as being one with Papatūānuku" (p. 1). Jenkins (1992) further explains that Papatūānuku "provides the symbolic rationale for the physical, spiritual and psychological attachment of Māori to land, and in particular the attachment and special relationship of woman and land" (p. 31). Papatūānuku's endurance, despite being separated from her husband, Ranginui, symbolises the resilience and maternal strength of wāhine. Jenkins (1992) describes how "Papatuanuku is turned over face downwards and back to the sky so she cannot see Rangi's misery. By this act papa is the symbol of endurance and long-suffering" (p. 85). Smith (2020) highlights her spiritual significance, noting, "It is from Papatuanuku's sacred feminine energy that humankind descends" (p. 22). Together, these perspectives reveal Papatūānuku as a profound symbol of ancestry, life-giving power, enduring strength, and sacred relationality that grounds Māori women's identity and connection to both the physical and spiritual realms.

The first subtheme also explores Papatūānuku's multifaceted role in creation, highlighting her agency, relationships, qualities, and choices within the cyclical phases of the Māori cosmological narrative. Papatūānuku is a central, active wāhine figure whose power and autonomy shape the world's formation. Her relationships with Tangaroa, god of the sea, and Ranginui, the Sky Father, exemplify wāhine strength and influence within key cosmological connections. These interactions demonstrate her creative agency, reinforcing her status as a sacred and dynamic force in Māori cosmology. This insight is supported by several scholars, including an Ngāi Tahu account where "the universe was sung into creation by the atua, going through many stages of creation, from Te Kore [the void] to Te Ao [the world] to Te Maku [the moistness] to Te Pō [the night], where Papatūānuku resided" (Smith, 2020, p. 21). Her deliberate choice to move from

Tangaroa to Ranginui in his absence affirms the mana wāhine embedded in these stories, portraying wāhine as autonomous creators rather than passive figures. Menstruation, linked to Papatūānuku as the mother figure, is also portrayed as a sacred medium connecting wāhine to their atua and the creative process. Tāne's emergence from Te Pō into Te Ao Mārama riding on his mother's menstrual tide symbolises menstruation as a bridge between physical and spiritual realms. As Murphy (2019) states, "The leap was realised by Tāne and enabled through the medium of his mother's menstrual blood" (p. 125). This highlights menstruation's pivotal role in the creation process, connecting the physical world with spiritual realms. Together, these elements portray Papatūānuku as a profound symbol of life's cyclical renewal, wāhine authority, and spiritual creativity within Māori cosmology.

Hineahuone features in Subtheme 1 as one who embodies the sacred origins of wāhine, symbolising the life-giving connection between the whenua, wairua, and humanity, and affirming the mana and creative power of Māori women within cosmological narratives. As the first woman, formed from the body of Papatūānuku, Hineahuone's creation highlights the foundational role of wāhine in the origin and continuation of life. Jahnke (1997) explains, "Tāne was delegated the task of breathing life into the inanimate form to create the ira tangata, the first human, a woman named Hineahuone" (p. 30). This moment illustrates a divine collaboration that places wāhine at the centre of human existence. Simmonds (2019) describes Hineahuone's "awesome sexual power" that comes from deep within her being, reinforcing her vital role in creation and her embodiment of sacred, generative force (p. 158). Her connection to the land symbolises the feminine energy passed down from Papatūānuku, affirming wāhine as bearers of both spiritual and creative authority. This mauri, or life force, is encapsulated in the phrase "THei Mauri Ora," the first breath of life. As Pihama (2020) reflects, "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" (p. 354). This insight affirms Hineahuone's enduring importance, not just as a cosmological figure, but as a symbol of the sacred role of wāhine in sustaining life, passing on knowledges, and embodying vitality across generations.

Featuring in Subtheme 1 is Hine-nui-te-pō, who embodies the transformative power of female energy, expressing both strength from trauma and sacred authority within Māori cosmological narratives. Her story reflects the complex duality of vulnerability and agency, showing how wāhine can be both harmed and empowered. After experiencing violation by Tāne, she asserts her autonomy by exiling herself to Te Pō, transforming into the guardian of the underworld.

Walker (1990, as cited in Jahnke, 1997) explains that her story “serves to establish the immorality of incest... and to demonstrate through her actions the contradiction of being at once powerless and powerful” (p. 31). Though she cannot undo the violation, her transformation into Hine-nui-te-pō grants her “the most powerful position of all, that over the mortality of humankind” (Walker, 1990, as cited in Jahnke, 1997, p. 31). Her authority is further affirmed when she crushes Māui during his attempt to re-enter the womb and gain immortality. This moment, where “the power of women's autonomy” stops him (Walker, 1990, as cited in Jahnke, 1997, p. 31), reasserts the sacredness of the female form as a site of ultimate cosmological power. As Hine-Tītama transformed into Hine-nui-te-pō, she also represents compassion and continuity, described by Diamond (1999) as “a manifestation of the female element in a Māori cosmogony” (p. 305). Her presence bridges the realms of life, death, and wairua, embodying the enduring strength, sacredness, and relational wisdom of wāhine in creation and beyond.

Hineteiwaiwa is revealed as one who embodies the sacred power of female creativity, fertility, and knowledges in Māori cosmology, upholding the continuity of life and the transmission of cultural taonga. As a principal atua wāhine, she is intimately connected to childbirth (te whare tangata) and the fibre arts (Te Whare Pora), symbolising both the physical and spiritual roles of wāhine in the ongoing life of the people. This is powerfully reflected in the description: “She presides over all womanly facets, including the arts of Te Whare Pora, the celebration of te whare tangata and women as guardians of knowledges for future generations... the kura or treasures that originate from her divine being” (Campbell, 2019, p. 21). As guardian of these realms, Hineteiwaiwa affirms the mana of wāhine as central to both creation and cultural preservation, reminding us of the sacredness inherent in her roles.

Subtheme 1 features the role of atua wāhine in empowering Māui's legendary feats, revealing the deep influence of mana wāhine in Māori cosmology and the creation of the world. While colonial retellings often minimise these contributions, traditional narratives emphasise that Māui's accomplishments are made possible through the wisdom and sacred gifts of his female ancestors. One such example is the jawbone given by Muri-ranga-whenua, a powerful atua wāhine, which becomes a source of Māui's strength and authority. This is affirmed in the insight that “the subplot to all of Māui's adventures is his relationship with his tīpuna kuia (female ancestors) who provide Māui with the knowledge to undertake his feats... Muri-ranga-whenua gave her jawbone to Māui... symbolising the importance of women in leadership roles in Māori society” (Ka'ai, 2005, p. 1). These narratives position mana wāhine not as peripheral to heroic

action, but as central to the shaping of the natural and spiritual world.

Subtheme 1 demonstrates that Muriranga-whenua and Mahuika play pivotal roles in Māui's narratives, embodying the transmission of sacred and practical knowledges from powerful female ancestors to future generations. Their contributions affirm the central role of wāhine in preserving and advancing Te Ao Māori. This is especially evident when "Muri-ranga-whenua... rips her jawbone, te kauae mārō, from her lower face and offer[s] this to her mokopuna... providing him with the technology to assist him in his journey for the advancement of te ao Māori. Without this assistance, Māui would have failed" (Ka'ai, 2005, p. 5). The symbolism of te kauae mārō, meaning both a strong jawbone and referring to esoteric (te kauae runga) and practical (te kauae raro) knowledge, reflects the depth of wisdom passed down by wāhine (Ka'ai, 2005, p. 5). These acts reveal how wāhine were revered as knowledge holders and decision-makers, responsible for ensuring cultural continuity and the well-being and prosperity of whānau, hapū and iwi.

Subtheme 1 demonstrates that Muriranga-whenua (an earth-connected female atua) and Mahuika (the atua of fire), both commonly described in pūrākau as Māui's grandmothers or female ancestors, play pivotal roles in Māui's narratives, embodying the transmission of sacred and practical knowledges from powerful female ancestors to future generations. Their contributions affirm the central role of wāhine in preserving and advancing Te Ao Māori. This is especially evident when:

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Māhinaarangi's story exemplifies a key insight in Subtheme 1, highlighting how mana wāhine is expressed through strength, foresight, and deep connection to land and whakapapa. Her journey, undertaken while heavily pregnant to unite two iwi through marriage, symbolises Māori

knowledges and practices around childbirth, mothering, and whenua. As “a navigator and cartographer in her own right [Māhinaarangi] mapped her story, history, language tradition, ceremony, knowledge and therefore herself and her descendants into the land upon which her footsteps fell” (Simmonds, 2019, p. 161). Her journey was both a physical act and a cultural legacy, linking her family’s history and wisdom to the land, ensuring her descendants’ ongoing connection to ancestry and whenua.

An important insight within Subtheme 1 is revealed through Muriwai, sister of Toroa, is a heroine of Whakatāne and the originator of kawa wāhine, a women’s etiquette in her iwi. According to Irwin (1992), her bravery and leadership during a crisis on the Matatua canoe established the right for high-born women in her lineage to speak on the marae. When the canoe was in danger, Muriwai stood up, chanted a karakia, and declared, “Tēnā kia whakatāne ake au i ahau!” (“Now I shall make myself a man!”) (p. 77), saving the crew from destruction. Her actions established kawa wāhine, granting women in her direct line the right to speak on the marae. As Eruera Kawhia Whakatāne Stirling, named in her honour, recounts, this deed is often mistakenly attributed to Wairaka (Irwin, 1992).

Subtheme 1 further reveals the significance of Wairaka, daughter of Toroa, who is said to have played a key role in the arrival of the Mataatua Waka to Aotearoa. This account represents another version of the Matatua waka event. Irwin (1992) also writes that when the waka began drifting down the rising Whakatāne River, Wairaka, faced with the cultural dilemma of women not being allowed to paddle, boldly declared, “Kia Whakatāne au i ahau!” (“I will become man!”) (p. 77), allowing her to save the waka and its contents. Her act of defying gender norms to rescue her people’s possessions led to the naming of Whakatāne and highlighted women’s strength and autonomy within Māori communities. As Fredericks (2012) explains, “We share the story of Wairaka, not to encourage women to become like men, but to highlight how we as women can take back our power and assert ourselves as women within our communities” (p. 77).

The legend of Rona in the Moon is often seen as portraying a woman’s selfishness, but it actually highlights her selflessness. Rona leaves her warm bed in the middle of the night to fetch water for her child, but in frustration at the darkness, she curses the moon. In response, the moon captures her and takes her into the sky to be held there for eternity. This story reflects the societal expectation that women must meet their family’s needs without protest, while also

critiquing the unfair punishment Rona receives for simply asking for light to help her. As Jenkins (1992) points out, "The moral appears to be that women must meet without complaint the needs of her family. Of significance through Rona's capture is that the moon has become another domain of female occupation" (p. 86).

The narrative of Tawhaki, in Subtheme 1, contributes to our understanding by highlighting the vital role of wāhine as custodians of knowledges and guides in Māori cosmology. Tawhaki's journey to reunite with his wife is made possible through the restoration of his grandmother Whaitiri's sight, who, in gratitude, reveals the path to the heavens. This exchange exemplifies how female ancestors hold crucial wisdom and authority, essential for navigating both the physical and spiritual realms. As Jenkins (1992) explains, Tawhaki "restores her vision. In exchange for this good deed, Whaitiri tells him what he wants to know – the path to the heavens. She cautions Tawhaki and the servant that they must be sure to grasp the vine that was anchored into the earth" (p. 87). This story reinforces the mana of wāhine as key knowledge holders and protectors within Māori creation narratives, emphasising their indispensable role in guiding transformative journeys.

Subtheme 1 has the story of Mataora and Niwareka which explains the origins of ta moko and its cultural significance. After Mataora abused his partner Niwareka, she fled to the underworld. Filled with regret, Mataora sought her out and encountered her father, Uetonga, who tattooed Mataora's face. During this painful process, Mataora reconciled with Niwareka, vowing never to harm her again. The story connects ta moko to anti-violence against women, symbolising respect for the mana and tapu of wāhine. As Udy (2021) explains, "Ta moko is therefore inherently intertwined with the principle of anti-violence against women. In this way, every ta moko that is applied, is, from one perspective, a reminder that such abuse is not accepted in Maori society and indeed could be conceptualised as honouring the mana and tapu of wahine tracing back through to Niwareka" (p. 34-5).

The pūrākau of Hinepīpīwai, in Subtheme 1, highlights the importance of prioritising wāhine Kāi Tahu stories, advocating for research that embraces both foresight and the acceptance of the unknown. The stories of wāhine Kāi Tahu reflect their strength and journeys of identity. As Cleaver (2020) notes:

"The collection also includes some really significant stories of wāhine Kāi Tahu who were warriors, swimmers, guides and heroes, including Kaiamio,

Hakitekura and Hinepīwai. These treasures are threaded through my research and support the wāhine Kāi Tahu who have chosen to share their journeys of identity and belonging” (p. 10).

An essential insight of Subtheme 1 is the profound and multifaceted role of wāhine within Māori cosmology, spirituality, and cultural practice. Women are deeply connected to the land, deities, and ancestral knowledges, playing a central role in Māori identity, survival, and the transmission of knowledges. Despite often being marginalised, their importance is clear. As Yates-Smith (2019) emphasises:

“Let us now reflect on the feminine, which was a vital component within Māori cosmology and history. References to atua wāhine (goddesses) in kōrero (stories, history), karakia (incantations), whakapapa (genealogy) and waiata (songs) indicate that female power was built into Māori philosophy, religious ritual and cultural experiences of everyday life” (p. 51).

Subtheme 2: Pūrākau in Research

Subtheme 2 presents pūrākau as a dynamic, foundational knowledge system within Māori epistemology, offering philosophical insights that reflect evolving Māori worldviews. It also highlights pūrākau as a powerful tool for decolonisation, particularly in reclaiming mana wāhine and honouring the leadership and agency of Māori women. The following three insights, supported by key quotes, demonstrate the cultural significance and enduring impact of pūrākau.

An important insight from Subtheme 2 is that pūrākau are a living knowledge system that “contain Māori philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes and worldviews” and “provide a framework of representation” (Lee, 2009, as cited in Hyland, 2018, p. 214–215). Rather than being fixed or singular truths, pūrākau are dynamic narratives that grow across generations, reflecting the vitality and adaptability of Māori ways of knowing and being. As Hyland (2018) further explains, “Understanding the vitality of Māori women begins with recognising wāhine as the source of all creation. Pūrākau are more than mere mythologies for Māori people; they offer critical insights into the driving forces of human actions and relationships” (p. 214–215). These insights affirm that pūrākau uphold and transmit evolving cultural knowledges across time.

Subtheme 2 reveals that pūrākau are a powerful tool for decolonisation and for reclaiming mana wāhine because they challenge colonial distortions of Māori narratives. One way this is achieved is through restoring the rightful prominence of atua wāhine, whose roles were often altered or erased in colonial retellings. As Hyland (2018) explains, “Pūrākau, which had atua wāhine as protagonists, were recast with male genitalia, Christian moralities were inserted, and wāhine matakite (spiritual women) were rendered ‘witchy’ (as per the Weird sisters of Macbeth) or insane or invisible. The retelling of Māori cosmology through translation led to a shift in power in favour of male characters” (p. 220). Mikaere (1994, as cited in Hyland, 2018) argues that when Māori male informants passed these stories to Pākehā male writers who lacked cultural understanding, Māori women “find their mana wāhine destroyed” (p. 220). Pūrākau, when preserved in their original Māori form, restore the full spiritual, political, and creative power of atua wāhine. They assert the leadership, strength, and sacred authority of Māori women, making pūrākau a vital decolonising tool that reclaims Indigenous knowledge systems and honours the mana of wāhine.

Subtheme 2 highlights that mana wāhine pūrākau are a vital source of Māori knowledges, emphasising that the true guardians of these stories are Māori women, particularly mothers and grandmothers. This insight positions pūrākau as a crucial means of reclaiming Māori identity and challenging Western misrepresentations. As Seed-Pihama (2019) explains, although early written records of pūrākau exist, they are not always the most reliable or authoritative sources. Instead, “our mothers and grandmothers, who have maintained these pūrākau in our whānau since time immemorial, are the true keepers of this knowledge” (p. 185). The enduring oral traditions through which pūrākau have been transmitted preserve the richness, complexity, and integrity of Māori worldviews. As living narratives, pūrākau embody cultural values, spiritual insights, and ancestral wisdom, making them foundational to Māori epistemology and identity. Their ongoing transmission affirms the resilience of Māori knowledge systems and emphasises the pivotal role of wāhine in sustaining this vital cultural heritage.

Key Authors for Theme 3

Cleaver and Jenkins contribute to Theme 3 by highlighting Māori women’s central roles in cultural narratives, identity, and spirituality. Cleaver focuses on wāhine Kāi Tahu stories and kaupapa Māori methodologies that empower and reclaim knowledges, while Jenkins reveals

wāhine strength and spiritual authority through pūrākau. Their work deepens understanding of mana wāhine as leadership and knowledge holders, offering valuable insights for educators supporting Indigenous identity and empowerment.

Dr Kerri Cleaver

Cleaver has made a significant contribution to Theme 3, offering nine quotes from her article *Navigating wāhine Kāi Tahu methodology* (2020). She presents three key insights that help readers understand the profound role of Māori women's stories, especially from the Kāi Tahu iwi, in empowering Māori women and shaping their identities. Cleaver also emphasises the importance of kaupapa Māori methodologies, which play a crucial role in reclaiming cultural knowledges and challenging colonial frameworks. Her work connects the empowerment of Māori women to the spiritual teachings and ancestral narratives that guide their lives, highlighting the central role of wāhine in Māori society. Cleaver links her insights to Subtheme 1: Deities and Their Stories, showing how Māori women's narratives are deeply intertwined with decolonisation efforts. She also touches on Subtheme 2: Pūrākau in Research, explaining how pūrākau empowers Māori women in academic spaces. This body of work helps readers better understand how Māori narratives can be used to decolonise both academia and broader society. Cleaver's exploration of the intersection between Māori women's stories, identity, and spirituality provides invaluable guidance for educators. Teachers can use Cleaver's insights to foster a deeper connection to Māori cultural values and spirituality in their classrooms, enriching students' appreciation of Indigenous knowledges and identity.

Dr Kuni Kaa Jenkins

Jenkins (1992) makes a vital contribution to Theme 3 with eight quotes from her work *Reflections on the Status of Māori Women*. In this work, Jenkins explores Māori pūrākau to highlight the significant and multifaceted roles Māori women hold within cosmology and society. Her insights contribute to Subtheme 2 by revealing how these narratives affirm the strength, resilience, and spiritual power of wāhine. Jenkins draws attention to key creation stories, such as Papatūānuku's role as a nurturing mother and symbol of endurance, and the origins of humanity through Hine-ahu-one. She also discusses the complex figure of Hine-nui-te-pō, who embodies both vulnerability and immense power in the life-death cycle. The leadership and

knowledges of women are emphasised in tales involving Māui's grandmother, who provides essential guidance and magical power. Jenkins also examines legends like Rona in the Moon, highlighting societal expectations of women's roles, and the story of Tawhaki and Whaitiri, which illustrates female agency in guiding access to the spiritual realms. Through these pūrākau, Jenkins reveals that Māori women hold psychological and spiritual authority, balancing male physical strength. Teachers can use Jenkins' work to help students appreciate the depth of Māori pūrākau and the central role of wāhine as knowledge holders and leaders within Māori culture.

English Classroom Application

This activity draws on Theme 3, particularly Subtheme 1, which highlights atua wāhine as powerful knowledge holders in pūrākau and emphasises their role in decolonisation. Titled *Atua Wāhine and the Philosophical Power of Pūrākau: Reimagining Female Strength*, the activity supports students to explore the philosophical, relational, and gendered insights of pūrākau through critical engagement with Mana Wāhine theory and Māori cosmology. It highlights how stories of atua wāhine express culturally grounded forms of female strength, spiritual authority, and resistance to colonial gender norms. Students are invited to examine how pūrākau communicate worldviews, values, and gender philosophies that challenge colonial and Western norms. They analyse the epistemological (knowledge-based) significance of atua wāhine, understanding them not as mere mythical figures but as carriers of Māori philosophical thought, relational strength, and autonomous female power. Finally, students reflect on how these narratives contrast with Christian and colonial portrayals of women, opening space for feminist reimaginings. This activity can be adapted to suit students at any level of secondary school.

The activity begins by explaining that pūrākau are not just myths or fairy tales but sources of Māori ways of knowing, cultural practices, and spiritual philosophy. Share and discuss the following quote: *"Pūrākau contain Māori philosophical thought, ways of knowing, and cultural practices that provide an essential framework for representation"* (Lee, 2009, cited in Hyland, 2018).

Discussion points could include:

- What does "philosophical thought" mean in your own words?
- What might "ways of knowing" look like in Māori culture?

- What do you think "framework for representation" means? Why is it important?

Next, invite students to reflect on what stories have shaped their understanding of women's roles, power, and relationships in their culture, religion, or upbringing?

Possible answers could be:

- *Christianity: Eve was blamed, Mary showed spiritual strength.*
- *Fairy tales: Early stories made women passive, modern ones show independence.*
- *Family: Mother or grandmother who led through care and strength.*
- *Pop culture: Characters like Wonder Woman show powerful female leadership.*
- *History/media: I mostly learned about male leaders, but figures like Rosa Parks or Malala changed that.*

Then students choose one atua wāhine from the following list to research, answer the questions, and be ready to share their findings in a discussion or creative project:

- Papatūānuku: Earth Mother, source of life
- Hineahuone: First woman, born from earth
- Hinetītama / Hine-nui-te-pō: Goddess of night and death, symbol of transition
- Hineteiwaiwa: Atua of childbirth and weaving
- Mahuika: Fire keeper, giver of sacred knowledges
- Muri-ranga-whenua: Wise ancestor who empowers Māui
- Māhinaarangi: Ancestor of resilience, navigation, and genealogy
- Niwareka: Embodiment of forgiveness and anti-violence through ta moko
- Rona: Captured by the moon while caring for her family

Inquiry questions could include:

About qualities: What kind of power does this atua wāhine represent? Is her power political, sexual, spiritual, nurturing, intellectual, or transformative? How does she act, resist, or create?

Possible answers: This atua wāhine displays forms of influence including visionary insight, emotional resilience, sacred authority, and strategic empowerment, and uses her presence to inspire change and question dominant narratives.

About cultural knowledges: What values or cultural knowledges are taught through this pūrākau? What do we learn about relationships, responsibility, the body, or the environment?

Possible answers: This pūrākau teaches values of interconnectedness, collective responsibility, respect for the environment, and the sacredness of the body.

About perspectives: What emotions or reflections did her story bring up for you personally? How does her story challenge Western or colonial ideas about women? Does she fit with or resist ideas of women as passive, obedient, or sinful?

Possible answers: The story challenges colonial views by portraying women as powerful, active, and central to creation, rather than passive or subordinate.

About decolonising: Does it make you reflect differently on women's roles in your life or culture? What stories shaped your understanding of womanhood, and what might need unlearning? How is pūrākau a decolonising practice? How does retelling or reclaiming these stories restore mana to wāhine Māori?

Possible answers: Retelling pūrākau restores Māori women's mana by challenging colonial narratives and reclaiming Indigenous gender roles and knowledges.

Reflect using these following quotes. Then students can describe how they have reimagined female strength.

- “Hineahuone...clearly possesses an awesome sexual power... [and] Hinetītama... exercises absolute control over her own destiny” (Mikaere, 2003, in Simmonds, 2019, p. 158).
- “The subplot to all of Māui’s adventures is his relationship with his tīpuna kuia (female ancestors) who provide Māui with the knowledges to undertake his feats. One of his tīpuna kuia, Muri-ranga-whenua, gave her jawbone to Māui... symbolising the importance of women in leadership roles in Māori society” (Ka’ai, 2005, p. 1).
- “References to atua wāhine (goddesses) in kōrero (stories, history), karakia (incantations), whakapapa (genealogy) and waiata (songs) indicate that female power was built into Māori philosophy, religious ritual and cultural experiences of everyday life” (Yates-Smith, 2019, p. 51).

Possible answers: Female strength includes autonomy, leadership, and spiritual influence; Māori women are shown as powerful forces shaping the universe and guiding others through ancestral wisdom; and their authority is deeply rooted in Māori culture, challenging Western ideas of women as passive or limited.

Preparation, Challenges, and Ethics for Teachers

Teachers should prepare by developing a strong understanding of key Māori cosmological figures, pūrākau, and the featured quotes, alongside familiarising themselves with Mana Wahine theory. These knowledges equip them to facilitate respectful, informed discussions that affirm the mana of wāhine Māori. As the activity draws directly from peer-reviewed Māori scholarship, it offers a trustworthy and culturally grounded foundation for teaching.

Challenges may arise from students' unfamiliarity with Māori concepts such as creation, death, and spiritual power, or from difficulty reconciling these ideas with Western worldviews. Teachers must ensure discussions are culturally sensitive, age-appropriate, and foster a safe, inclusive space where students feel supported to engage with emotionally significant themes such as whakapapa and colonisation.

Ethically, this activity should not stand alone or become tokenistic, but instead form part of an ongoing commitment to honouring mātauranga Māori, centring Indigenous perspectives, and advancing decolonising pedagogy. Teachers are encouraged to support critical reflection while navigating diverse classroom perspectives with care and respect.

Chapter 4: Reflections and Transformations

Reshaping Understandings of Mana Wāhine

Engaging with the concept of mana wāhine has reshaped my thinking, challenging my Pākehā perspective and deepening my understanding of Māori worldviews. This research has shown me that mana wāhine is more than the surface-level definition of ‘strong women’, but an expansive, evolving, and vibrant concept that embodies not only the power and strength of Māori women but also their deep connections to whenua, wairua and tikanga. This research has highlighted how mana wāhine functions as a living framework, an ideology, a methodology, and a metaphor that shapes narratives, knowledges, leadership, resilience, and well-being. For me now, mana wāhine reveals the expertise, heart, and agency of Māori women in all aspects of life, strengthening both themselves and their communities.

This research has reshaped my understanding of mana wāhine as a vibrant, holistic force that extends beyond cultural concepts to actively challenge colonial structures across many areas of Māori life. Mana wāhine is a multidisciplinary framework that reflects the entirety of te ao Māori and influences every sector where wāhine Māori participate. From governance (Toi, 2019) and artistry (Campbell, 2019) to intimate relationships with Papatūānuku (Sykes, 2015), mana wāhine asserts a strong presence that disrupts harmful colonial narratives and supports the ongoing revitalisation of Māori identities and knowledges. More than a fixed concept, mana wāhine is a living practice deeply rooted in relationships with whenua, whakapapa, and whānau, embodying resilience and adaptability that empower Māori women to resist and transform both traditional and contemporary contexts. Understanding mana wāhine as a decolonising force affirms that Māori women have a crucial role in shaping Māori futures and reclaiming Indigenous sovereignty.

From a Pākehā perspective, I have come to see that mana wāhine offers a richer and more expansive framework than any Western feminist theory. Where Western feminism often isolates issues of gender and identity, mana wāhine weaves together the spiritual, cultural, genealogical, and political dimensions of being. It encompasses not only resistance to colonisation but also the assertion of Māori women’s mana in connection to whakapapa and whenua. Western

models lack this holistic, relational approach, making mana wāhine a profoundly more integrated and empowering philosophy for understanding identity, power, and place.

Engaging with mana wāhine has profoundly shifted my thinking, revealing the need for ongoing reflexivity and a commitment to collective well-being over individual privilege. As Murphy (2017) highlights, Māori feminist movements focus on reclaiming ancestral authority rather than replicating Western ideals. This distinction affirms that allyship must be grounded in Māori ways of knowing, not in adapting Indigenous knowledges to fit Western frameworks. For me, this research challenges not only my intellectual understanding but also my actions in solidarity and allyship with Māori women's aspirations, encouraging me to resist colonial structures and dismantle colonial legacies. Mana wāhine offers a powerful vision that guides me toward more just, respectful, and reciprocal ways of being and teaching.

Reflections on Pākehā Identity

Engaging with mana wāhine as both a conceptual and lived framework has led me to reflect deeply on my identity as a Pākehā woman researcher in Aotearoa New Zealand. Being Pākehā means inheriting privilege embedded within colonial systems. As Memmi (2013) explains, colonisers benefit from oppression but often feel guilt and discomfort recognising their role. This colonial guilt resonates with my unease in acknowledging power structures that advantage me. However, Simmonds (2011) urges centring Māori women's experiences to challenge mainstream narratives, requiring me to set aside my Pākehā reactions and act as an ally. This means moving beyond personal discomfort to embrace an ethical responsibility demanding accountability, humility, and active listening to Māori voices. If I am to support the reclamation of Māori feminism, and promote wāhine leadership and strength suppressed by colonisation as Murphy (2017) advocates, then, as a Pākehā, my allyship requires me to commit to resisting the colonial systems that continue to oppress Māori women. Rather than letting colonial guilt paralyse me, the challenge is to channel feelings into transformative allyship through ongoing reflection, challenging my positionality, and supporting mana wāhine leadership and self-determination.

Learning about the connectivity at the heart of mana wāhine and te ao Māori worldview has made me reflect critically on my own Pākehā sense of connection to land, ancestors, and

identity. I think the strength of relationships that underpin Māori understandings of self, through deep ties to whenua, whānau, and wairua, offer something profoundly grounding. In contrast, I feel uncertain about my own links to my European ancestral lands, and I struggle to name any meaningful spiritual or cultural connections to them. Ka'ai (2005) explains that Māori identity is formed through an interconnected worldview that weaves together people, land, and spirit. I think this collective orientation contrasts sharply with the Western worldview I was raised within, which centres individualism, self-sufficiency, and separation. I've come to see how this individualism can create a fragmented sense of identity where the self is positioned apart from community, ancestry, and environment. Memmi (2013) writes about how colonisers often feel alienated, cut off from their ancestral homelands yet unable to truly belong to the land they now occupy. I think this speaks to the dislocation I sometimes feel. As a Pākehā born in Aotearoa but descended from European settlers, I live in a land that is home but not mine in the same way. I lack the inherited belonging and cosmological relationship to Aotearoa that Māori embody. This absence leaves a profound sense of disconnection I have yet to fully reconcile. I sometimes find myself yearning for the strength and groundedness that mana wāhine draw from their worldview, even while acknowledging the deep disruptions colonisation has caused. It saddens me that, while I seek connection, this connection has been severed for Māori through historical and ongoing processes. Yet, mana wāhine offers a powerful model of identity that reshapes how I see myself, the land, and history.

Engaging deeply with mana wāhine has transformed how I see Māori women. While I have long recognised their mana, I now understand wāhine as powerful, living embodiments of cultural resistance, ancestral knowledges, and transformative resilience. From my experience, I witness wāhine as knowledge holders and community leaders rooted in whakapapa and values that prioritise whānau and collective wellbeing. Through deeper engagement, I have come to understand many Māori women as active agents of decolonisation, working to undo and prevent ongoing impacts of colonisation. It puzzles me why broader society so often diminishes the profound power of mana wāhine knowledge and how anyone could undermine such vital forces.

As a Pākehā woman, I am moved by the immense wisdom, strength, and contribution of wāhine Māori. The research literature makes clear what I have seen in life: that many wāhine are powerful leaders, cultural protectors, and everyday architects of wellbeing. Despite the ongoing weight of colonisation, they revitalise traditions, uphold whakapapa, and lead with integrity across whānau, health, education and justice. Mikaere (2019) reminds us that colonisation tries

to dismantle this strength, yet wāhine persist through lived leadership. As Murphy (2017) shows, leaders like Professor Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku and Dame Whina Cooper redefined feminism to centre Māori women's needs. Across sectors, wāhine reclaim autonomy through birth and hauora (Gabel, 2019; Simmonds, 2014), challenge colonial gender norms (Pihama, 2020), and uphold whakapapa as a living act of resistance (Simmonds, 2019). More than resistance, they carry the future through language, arts, and storytelling; lifelines of identity and survival (Rarere, 2022; Brown, 2011) that counter colonial amnesia with sovereignty and vision (Ka'ai, 2005; Seed-Pihama, 2019). The wāhine I know, and those in this literature, are role models whose everyday leadership and deeper roles in pūrākau reflect ancestral knowledge passed down from atua wāhine. As Yates-Smith (2019) explains, these cosmological and relational roles guide collective wellbeing through values of care, respect, and connection. Though the strength of wāhine Māori is often overlooked in dominant narratives, their leadership continues to sustain whānau, hapū and iwi. I see the fatigue and resistance they face, yet I am continually humbled by their brilliance and resilience. As a mother and grandmother, I feel the weight of pushing for change grounded in my responsibility to future generations; their example strengthens and sustains my commitment. My role is not simply to admire mana wāhine, but to name their excellence, challenge the systems that marginalise them, and walk in solidarity toward a more just future.

Ultimately, learning from mana wāhine calls me to action beyond intellectual engagement. Murphy (2017) stresses that solidarity means standing with Māori women, not over them. Sykes (2019) emphasises that respecting Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a constitutional obligation for Pākehā to uphold Māori sovereignty and tino rangatiratanga, including the often-overlooked rights of Māori women. As a Pākehā, I am committed to upholding those principles in how I live and act. This responsibility aligns with international frameworks such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), which affirms Indigenous self-determination and governance (Sykes, 2019). As an ally, I must listen deeply, act ethically and work to dismantle colonial systems with humility, relational accountability and a determined commitment to collective transformation grounded in these principles.

Ethical Responsibility with Mana Wāhine

Anyone engaging with mana wāhine knowledges carries an ethical responsibility to do so with

humility, cultural responsiveness, and accountability. Mana wāhine is not a static body of information to be extracted; it is a living, relational, and intergenerational knowledge system grounded in whakapapa and mātauranga Māori. As Te Awekotuku's (1991a, as cited in Palmer & Masters, 2010, p. 334) values of aroha ki te tangata (respect for people), manaaki ki te tangata (generosity towards people), and kia tupato (caution) remind us, respectful engagement requires care, reciprocity, and restraint. Waitere and Johnston (2009) emphasise that reflexivity is essential for avoiding the reproduction of colonial hierarchies and for recognising how one's own worldview may distort or appropriate Indigenous knowledges. For Pākehā, this means acknowledging the limits of access to mana wāhine, being led by wāhine Māori themselves, and seeking feedback from those who hold and embody these knowledges. Ethical users must understand that mana wāhine cannot be separated from the lived realities of Māori women, and it must be upheld through respectful relationships, cultural protocols, and an ongoing commitment to decolonisation.

For educators, ethical engagement with mana wāhine knowledges requires actively challenging colonial narratives embedded in curriculum and pedagogy and ensuring that Māori women's identities, leadership, and resilience are authentically reflected in the classroom. Simmonds (2014) describes mana wāhine as a living practice through which Māori women assert strength and agency despite enduring colonial pressures. This highlights the need for teaching to reflect not only historical struggle but ongoing presence and resistance. Ka'ai (2005) calls for teaching that connects to whenua and centres Māori worldviews, while Wood (2008) and Toi (2019) show how Māori women's writing and art express complex realities of gender, power, and identity. Classroom content must move beyond tokenism by foregrounding Indigenous voices and resisting Eurocentric norms. This also involves how knowledges are taught: through relational, inclusive, and culturally grounded pedagogy shaped by Māori values and practices such as kanohi kitea (face-to-face interaction) (Smith, 1999, as cited in Heke, 2023, p. 4). Educators must commit to lifelong learning, seek guidance from Māori experts and whānau, and remain accountable for the impacts of their teaching. Upholding mana wāhine in education is not simply about inclusion. It is about transformation, requiring structural change, professional courage, and sustained relationships that affirm Māori sovereignty and support Indigenous futures.

Application and Considerations for the Review

The scope and potential audience of this review have evolved beyond my initial expectations. I initially envisioned Pākehā English teachers as the primary audience. I anticipated connecting aspects of literature, such as plot, themes, setting, and style, with NCEA's Mana Ōrite mō te Mātauranga Māori. While themes such as The Impact of Colonisation, Patriarchy, Gender, and Feminism emerged, broader themes also surfaced, including Decolonising frameworks and approaches for wāhine empowerment and Legislation and frameworks affecting wāhine. This expanded focus makes the review relevant to a diverse group of users beyond English educators. It serves anyone interested in mana wāhine knowledges, providing a summary of academic discourse spanning decades, key themes, direct quotes, and references to leading scholars. Potential users include students seeking foundational knowledges, lecturers integrating mana wāhine perspectives into curricula, researchers exploring thematic overviews, and community educators or activists supporting kaupapa related to women's empowerment and cultural identity. Moreover, the review's detailed thematic organisation, supported by extensive appendices and methodological transparency, can assist educators and researchers in navigating complex topics and sourcing relevant resources efficiently. This makes the review not only an academic tool but also a practical guide for implementing mana wāhine-informed pedagogy and research.

Ultimately, the review aims to facilitate respectful engagement with mana wāhine scholarship and inspire transformative conversations. By making these knowledges more accessible, I hope to contribute to broader conversations on gender, culture, and empowerment in academic and community contexts. I also envision it as a resource that fosters respectful engagement and critical reflection, encouraging readers to approach mana wāhine knowledges with humility and openness, while serving as a tool to inspire meaningful societal change.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Mana Wāhine as Living Knowledges and a Decolonising Force

This literature review affirms the power, knowledges, and lived experiences of mana wāhine, which is consistently represented as a dynamic, living force grounded in whakapapa, wairua, tikanga, and te ao Māori. This deep cultural grounding enables mana wāhine to resist colonisation and erasure, remaining present in the bodies, voices, lands, and narratives of Māori women; a vital source of strength, hope, and guidance for future generations.

This literature review demonstrates that mana wāhine knowledges are woven throughout numerous cultural, social, spiritual, and political contexts, reflecting the authentic experiences of wāhine Māori within whānau, hapū, iwi, and wider communities. These multidimensional mana wāhine knowledges are expressed through cultural practices, creative and ceremonial expression, community leadership, ancestral knowledges and guidance, land-based relationships, and everyday acts of care and resistance. Continuously shaped by wāhine Māori as they navigate and challenge colonial and patriarchal systems, mana wāhine serves as a vital source of identity, resilience, and empowerment rooted in lived experience and ancestral connections, central to ongoing movements for Māori self-determination and social justice.

This review highlights the strength of Kaupapa Māori, Mana Wāhine, and decolonising theories as complementary methodologies that centre Māori worldviews, values, and self-determination. Kaupapa Māori reinforces Indigenous sovereignty and collective Māori perspectives, while Mana Wāhine draws from the ancestral and lived experiences of wāhine Māori, offering tools that prioritise their voices and actively challenge colonial frameworks. Together, these methodologies form a powerful decolonising lens. Throughout this review, these frameworks are shown to frequently incorporate qualitative methods such as narrative inquiry and autoethnography, which uphold relational ethics and resist reductionist Western paradigms. The findings affirm the essential role these approaches play in advancing Māori women's knowledges, leadership, and tino rangatiratanga. For non-Māori researchers engaging with this literature, the review emphasises the necessity of ongoing reflexivity, a commitment to their own

learning, and respectful support for mana wāhine leadership in knowledges and practice.

In this literature review, mana wāhine knowledges are presented not as static content but as a living, embodied system rooted in Māori ways of knowing, being, and doing. Engaging with these themes requires active participation and reflection to grasp their cultural, historical, and theoretical depth. Teaching mana wāhine with integrity also calls for ongoing active learning, reflexivity, and culturally sustaining practices that honour Māori values. Focusing on Themes one, two, and three helps readers appreciate the nuanced meanings of mana wāhine, recognising it as a knowledge system existing on its own terms, not confined by colonial frameworks. Across all fourteen themes, mana wāhine emerges as both a celebration of Māori women's strength and a powerful critique of colonialism. The literature shows mana wāhine as a living, decolonising force expressed intellectually, spiritually, and culturally, challenging colonial narratives and supporting Indigenous sovereignty. Appendices 3 and 4 provide authentic quotes and summaries that preserve cultural integrity and aid educators in creating respectful, transformative learning environments. While mana wāhine scholarship is rich, it is also complex, with interpretations varying across iwi and generations. This review emphasises these complexities to encourage ongoing engagement with mana wāhine as a dynamic and evolving source of Indigenous knowledges and power.

Teaching mana wāhine knowledges in mainstream English classrooms creates meaningful opportunities for all learners to engage with rich, culturally responsive content. This context highlights the particular responsibility of Pākehā teachers to move beyond Western teaching approaches and adopt Māori-centred, decolonising pedagogies grounded in whanaungatanga and equity. Importantly, teaching mana wāhine is not just about including Māori texts; it requires a deep understanding of Māori women's lived realities, ways of knowing, and ongoing resistance to colonial narratives. Educators must be prepared to thoughtfully navigate complex themes such as colonisation, gender, power, and identity. Doing so requires respectful, informed engagement and a commitment to ethical practice. Achieving this calls for sustained professional learning and critical reflection on positionality, which together build the cultural confidence necessary to teach mana wāhine content authentically and with care.

This review highlights the significant contributions of leading mana wāhine scholars across diverse fields, all dedicated to Māori sovereignty, decolonisation, and the empowerment of wāhine. These scholars are not only educators and researchers but also cultural and political

leaders, amplifying the voices, hopes, and challenges of Māori women. Their work is deeply rooted in Māori culture, using concepts that do not easily translate into English or Western frameworks. Attempting to translate these concepts risks oversimplifying or distorting their meaning. To honour the full depth and nuance of mana wāhine, scholarship must remain culturally grounded and responsive. Consequently, non-Māori scholars and teachers must engage with mana wāhine with respect, openness, and a commitment to ongoing learning.

As a Pākehā researcher, engaging with mana wāhine knowledges is both a privilege and a transformative responsibility. It calls for humility, respect, and an ongoing commitment to critical self-reflection. Genuine engagement involves sitting with discomfort, examining one's own position, and challenging the biases and privileges that come with being Pākehā in the context of education. This process deepens understanding and fosters the humility necessary to support authentic and respectful relationships with Māori knowledges and communities. This review has also shown me, as a Pākehā researcher, that when Pākehā educators approach mana wāhine and wider Māori knowledges as living worldviews to learn from, rather than content to include, they contribute to learning environments grounded in respect, shaped by equity, and enriched by the depth and vitality of Māori perspectives.

This review acknowledges its limitations, particularly given my position as a Pākehā researcher shaped by a colonised education and worldview. My understanding is inevitably influenced by Western ways of knowing, compartmentalised thinking, and a lack of fluency in te reo Māori. As a result, this review relies solely on English-language, digitally available academic sources and does not include te reo Māori texts, oral histories, or other expressions of Māori voices that are central to mana wāhine knowledges. The articles reviewed cover only the past 35 years and mostly reflect written knowledges, rather than relational, embodied, or ancestral forms of transmission. There are also gaps in the literature, including the limited presence of rangatahi wāhine Māori perspectives, a lack of mana wāhine knowledges applied in fields such as law, media, policy, and digital spaces, and no cross-Indigenous comparisons with communities outside Aotearoa New Zealand, despite the potential for valuable insights from Indigenous peoples internationally and Māori scholars based abroad. It would be valuable to see how future Pākehā research navigates the challenge of engaging with Māori knowledges, which is deeply holistic and relational, within Western thinking that often relies on categorisation and fragmentation. Exploring different ways to address this challenge, and what Pākehā learn about themselves and Māori worldviews in the process, would be insightful and important.

As Aotearoa New Zealand moves forward, the ongoing vitality of mana wāhine knowledges is essential not only for the empowerment of Māori women but for collective healing and transformation. By centering these living traditions and voices, future generations of Māori can carry forward the strength, resilience, and wisdom needed to support meaningful social justice and cultural renewal.

Contributions to the Field

This literature review enriches mana wāhine scholarship by synthesising a broad spectrum of academic work centred on Māori women's knowledges, leadership, and lived experiences. It affirms that mana wāhine is not merely a gender or cultural perspective but represents a unique Māori worldview deeply rooted in whakapapa, wairua, tikanga, and ongoing resistance to colonial and patriarchal systems.

By examining key themes and subthemes, the review reveals that mana wāhine encompasses both a profound collection of lived experiences shaped by enduring values and beliefs and a robust academic and political framework. It is also a living movement that sustains cultural practices, spiritual insights, and knowledge transmission across generations, playing a central role in decolonising and revitalising Māori cultural traditions and identity.

A core emphasis of this review is on relationality connecting wāhine Māori to their ancestors, the land, the spiritual realm, and future generations, positioning mana wāhine as a holistic, living knowledge system. The review also highlights the influential contributions of leading mana wāhine scholars across diverse fields such as education, law, health, and the arts whose research actively supports decolonisation, cultural renewal, and Māori self-determination. By weaving together this extensive body of work, the review offers valuable and accessible resources for teachers, researchers, and communities aiming to understand, support, and strengthen mana wāhine within schools, universities, and wider contexts. These are Appendices 3 and 4, which provide detailed thematic summaries, authentic quotes, and curated references enabling deeper exploration of the breadth and depth of mana wāhine knowledges, key authors, and topics considered vital by mana wāhine scholars.

Future Research Directions

Future research in education that focuses on Māori and mana wāhine would benefit from greater involvement by Pākehā researchers who are committed to learning respectfully from Māori knowledges. These researchers should engage in honest, first-person reflections that show how they navigate complex relationships, address power imbalances and tokenism, and confront their own Western worldviews and positionalities. This kind of research can serve as a guide for other Pākehā seeking to become strong allies. In the field of education, it would also be valuable to explore and document models of successful Māori–Pākehā collaboration. These examples could provide practical frameworks for future partnerships and help ensure that research is grounded in respect, mutual learning, and shared purpose. Embedding Kaupapa Māori methodologies and tikanga will be essential to ensure that future research remains ethical, culturally grounded, and led by Māori authority.

Another important direction is research focused on rangatahi wāhine Māori. Their experiences and expressions of mana wāhine today are vital to understanding how these knowledges lives across generations. Using qualitative or mixed methods to centre their voices will help keep mana wāhine scholarship vibrant, relevant, and future-focused. Research could also explore how mana wāhine is expressed across a wider range of sectors, including law, media, policy, health, and digital spaces. Understanding how mana wāhine supports Māori women's authority and wellbeing in these areas can help drive broader social and systemic change. There is also a need for more creative, cross-cultural, and innovative research approaches that reflect the dynamic and evolving nature of mana wāhine. Connecting with other Indigenous communities could enrich this work and help build global networks of Indigenous feminist scholarship.

Finally, future research should continue to reflect critically on the ethical risks involved in engaging with mana wāhine as a Pākehā. Misrepresentation, oversimplification, or appropriation are real dangers, and researchers must remain accountable to Māori communities. By centring Māori leadership, listening with care, and building trust, future research can support positive, lasting change.

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<https://doi.org/10.20507/MAIJournal.2022.11.1.6>
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- Wilson, S. (2008). *Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods*. Fernwood Publishing.
- Wood, B. (2007). Mana wāhine and ecocriticism in some post-80s writing by Māori women. *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, 14(1), 107–124.
- Wood, B. (2008). Freedom and responsibility: Narrating Māori women's lives in Patricia Grace's *Cousins* (1992). *Hecate*, 34(1), 72–88.
- Yates-Smith, A. (2019). Reclaiming the ancient feminine in Māori society: Kei wareware i a tātou te ūkaipō! In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1999–2019* (Vol. II, pp. 50–59). Te Kotahi Research Institute.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Distribution of Articles by Year (1988 – 2023)

Year	Articles
1988	4
1992	5
1993	1
1994	2
1996	1
1999	1
2001	1
2002	1
2004	1
2007	1
2008	1
2009	3
2011	2
2012	2
2014	1
2015	3

2016	6
2017	2
2018	2
2019	6
2020	5
2021	1
2022	7
2023	3

Appendix 2: Thematic Framework – Themes and Subthemes

Theme	Subthemes
Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine	- The Difficulties of Translating Mana Wāhine Concepts into English - Nuances in the Cultural Meanings of ‘Mana’ and ‘Wāhine’ - Epistemological Foundational Definitions of Mana Wāhine
Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research	- Concepts of Te Ao Māori: Language, Tradition, and Spirituality - Kaupapa Māori Methodologies - Mana Wāhine Theoretical Framework - Colonising and Decolonising
Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives/Pūrākau	- Deities and Their Stories - Pūrākau in Research

Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership	- Prominent Wāhine Leaders and Their Accomplishments Across Various Fields - Contemporary Wāhine and Māori Leadership Attributes, Styles, and Philosophies - Challenges for Wāhine in Leadership
Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori	- Wāhine Compositions: Storytelling, Oral Traditions, Pūrākau, Whakatauki, Ihirangaranga, Autoethnography, Korikori Kōrero, Karanga, and Waiata - Linguistic and Cultural Identity in Te Reo Māori - Wāhine Voices of Advocacy and Activism - The Silencing of Wāhine
Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge	- Wāhine Perspectives on Whānau within Māori Involvement - Wāhine Perspectives on Māori Spaces, Places, and Spirituality - Wāhine Cultural and Creative Practices and Knowledge Transmission within Māori Contexts - Wāhine Identity, Self-Determination, Resistance, and Reclaiming within Māori and Pākehā Contexts - Wāhine Connection to the Land and Kaitiakitanga - Wāhine Perspectives on Intersectional Oppression within Māori Contexts
Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles	- Historical Equality and Complementary Roles in Māori Society - Mythological and Divine Roles - Challenges and Resistance Arising from Inequities, Colonisation, and Cultural Oppression - Contemporary Identity and Perspective
Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality	- General Knowledge: Wāhine Body Knowledges and Cultural Practices - Cultural and Spiritual Concepts of Menstruation, Reproduction, Maternity, and Abortion - Wāhine Bodies' Connection to Pūrākau

	- Colonial Impact on Wāhine Bodies
Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment	- Mana Wāhine and Kaupapa Māori as Decolonising Approaches - Decolonising by Critiquing and Challenging Misrepresentation - Decolonising Approaches for Naming - Decolonising Approaches for Wāhine Stories and Research - Decolonising Approaches for Health and Maternity - Decolonising Approaches for Creative Practices
Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation	- Colonial Worldview and Governance - Colonial Impact on Education and Knowledge Systems - Colonial Impact on Gender Dynamics and Social Constructs - Colonial Disruption of Cultural and Spiritual Identity - Colonial Impact on Health and Well-being
Theme 11: Patriarchy	- Colonial Patriarchal Influence on Wāhine - Internalisation of Patriarchy by Māori Men and Impact on Wāhine - Mana Wāhine Resistance and Reclamation
Theme 12: Gender	- Gender in Tikanga - Fluidity of Cultural Gender - Gender-Based Oppression Under Colonial Rule - Gender Patterns in Gambling and Alcohol Consumption
Theme 13: Feminism	- The Necessity of Developing Māori Feminist Discourses - Critiquing Western Feminism's Inadequacy in Addressing Māori Feminist Perspectives - Tikanga Māori Feminist Methodologies Challenge Western Hegemonic Discourses
Theme 14: Legislation and	- Dated Legislation and Its Impacts - Colonial Frameworks Shaping Reality and their Impacts - Māori Worldviews, Frameworks and Their Impact

Frameworks Affecting Wāhine	
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Appendix 3: Referenced Article Summaries and Quote Allocation

Analysis of the Literature			
Article number / Database or platform	Literature Reference / Summary:	Context ----- Country of Origin	Theme identified in the article and number of quotes gathered
1 The University of Waikato Research Commons	<u>Toi, S. M. (2019). <i>A Mana Wahine inquiry into indigenous governance</i> (Thesis, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)). The University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. https://hdl.handle.net/10289/13080</u>	Tribal governance, leadership, decolonisation, comparing Indigenous women ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (2) Theme 4: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (3) Theme 11: Patriarchy (1)
	Summary: This thesis examines how Indigenous women (Māori, First Nations, Aboriginal, Native American) are marginalised in tribal governance and leadership structures, and explores what historical and modern factors influence this marginalisation. Experiences are analysed which highlight the need for decolonising and recognising Indigenous women's role in leadership.		
2 The University of Waikato Research Commons	<u>Simmonds, N. B. (2014). <i>Tū te turuturu nō Hine-te-iwaiwa: Mana wāhine geographies of birth in Aotearoa New Zealand</i> (Doctoral thesis, University of Waikato). https://hdl.handle.net/10289/8821</u>	Medicine, maternity, childbirth, patriarchy, colonialism ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (12) Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (19) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (4)
	Summary: This thesis examines the embodied, spiritual and spatial experiences of maternity for Māori women. It reveals how colonial and patriarchal discourses are embedded and		

	embodied in the spaces of childbirth in Aotearoa New Zealand.		
3 The University of Waikato Research Commons	<u>Simmonds, N. B. (2009). <i>Mana wāhine geographies: Spiritual, spatial and embodied understandings of Papatūānuku</i> (Master's thesis, The University of Waikato). https://hdl.handle.net/10289/2798</u> Summary: This thesis is a theoretical and empirical exploration of Māori women's knowledges and understandings of Papatūānuku in contemporary Aotearoa. The primary focus of this research is on the complexities, connections, and contradictions of Māori women's embodied relationships with the spaces of Papatūānuku - spaces that are simultaneously material, discursive, symbolic, and spiritual.	Research, Māori women's knowledges, pūrākau ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (8) Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (7) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (2) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (5) Theme 8: W Bodies and Sexuality (5) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (1) Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation (3) Theme 11: Patriarchy (1) Theme 13: Feminism (7)
4 The University of Waikato Research Commons	<u>Campbell, D. (2019). <i>Ngā kura a Hineteiwaiwa: The embodiment of mana wāhine in Māori fibre arts</i> (Doctoral thesis, The University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand). https://hdl.handle.net/10289/12583</u> Summary: The key focus of this thesis is to provide theoretical discussion of the raranga and whatu practices that are the creative component of this doctoral research. The theories that inform the analysis are Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wahine both of which, like raranga, are organic to this place, Aotearoa , and have grown as descendants of Papatūānuku and Ranginui.	Weaving, research, pūrākau ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (3) Theme 2: Themes Shaping Wāhine Research (14) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (7) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (15) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (1) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (5) Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation (2) Theme 11: Patriarchy (2) Theme 12: Gender (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (4)
5 ProQuest	<u>Erai, M. (2011). Civilizing images: The visual interpellation of Māori women. <i>Amerasia Journal</i>, 37(3), 76–89. https://doi.org/10.17953/amer.37.3.8030430544014k33</u>	Art, colonial paintings, racism ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (5)

	Summary: This article unpacks colonial paintings of Maori women, especially Girl of New Zealand (1793) revealing more about the colonial's interpretation of Maori women as a 'classified specimen' and a racialised savage.		
6 Taylor & Francis Online	<u>Stewart, G. (2019).</u> Mana wāhine and wasday at the pā. <i>Educational Philosophy and Theory</i>, 51(7), 684–692. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2017.1339339 Summary: Examining the controversy about Ans Westra's 1964 picture book - "Wasday at the Pā" created for New Zealand's state education system. Using mana wāhine theory, this article explores whether this book should have been removed from schools or not.	Art, publication, education ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (2); Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (4); Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (3); Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (4); Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (1);
7 Taylor & Francis Online	<u>Ellis, N. (2022).</u> Teaching mana wāhine in art history: He whakaaro noa iho/some thoughts. <i>Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art</i>, 22(2), 187–192. https://doi.org/10.1080/14434318.2022.2143759 Summary: The short article discusses the influence of a Maori worldview perspective on the University of Auckland history course 'Gender, Ethnicity, and Visual Culture,' and the importance of expanding content and innovative teaching approaches to enhance learning experiences.	Art, gender, teaching ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (1) Theme 12: Gender (1)
8 Taylor & Francis Online	<u>Pihama, L. (2020).</u> Mana wāhine: Decolonising gender in Aotearoa. <i>Australian Feminist Studies</i>, 35(106), 351–365. https://doi.org/10.1080/08164649.2020.1902270 Summary: Mana wāhine theory is significant when decolonising gender relationships in Aotearoa. For Māori women across generations, mana wāhine theory (grounded and informed by Māori language, practices, protocol and knowledge forms) addresses wāhine challenges, and reclaims, reaffirms and restores wāhine positions and dignity.	Research, mana wāhine theory, decolonisation, challenges ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (10) Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (2) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (3) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (3) Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation (4) Theme 11: Patriarchy 1() Theme 12: Gender (2)

9 Proquest Central	<u>Simmonds, N. (2011).</u> Mana wahine : decolonising politics. <i>Women's Studies Journal</i>, 25(2), 11–25. Summary: An exploration of mana wāhine from a feminist perspective that examines the intersection of Māori and female identities. Emphasis on the scarcity of academic work on Māori women's experiences and the need for challenging dominant narratives with mana wāhine epistemological frameworks.	Feminism, identity, Western academia, challenge dominant narratives ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (7) Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (3) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 8: Wahine Bodies and Sexuality (3) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (1) Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation (6) Theme 12: Gender (1) Theme 13: Feminism (6) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine 5)
10 Gale Academic OneFile	<u>Cleaver, K. (2020).</u> Navigating wāhine Kāi Tahu methodology. <i>Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work</i>, 32(3), 5–16. https://doi.org/10.11157/anzswj-vol32iss3id765 Summary: Indigenous research has been shut out of Western academia but there is a space for wāhine Māori. The author explains how she navigated academic in the role using wāhine Ka i Tahu (iwi) methodology that incorporates traditional stories into an Indigenous ethnographic framework.	Research, methodology, stories, Western academia ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (1) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (9) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (2) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (2) Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation (1)
11 Te Kaharoa (Open-access journal platform)	<u>Sheehan, M. (2016).</u> Mana wahine : Māori women in music. <i>Te Kaharoa the e-Journal of Indigenous Pacific Issues</i>, 9(2), 76–90. Summary: This article explores the pioneers of Māori popular and political music, Moana Maniapoto and Hinewehi Mohi, and celebrates them for their lasting contribution and impact on the revitalisation of te reo Māori and mātaranga Māori.	Music, language, culture ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (2)
12 ProQuest Central	<u>Pond, T. (2016).</u> He mana, he wahine: Late at the museum. <i>Women's Studies Journal</i>, 30(2), 70–73.	Dances, culture, rights, patriarchy, feminism, colonisation	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (3); Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (2); Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (2);

	Summary: "He mana, he wahine" was an 2016 event at the Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum. The featured dances highlighted the connection between modern and traditional cultural and social practices as well as the role of colonisation, patriarchy, and feminism and women's rights.	----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 11: Patriarchy (2); Theme 12: Gender (2); Theme 13: Feminism (1);
13 SAGE Journals	<u>Tutone, Fuimaono-Asafo, A., Wilson, A., Harwood, M., Love, R., & Rahiri, J.-L. (2023).</u> The surgical sisterhood: The experiences of wāhine Māori and Pasifika aspiring surgeons. <i>Qualitative Health Research</i>, 33(1–2), 106–116.. https://doi.org/10.1177/10497323221144929 Summary: This article emphasises the experiences of five Māori and Pasifika women in NZ who pursued advanced medical training with support from a sisterhood that included the themes of mana wāhine, unity, purpose, and positive change in the face of discrimination. This supports the strong push for greater gender diversity in the surgical workforce.	Medicine, sisterhood, gender diversity, discrimination— ----- Aotearoa, NZ & Pasifika	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (1) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (2) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (3) Theme 12: Gender (1) Theme 13: Feminism (2) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (2)
14 HeinOnline	<u>Sykes, A. (2015).</u> Te miina o papatūānuku - te mana o te wahine. <i>The Maori Law Review</i>, 33–42. Summary: The annual conference of the Māori Law Society (Te Hunga Roia Māori o Aotearoa) was held Sep 2015 at Waitangi. Judges, lawyers and law students discussed various topics of importance to Māori and The Māori Law Review published a collection of conference presentations, including this article by Annette Sykes.	Law, conference. publication ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (1) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (2) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (1) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (1) Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation (3) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (4)
15 JSTOR	Māta Aho Collective, & Corballis, T. (2018). Mata Aho: Mana wāhine in contemporary art. <i>Counterfutures</i>, 5. https://doi.org/10.26686/cf.v5i0.6396	Art, education, activism, left-wing ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1)

	Summary: This editorial raises questions about the role and purpose of art - such as serving as a source of learning or aim to shock, and if so, who the target audience of that shock should be. The text explores the relationship between art and education or activism, particularly in the context of Indigenous arts and their connection to Left-wing ideologies.		
16 Te Kaharoa (Open-access journal platform)	<u>Smith, S. (2016).</u> I sing of Te Aitu o Te Rangi and the power of song to rejuvenate the principles, values, and philosophy of Mana Wāhine. <i>Te Kaharoa: The e-Journal of Indigenous Pacific Issues</i>, 9(2), 64–75. Summary: This article discusses the life of Te Aitu o Te Rangi (taken as a slave wife by Ngāti Toa Chief Te Rauparaha but later escaped with John Jury). Te Aitu was also the mother of Hoani Te Whatahoro Jury, a prominent academic. Her story is celebrated through music emphasising the theme of mana wahine with a feminist discourse, and challenges Western heroine archetypes while advocating for social change.	Cosmology, story, music, feminism, social change ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (6) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (1)
17 Taylor and Francis Group	<u>Heke, D. (2023).</u> Korikori kōrero: A mobile method of inquiry for moving Māori women and their knowledges. <i>Kōtuitui</i>, ahead-of-print, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/1177083X.2023.2177176 Summary: A unique research method called Korikori Kōrero is used to study physically active Māori women and their commonalities and a protective health behaviour. There is a discussion of the rationale, implementation, and relevance of the research method which includes a focus on the power imbalance due to colonial patriarchy.	Research, speaking, Korikori Kōrero, well being, patriarchy ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (5) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (4) Theme 12: Gender (1)
18 ProQuest Central	<u>Waitere, H., & Johnston, P. (2009).</u> Echoed silences: In absentia: Mana wāhine in institutional contexts. <i>Women's Studies Journal</i> , 23(2), 14–31.	Institutional spaces, women's roles, mana wahine authority ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (2) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (5) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (3)

	Summary: The article traces the authors' knowledge learned over 10 years having been in different roles since their collaboration in a Massey conference paper in 1999. They use reflexive dialogue to bridge tacit knowledge and explicit knowledge, and discuss the presence of mana wahine authority in institutional spaces.		Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (1) Theme 13: Feminism (3) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (2)
19 Maori Law Review	<u>Goddard, L. (2015).</u> Mana wāhine: The importance of women in the legal profession. <i>The Māori Law Review</i> , 14–21. Summary: The Māori Law Society, Te Hunga Roia Māori o Aotearoa, held its annual conference at Waitangi in Sep 2015. Various legal matters pertaining to Māori were discussed including this paper which discusses Mana Wāhine and emphasises the significance of women in the legal profession.	Legal, women in law ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (4) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (1)
20 Taylor and Francis Group	<u>Adams-Hutcheson, G. Bartos, A. E., Dombroski, K., Le Heron, E., & Underhill-Sem, Y. (2019).</u> Feminist geographies in Aotearoa New Zealand: Cultural, social and political moments. <i>Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography</i> , 26(7–9), 1182–1197. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1558180 Summary: This paper uses the 2017 national election as a lens to critically examine current gender and indigenous politics in the country. There are complex enigmas such as NZ being the first country to grant women the right to vote in 1893, having the world's youngest female head of state in 2017, granting legal personhood to a river, but remains a postcolonial nation marked by ongoing structural racism, homophobia, and sexism.	Gender, politics, postcolonialism, racism ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (1) Theme 13: Feminism (1)
21 Gale Academic OneFile	<u>Joy, E. (2019).</u> "You cannot take it with you": Reflections on intersectionality and social work. <i>Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work</i> , 31(1), 42–48. https://doi.org/10.11157/anzswj-vol31iss1id560	Social work, intersectionality, reflection, child protection ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (2) Theme 13: Feminism (1)

	Summary: The paper traces the history of intersectionality, emphasises the importance of proper citation in intersectional practice, touches on definitional challenges, explores the interconnectedness of theory and practice and discusses intersectionality within the context of "mana wāhine," the author's experiences, and recent developments in NZ. Finally it highlights why intersectionality is essential in social work with examples from reflective practice and child protection.		
22 Genealogy (Basel)	<u>Rarere, M. (2022).</u> The importance of whakapapa for understanding fertility. <i>Genealogy (Basel)</i>, 6(2), 26. https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy6020026 Summary: This paper is part of a larger research project exploring the factors sustaining contemporary Maori fertility patterns. It draws on Mana Wāhine discourses and interviews (whakawhiti korero) with Maori women, and emphasises the significance of whakapapa in enhancing the understanding of fertility and placing individual reproduction within a broader context of relationships.	Maternity, fertility, whakapapa ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (3) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (15) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (1)
23 ProQuest	<u>Rostenburg, W. (2020).</u> Ihirangaranga: Source vibrations and Indigenous women. <i>Journal of Indigenous Wellbeing</i>, 5(1), 90–101. Summary: Ihirangaranga (sound vibrations) carry and transmit essential energies, with Māori women playing a unique role in embodying and expressing these vibrations. At the Te Amokura Centre for Wholeness and Total Wellbeing, Māori sound science practitioners continue traditions for ancient healing by using vibrations to soothe hearts, minds, bodies, and wairua and benefit personal, collective, and intergenerational well-being.	Science, sound, healing, wellbeing ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 3: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (7) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (2)
24 JSTOR	<u>Wood, B. (2007).</u> Mana wāhine and ecocriticism in some post-80s writing by Māori women. <i>Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment</i> , 14(1), 107–124.	Writing, ecocriticism, mythological	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (3) Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (2) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives /

	Summary: This article interprets Maori women's writing as environmentally conscious indigenous texts that align with, yet follow different paths from conventional ecocriticism in literature. It highlights that in Maori women's writing from the 1980s to the present, the focus has been on emphasising mythological and ancestral female roles.	and ancestral female roles ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Pūrākau (3) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (2) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (6) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (2) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (2) Theme 11: Patriarchy (1) Theme 13: Feminism (2) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (1)
25 ProQuest	<u>Smith, H. (2020).</u> "Cloaked in our aspirations": Māori mothers and grandmothers weaving stories from their past for the future. <i>Journal of Indigenous Wellbeing</i>, 5(1), 79–89. Summary: The article informs of a study involving storytelling and traditional Māori cloak weaving to explore how eight Māori women, including the researcher, are reclaiming and redefining what it means to live as Māori with the crucial role of nurturing cultural identity and enveloping whanau in protection and values throughout life.	Identity, cultural health and wellbeing ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (1) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (2) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (5) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (1) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (2) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (4)
26 HeinOnline	<u>Udy, N. (2021).</u> Conceptualising mana wāhine as a legal force. <i>New Zealand Women's Law Journal</i>, 5, 18–46. Summary: This article, dedicated to mana wāhine, is inspired by discussions with Annette Sykes - her advocacy for tino rangatiratanga, the mana wāhine concept, and ideas to empower Māori women.	Law, mana wāhine empowerment, tino rangatiratanga ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (1) Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (7)
27 Te Whē Ki Tukorehe Journal Website	<u>Manawatu, B. (2020).</u> The invitation. <i>Te Whē Ki Tukorehe</i>, 1, 49–50.	Research, Kaupapa Māori research literature, education,	Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (3)

	Summary: Employing a kaupapa Māori research methodology, the project "Te Whē – Te Hau o te Whenua" aims to challenge the predominantly Eurocentric perspective through which "Māori literature" was being taught and analyzed, and introduce a Māori worldview into the realm of creative writing. The PhD author worked closely with Nadine Anne Hura.	----- Aotearoa, NZ	
28 JSTOR	<u>Panui, L. (2016).</u> Messiahs, mana wahine and young colts in the twentieth century. <i>Histeria</i> , 1, 1–6.	Writing, student work, leadership ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in leadership (2)
	Summary: "Histeria! 2016" is an edited collection of student work, (including wāhine, Lanesha Panui), from various history courses offered at Auckland University in 2015. Its purpose is twofold: to celebrate the intellectual achievements of the included students and to provide future students with model essays for guidance in their own writing. Panui provides valuable insights into the evolving dynamics of Maori leadership during the turn of the 20th C, examines the impact of both Maori and Pakeha social structures and traditional forums on leadership development within a Maori context.		
29 Proquest Central	<u>Murphy, L. (2017).</u> Intersectional feminisms: Reflections on theory and activism in Sara Ahmed's <i>Living a Feminist Life</i> (2017). <i>Women's Studies Journal</i> , 31(2), 4–17.	Art, photography, Feminism, intersectionality, activism, role models ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (2) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (2) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (2) Theme 11: Patriarchy (2) Theme 13: Feminism (11)
	Summary: This paper discusses Aotearoa NZ's intersectional feminisms by examining Sara Ahmed's "Living a feminist life" within the framework of sensational and structural oppressions. It focuses on the interconnected nature of race, gender, and class through local and historical photographs and texts, drawing on Māori women's writings to reshape feminist theory and activism. Ngahuia Te Awēkotuku and Whina Cooper are highlighted as figures that forged feminist pathways. A Pakeha feminist author.		

30 HeinOnline	<u>Reeves, D., & Zombori, E. (2016).</u> Engendering cities: International dimensions from Aotearoa, New Zealand. <i>Town Planning Review</i> , 87(5), 567–587. https://doi.org/10.3828/tpr.2016.37	Policy analysis, gender, gender-neutral planning, sensitivities ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 12: Gender (1) Theme 13: Feminism (1)
	Summary: This paper's key findings are that New Zealand's approach to gender planning has been gender-neutral, and not yet fully embraced gender-sensitive planning, with a particular focus on the role of Maori perspectives. There is a discussion on the potential for gender-sensitive planning through agreements between the EU and New Zealand, specifically referencing the European Growth Strategy 2020 and Horizon 2020 research strategy.		
31 Proquest Central	<u>Hyland, N. (2018).</u> A conscious un-couplet: Wāhine Māori stand up to Shakespeare. <i>Australasian Drama Studies</i> , 73, 207–236.	Literature, Shakespeare, colonialism ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (2) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (8) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (1) Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation (2) Theme 12: Gender (1) Theme 13: Feminism (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (1)
	Summary: The author contends that the toxic masculinity discourse in Shakespeare's works illustrates the continuous colonial oppression of Māori women, The history and cultural significance of Shakespearean reverence in Aotearoa is linked with the colonial endeavour to control Māori women.		
32 HeinOnline	<u>Quince, K. (2022).</u> "Law and gender: Beyond patriarchy" symposium: Keynote speech: <i>Sistahs in arms?</i> Mana wāhine and feminism. <i>New Zealand Women's Law Journal</i> , 6, 9–23.	Law, feminism, decolonisation ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (1) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (5) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (3) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (8) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (2) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (3)
	Summary: In this paper, the key question of whether feminism is relevant to Māori women is discussed, alongside the role of non-Māori feminist allies, and strategies to improve the lives and rights of Māori women within a post-colonial and decolonisation framework. "Sistahs in Arms?" is deliberately using slang from women of colour.		

			Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation (7) Theme 11: Patriarchy (8) Theme 12: Gender (3) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (16)
33 New Zealand Digital Heritage Archive	<u>Wana, S. (2022).</u> Moko wahine: A framework for guiding and nurturing Māori women leaders. <i>MAI Journal: A New Zealand Journal of Indigenous Scholarship</i>, 11(1), 70–77. https://doi.org/10.20507/MAIJournal.2022.11.1.6 Summary: This article explores the theoretical framework called the Moko Wāhine framework, and is presented as a valuable tool to guide and nurture current and future Māori women leaders. Deeply rooted in Māori cultural values and drawing inspiration from Moerangi Ratahi, a Māori woman leader from Ngāti Awa in the 1800s and 1900s, it is intended for wāhine Māori from any iwi to use.	Research, Moko Wāhine framework, leadership, Ngāti Awa ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (2) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (1) Theme 13: Feminism (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (2)
34 University Libraries	<u>Hutchings, J. (2004).</u> Claiming our ethical space: A mana wāhine conceptual framework for discussing genetic modification. <i>He Pūkenga Kōrero: A Journal of Māori Studies</i>, 8(1), 17–25. Summary: This article focuses on the need to create a space for mana wāhine voices to discuss genetic modification and present a conceptual framework from this perspective. The paper reveals a broader ethical concern regarding the role of mana wāhine in science and challenges dominant scientific ideologies in Aotearoa and globally.	Science, genetic modification, mana wāhine role ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (1) Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (2) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (3)
35 SAGE Journals	<u>Le Grice, J., & Braun, V. (2017).</u> Indigenous (Māori) perspectives on abortion in New Zealand. <i>Feminism & Psychology</i>, 27(2), 144–162. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353517701491 Summary: This article brings to attention the lack of research on Maori perspectives on abortion in Aotearoa. The Indigenous feminist interviewees identified themes such as "the protection of a new life", "woman's individual choice," and	Medical, Māori abortion perspectives, socio-cultural influences ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (2) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (10) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks

	"extended family investment and support". The paper provides rich and nuanced understandings of due to the interviewees' socio-historical and socio-cultural factors, Maori ideologies, colonisation, Christianity, and women's rights activism.		Affecting Wāhine (2)
36 ProQuest	<u>Brown, H. (2011).</u> Mana Wahine: The prestige of Maori women kite-makers. <i>Australasian Parks and Leisure</i>, 14(4), 26–29. Summary: This writing informs that there were many recreations, with manu (kite) making particularly the construction of Manu Wāhine, an important part of tribal life. Such kites were made from fronds of the nikau palm.	Kite making, tribal life ----- Australasian	Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (1)
37 Gale Academic OneFile	<u>Le Grice, V., Braun, V., & Wetherell, M. (2017).</u> "What I reckon is, is that like the love you give to your kids they'll give to someone else and so on and so on": Whanaungatanga and matauranga Maori in practice. <i>New Zealand Journal of Psychology</i>, 46(3), 88–97. Summary: This paper, using mana wāhine methodology, explores how matauranga Māori is often marginalised in psychological paradigms due to colonial practices. Experts and non-experts discuss aspects of whanaungatanga, diverse networks, the integral role of children, expressions of love, guardianship, spirituality, and family support.	Research, Mana Wāhine methodology, matauranga Māori, marginalisation ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (5) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (2) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (1)
38 JSTOR	<u>Jahnke, H. (1997).</u> Towards a theory of Mana Wahine. <i>He Pūkenga Kōrero: A Journal of Māori Studies</i>, 3(1), 27–36. Summary: This article highlights the power dynamics between Maori men and women in a traditional context, leading to showing that Maori women are powerful, independent individuals and knowledge bearers. There is a discussion on "mana wāhine" and "mana whenua" and their significance in the development of Maori Women's theories, concluding that "mana wāhine" represents a unique form of feminism for	Maori women's theories, feminism, comparing Indigenous women ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (5) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (8) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (1) Theme 13: Feminism (3)

	Maori women. This is compared with comparative insights with indigenous Australian and North American women.		
39 Taylor & Francis Online	<u>August, W. (2005).</u> Māori women: Bodies, spaces, sacredness and mana. <i>New Zealand Geographer</i>, 61(2), 117–123. Summary: This article explores how Māori women's bodies are shaped and understood within cultural spaces such as urupā (burial grounds) and whare kai (places of food). It explores Māori bodily rituals, the influence of colonisation on these practices which resulted in exclusion. The author advocates for a Māori viewpoint for Māori women as powerful, sacred, life-giving, and connected to Atua (ancestral deities).	Bodies, ancestors, cultural rituals ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (1) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (2) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (10) Theme 13: Feminism (1)
40 HeinOnline	<u>Connell, S. (2011).</u> Unwritten constitutions of incorporated societies: A critical examination of the treatment of tikanga in <i>Tamaki v Māori Women's Welfare League Inc.</i> <i>Otago Law Review</i>, 12(3), 605–624. Summary: In May 2011, Hannah Tamaki (pastor in Destiny Church, wife of Bishop Brian Tamaki), was nominated for the presidency of the Maori Women's Welfare League (MWWL). The MWWL excluded her from the presidential ballot and omitted to send the ballot to branches citing concerns about the Destiny Church's association. A judicial review found that MWWL's action was unlawful and newer branches, not properly established, were ineligible to vote. The judge emphasised the importance of "tikanga," or the League's customary practices in the MWWL's unwritten constitution. This paper explores the implications and impacts of the judge's decision on the MWWL.	Maori Women's Welfare League, legal decision, leadership ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (3)
41 Te Puna (New Zealand National	<u>Pumanawawhiti, N. (2018).</u> Mana waahine mana taane. <i>Hookioi</i> , 68, 20-55.	Publication, stories, leadership, culture, community	Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (3)

Bibliographic Database)		----- Aotearoa, NZ	
	Summary: This magazine, edited by Jade Hohaia, has writing on the following topics: Leadership and stories, cultural and historical features, community and family, events and conferences, personal stories and lifestyle, and education and scholarships.		
42 SAGE Journals	<u>Gillon, A. (2020).</u> Fat indigenous bodies and body sovereignty: An exploration of re-presentations. <i>Journal of Sociology</i>, 56(2), 213–228. https://doi.org/10.1177/144078331989350 Summary: From a Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine perspective, there is an outline of body sovereignty - shifting from body positivity movements to the concept of body sovereignty as a response to racism, sexism, fatism, and biopolitics named by systems of oppression. The article explores representations of wāhine bodies using the example of Hine-Nui-Te-Pō.	Bodies, fatism, sovereignty, oppression, Hine-Nui-Te-Pō pūrākau ----- Australia	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (6) Theme 11: Patriarchy (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (2)
43 E-Tangata Website (Māori & Pasifika Magazine Platform)	<u>Husband, D. (n.d.).</u> Kiri Danielle: We can still save Turakina. <i>E-Tangata: A Māori and Pasifika Sunday magazine</i>. https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/kiri-danielle-we-can-still-save-turakina/ Summary: Hekia Parata, Minister of Education (2011-2017), raised concerns about Turakina Māori Girls' College in Marton closing [It closed in 2016]. The article informs of efforts to save Turakina, with support from former students, including Kiri Danielle.	Education, advocacy, support ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1)
44 Taylor & Francis Online	<u>Le Grice, L. (2018).</u> Exotic dancing and relationship violence: Exploring indigeneity, gender, and agency. <i>Culture, Health & Sexuality</i>, 20(4), 367–380. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2017.1347962	Stories, pūrākau, sexuality, Mana Wāhine methodology, reflection ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (4) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (6)

	Summary: This article focuses on the complex influences of a Māori woman's sexuality through a Mana Wāhine methodology, using storying, pūrākau, and autobiographical memory of experiences of exotic dancing and moments of violence in heterosexual relationships. It provides critical reflection on individual experience, social and cultural conditions informed by colonisation and historical trauma.		
45 University Libraries	<u>Tikao, A., Bisley, C., & Bryant, M. (2017).</u> Ngā wāhine Māori: Ki tua o te “puhi kiri rauwhero” – he tirohanga nō ngā kaiwhakatū / Wāhine: Beyond the “dusky maiden” – a conversation with the curators. <i>Library Life</i>, 458, 22–24. Summary: This magazine, “Nā te Kaitātari 3,” covers topics on Te Reo Māori and library-related matters, and includes articles on supporting families, cultural care in reusing images, and innovative library approaches.	Library, writing, te reo Māori ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (2) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1)
46 HeinOnline	<u>Hori Te Pa, M. & Gordon, A. (2021).</u> Kia kaha, kia toa, kia manawanui e – Mihi Bassett and the Auckland Women's Prison. <i>New Zealand Women's Law Journal</i>, 5, 47–85. Summary: “Kia kaha, kia toa, kia manawanui e” were the last words spoken by Judge McNaughton to Mihi Bassett during her sentencing for arson in prison, and encouraged her to “be strong, be brave, and be steadfast” in prison and for her release. The words are useful for a shared vision for fair & equitable justice and social change for all criminals and by all New Zealanders.	Law, justice, resilience, social change ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (8) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (7)
47 Taylor and Francis Group	<u>Palmer, F. & Masters, T. M. (2010).</u> Māori feminism and sport leadership: Exploring Māori women's experiences. <i>Sport Management Review</i>, 13(4), 331–344. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2010.06.001 Summary: Four Māori women sport leaders are studied from an Indigenous, intersectionality perspective. Information is given on leadership,	Sport, feminism, intersectionality (male domination, racism, sexism) ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (4) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (9) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (2) Theme 12: Gender (4) Theme 13: Feminism (3) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (1)

	barriers (such as modesty in a male-dominated setting, racism, sexism, and limited support from governing bodies), overcoming barriers (through mentors, networking, partnership), and giving back to communities. Further studies on Indigenous women in sport is needed.		
48 Gale Academic OneFile	<u>Evans, R. (1994).</u> The negation of powerlessness: Māori feminism, a perspective [Paper delivered on 10 August 1993 in the Auckland University Winter Lecture Series]. <i>Hecate</i>, 20(2), 53–65. Summary: Historically, Maori women have had limited participation in Aotearoa's political development, involvement in economic development and broadcasting. Indigenous activists urge for revitalisation to empower Maori women to raise their status and influence in society.	Politics, empowerment, revitalisation ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (2) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (5) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (4) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (2) Theme 11: Patriarchy (1) Theme 13: Feminism (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (3)
49 Gale Academic OneFile	<u>Simpkin, G. (1994).</u> Women for Aotearoa: Feminism and Māori sovereignty [Paper prepared for the Women's Studies Association Conference (1994, Wellington, NZ)]. <i>Hecate</i>, 20(2), 226–238. Summary: A 1993 NZ publication featuring women's organisations did not include Women for Aotearoa. The group, which had members with varying feminist backgrounds, was formed as an offshoot of another publication that dealt with Maori sovereignty. Pakeha feminists regard Maori sovereignty as a crucial issue but their views are influenced by Marxist thought within the feminist movement.	Publication, writing, women's organisations, sovereignty, feminism, Marxism ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 13: Feminism (4)
50 Proquest	<u>Ka'ai, T. M. (2005).</u> “Te kauae maro o Muri-ranga-whenua” (The jawbone of Muri-ranga-whenua): Globalising local indigenous culture—Māori leadership, gender and cultural knowledge transmission as represented in the film <i>Whale Rider</i> . <i>Portal (Sydney, N.S.W.)</i> , 2(2), 1–15.	Film production, Māori representation, patriarchy, feminism, leadership,	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (1) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (3) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (5) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1)

	Summary: The article challenges the representation and misrepresentations of Māori cultural concepts in the film "Whale Rider", with a focus on the education and social status of young Māori women, and the significance of the Māori demi-god Māui and his role in explaining the creation of environmental aspects. There is an exploration of how the patriarchy/feminism division operates differently in the Ngāti Porou tribe and a discussion of the impact of Māori/Pākehā film production on tribal cultural reproductions. Further themes are the transmission of knowledge through generations, the importance of women in leadership roles in Māori society, the relationship Māori have with the natural environment and the cultural concepts of aroha, whanaungatanga and manaaki.	Ngāti Porou tribe ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (6) Theme 13: Feminism (2) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (2)
51 JSTOR	<u>Donnelly, C. (2022).</u> Māmā. <i>Scope. Art</i>, 23, 10–17. Summary: This article describes Donnelly, the artist, and her artwork, "Māmā", and her evolving understanding of being of Kāi Tahu iwii, a mother, a rural woman and an adoptee. "Māmā" symbolises the invisible, repetitive nature of daily activities, and historical trauma as a visible mark of the artist's identity.	Art, identity, motherhood, trauma ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (1)
52 Jstor Books (EBA)	<u>Locke, C. (2012).</u> Māori sovereignty, Black feminism, and the New Zealand trade union movement. In <i>Indigenous women and work</i> (p. 254). University of Illinois Press. https://doi.org/10.5406/j.ctt3fh3fq.22 Summary: The Black Unity group (emerging from the 1960s Māori protest movement) was accused of anti trade unionism and racism and evicted from the Auckland Trade Union Centre by Police in 1982. Focus is on the writings of focus is on the writings of the group's spokeswomen, Ripeka Evans and Donna Awatere who advocated for the return of Māori sovereignty, land, and fisheries. The interactions and ideology of wāhine Māori protestors, particularly feminists with the	Protest, sovereignty, feminism, activism ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (3) Theme 13: Feminism (2) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (1)

	trade union movement are described as well as accusations from Chris Trotter (political commentator) about the divisive impact of Māori nationalists on alliances between the intellectual Left and the trade union movement.		
53 ProQuest	<u>Bingel, S., Krutz, V., Luh, K., & Muetze, A. (2011).</u> "The auntie's story": Fictional representations of Māori women's identities in Witi Ihimaera's <i>The uncle's story</i> (2000) from an intersectional perspective. <i>Women's Studies Journal</i>, 25(2), 56–73. Summary: This article focuses on the lesser-explored female characters - Auntie Pat, Roimata, and Amiria - in Witi Ihimaera's "The Uncle's Story". There is a discussion of their diverse and innovative roles, negotiating modern and traditional attitudes, homo and heterosexualities, ethnicities, Māori heritage, and Pākehā ideologies, plus the heterogeneity of Māori women's life in contemporary Aotearoa. An intersectionality research paradigm in literary and cultural theory is employed.	Literature, intersectionality, homo and heterosexualities ----- Germany	Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (1) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (1) Theme 13: Feminism (3) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (2)
54 SAGE Journals	<u>Jenkins, K., & Pihama, L. (2001).</u> Mātauranga Wāhine: Teaching Māori women's knowledge alongside feminism. <i>Feminism & Psychology</i>, 11(3), 293–303. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353501011003003 Summary: This paper explores teaching mātāuranga wāhine and feminism knowledge. The academics also shared their experiences and noted the experiences of wāhine exploring their own cultural stories before encountering white feminism, and stories teaching non-Māori.	Teaching, Māori women mātāuranga, feminism, stories ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (7) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 13: Feminism (2) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (1)
55 JSTOR	<u>Dyall, L. (2009).</u> Commentary: Joining of Māori and feminist perspectives on gambling. <i>Women's Studies Journal</i>, 23(1), 46–48. Summary: Phillida Bunkle (NZ MP in 1990s) addressed gambling issues, introduced a Bill to restrict the expansion of gambling, and analysed gambling data from a feminist and economist	Gambling, feminism ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 12: Gender (1) Theme 13: Feminism (2) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (1)

	perspective showing women had the same level of gambling problems in 2000. Bunkle emphasises the importance of a Women's/feminist study approach when exploring women and gambling to enhance the value of gambling research.		
56 Free E-Journals	<u>Fredericks, B. (2012).</u> Commentary: "Our reflections on identity, gender and transforming action": A lesson from place. <i>MAI Journal</i> , 1(1), 76–85.	Whakatane, Māori women empowerment, intersectionality of identity, gender, and decolonisation ----- Aotearoa, NZ/ Australia	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (2) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (2) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (1) Theme 12: Gender (1) Theme 13: Feminism (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (1)
	Summary: The article focuses on Indigenous women in different geographies but especially Whakatane. The intersections of identity, gender, and place in the context of processes related to transformation and decolonisation are examined. A main idea is that women should restore their power and rightful place and respond, change, and adapt to their living environments. Female ancestor Wairaka has inspiring courage.		
57 PubMed	<u>McKinley, E. (2002).</u> Brown bodies in white coats: Māori women scientists and identity. <i>Journal of Occupational Science</i> , 9(3), 109–116. https://doi.org/10.1080/14427591.2002.9686498	Science, Māori women scientists, colonisation, racism ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (3) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (3) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (2)
	Summary: Literature about women in science focuses on issues of access, participation, and historical narrative and limits analysing the impacts of colonisation and racism. The author employs feminist, postcolonial, and poststructural theories to examine 16 Māori women scientists and how their identity emerges at work. Perceptions of identity may be fragmented into identities of 'Māori,' 'woman,' and 'scientist.'		
58 Gale Academic OneFile	<u>Clarke, E. (2004).</u> The Taniwha's exile: The exclusion of Māori women from environmental policy and decision-making in Aotearoa/New Zealand. <i>Hecate</i> , 30(1), 119–140.	Prison, marginalisation, environmental exclusion, wāhi tapu (sacred, ancestral site) ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (1) Theme 11: Patriarchy (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks
	Summary: The paper explores the central theme of marginalisation, exclusion (displacement, dispossession, and raupatu), and alienation from Environmental Policy and Decision-making and		

	the impact (concrete and material aspects but also psychologically and spiritually) on the lives of Māori, especially women and their families. "The focus is on the construction of a large prison for male inmates, at Ngawha, on a unique (geothermal) tribal resource, which is also regarded as a waahi tapu - a traditional sacred site."		Affecting Wāhine (3)
59 Gale Academic OneFile	<u>Diamond, J. (1999).</u> Hine-Titama: Māori contributions to feminist discourses and identity politics. <i>The Australian Journal of Social Issues</i>, 34(4), 301–317. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1839-4655.1999.tb01082.x Summary: This article focuses on accomplished Māori artist Robyn Kahukiwa, particularly her painting "Hine-Titama." The author outlines a framework for Postcolonial Māori Feminism based on theorist Homi Bhabha's concept of 'Post-colonial criticism. Kahukiwa's work aligns with Māori feminist perspectives and contributes to understandings on cultural identities based on gender (especially women) and race.	Art - painting, feminism, postcolonial, identity ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (2) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (3) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (2) Theme 11: Patriarchy (2) Theme 13: Feminism (1)
60 Gale Academic OneFile	<u>Johnston, P. & Pihama, L. (1994).</u> The marginalisation of Māori women [Paper presented at the Confronting Racism Conference, Sydney University of Technology, 1993]. <i>Hecate</i>, 20(2), 83–97. Summary: In Aotearoa, ideological shifts play a role in categorising Maoris based on race, and assigning positions tied to their perceived level of evolution and civilization. Frameworks and classification impact Maori, especially Maori women who are placed on an inferior level. Reconstructing women's literature to provide a more accurate perspective on the position of Maori women in this context is one solution to address this.	Literature, ideology, race, literature ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (2) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (3) Theme 11: Patriarchy (2) Theme 12: Gender (4) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (10)
61 Wiley Online Library	<u>Smith, C. Helena Rattray-Te Mana, Leonie Pihama, & John Reid. (2017).</u> Traumatic brain injury of tangata ora (Māori ex-prisoners).	Prison, incarceration, trauma	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (1) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (2)

	<i>AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples</i>, 13(4), 226–234. Summary: Although 17% of NZ population are Maori, over 60% of prisoners are Maori. International and New Zealand research indicates a significant prevalence of traumatic brain injury (TBI) especially among Maori (men and women) prisoners. There is an urgency for more community awareness on this issue, and the Department of Corrections to screen and treat these individuals using culturally appropriate approaches.	----- Aotearoa, NZ	
62 SAGE Journals	<u>Hutton, F., & Wright, S. (2015).</u> 'You don't ditch your girls': Young Māori and Pacific women and the culture of intoxication. <i>Critical Public Health</i>, 25(1), 101–119. https://doi.org/10.1080/09581596.2014.946886 Summary: A lesser-explored research context is about the alcohol consumption and harm among 18–30 year old Māori and Pacific women. Five Māori and six Pacific participants are involved in this ethnographic research who, uniquely, become researchers within their social groups and used a 'drinking diary'. Findings reveal the complexity of the participant's engagement with NZ's drinking culture, influenced by pleasure, socialisation, ethnic and peer group dynamics, and traditions, plus the need for alcohol-related harm reduction initiatives, pathways and policies.	Alcohol assumption, harm reduction, ethnographic research (immersive cultural observations)— ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (3) Theme 12: Gender (5) Theme 13: Feminism (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (1)
63 SAGE Journals	<u>Stein, K., Miroso, M., & Carter, L. (2018).</u> Māori women leading local sustainable food systems. <i>AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples</i>, 14(2), 147–155. https://doi.org/10.1177/1177180117753168 Summary: This article four women in case studies are leading the way in which they manage community food initiatives with their own food system and values. There is a discussion on the benefits of community gardens and farms, and how they counteract food poverty through	Food security, community garden, cultural values ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (3) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (4) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (1)

	promoting access to local food. The article brings to attention Indigenous women's role in addressing food security issues, promoting local solutions to global food issues, and using indigenous knowledge and cultural values in their solutions.		
64 Westlaw NZ	<u>Reilly, A. (2019).</u> Māori women, discrimination and paid work: The need for an intersectional approach. <i>Law Review (Wellington)</i>, 50(2), 321–339. https://doi.org/10.26686/yuwlr.v50i2.5748 Summary: The article highlights the ongoing socio-economic inequality faced by Māori women in NZ law, despite a human rights leader and Treaty obligations, through tackling intersectional discrimination inadequately. This is due to relying on flawed comparator-based approaches, weak enforcement, and the absence of affirmative action measures and reporting requirements on gender equality. There is a need for recognising and addressing intersectional discrimination against wāhine Māori.	Law, legal inequality, intersectional discrimination, Treaty obligations Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (2) Theme 12: Gender (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (4)
65 Taylor & Francis Group	<u>Shaw, R. & Fehoko, E. (2023).</u> Epistemic injustice and body mass index: Examining Māori and Pacific women's access to fertility treatment in Aotearoa New Zealand. <i>Fat Studies</i>, 12(2), 338–352. https://doi.org/10.1080/21604851.2022.2063507 Summary: Nine Māori and Pacific cisgender women in Aotearoa seeking assisted reproduction for family building, identify the Body Mass Index (BMI) criteria (a cutoff of 32 kg/m²), as a significant barrier to accessing publicly funded fertility services. The article examines the disparities and challenges using the concept of epistemic injustice, and recommends BMI criteria guidelines be updated to address the issues.	Health, BMI barrier in fertility services Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (2) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (6) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (3)
66 JSTOR	<u>Mohanram, R. (1996).</u> The construction of place: Māori feminism and nationalism in Aotearoa/New Zealand. <i>NWSA Journal</i>, 8(1), 50–69.	Politics, feminism, Maori nationalism, Southern	Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1)

	Summary: The Asian author tests how Edward Said's (Northern hemisphere's) concept of "Traveling Theory," (political situations undergo transformation when they shift from place and time) is relevant to the Southern hemisphere's distinct socio-political landscape. the author asserts that Maori feminism is a product of Maori nationalism rather than an offshoot of the global feminist movement, while discussing an individual's connection to the land in relation to nationalism, specific contributions/movements by women in national rhetoric, and whether Maori nationalism is built upon identity or difference.	hemisphere theory (decolonisation of local context) ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (1) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (1) Theme 13: Feminism (2) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (1)
67 HeinOnline	<u>Whiu, L. (1994).</u> A Māori woman's experience of feminist legal education in Aotearoa. <i>Waikato Law Review: Taumauri</i>, 2, 161–169. Summary: Leah Whiu reflects on her wāhine Maori experience completing an LLB course in Waikato in 1994. She desired a class that promoted inclusion, informed debate, activism, and expanded awareness with like-minded individuals committed to the emancipation of marginalised groups, particularly Maori. Her reality needed indigenous perspectives, such as the concept of tangata whenua and rangatiratanga, and a Maori-focused legal education in Aotearoa is needed for future courses.	Law, legal education, activism, inclusion ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (3) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (1) Theme 13: Feminism (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (2)
68 Gale Academic OneFile	<u>Wood, B. (2008).</u> Freedom and responsibility: Narrating Māori women's lives in Patricia Grace's <i>Cousins</i> (1992). <i>Hecate</i>, 34(1), 72–88. Summary: Through a mana wāhine lens, the author explores Māori-centered perspectives, Indigenous rights, and mana wāhine experiences post-World War Two in Patricia Grace's 1992 novel.	Literature, Māori-centered perspectives, Indigenous rights, and mana wāhine experiences ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (5) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (1) Theme 13: Feminism (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (3)
69 Bridget Williams	Irwin, K. (1992). Becoming an academic: Contradictions and dilemmas of a Māori feminist. In S. Middleton & A. Jones (Eds.), <i>Women and</i>	Education, Māori feminism	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (2)

Books Website	<i>education in Aotearoa 2</i> (pp. pp. 52-67). Bridget Williams Books. https://www.puketeraki.nz/site/puketeraki/Mana%20Wahine%20Volume%201.pdf	and perseverance ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (2) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (2) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (1) Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation (1) Theme 13: Feminism (3) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (4)
	Summary: The author contemplates on the significance of fulfilling her dream of becoming a Maori feminist academic which she sees as part of a shared collective ancestral vision. This inspired her with motivation and commitment, and to persevere despite challenges.		
70 Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga O Raukawa	Norman, W. (1988). He aha te mea nui? In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1987–1998</i> (Vol. I, pp. 13–18). Allen & Unwin; Port Nicholson Press. https://www.puketeraki.nz/site/puketeraki/Mana%20Wahine%20Volume%201.pdf	Literature, education, proverbs, whakataukī on women and land ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (2) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (2)
	Summary: This article unpacks the many metaphorical definitions on the 'whakatauki' most frequently quoted and used from the past concerning Maori women: He wāhine he whenua i mate ai te tangata' generally translated as 'for women and land men die'. or 'on account of women and for land people die'.		
71 Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga O Raukawa	Te Awēkotuku, N. (1988). He whiriwhiri wahine: Framing women's studies for Aotearoa. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1987–1998</i> (Vol. I, pp. 20–28). Allen & Unwin; Port Nicholson Press. https://www.puketeraki.nz/site/puketeraki/Mana%20Wahine%20Volume%201.pdf	Education, male perspective, Māori women's intellectual agency ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 12: Gender (1) Theme 13: Feminism (3) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (1)
	Summary: The author reflects upon a 1991 Women's Studies Seminar held in the carved house - Tane-nui-a-Rangi House. She unpacks the house as a repository of knowledge and information systems particularly for men, highlighting its phallocentric celebration of male artistic genius. She then asks what women gain from this tradition and environment. "Hinengaro"		

	(signifying mind, intellect, and muse) is discussed with a Women's Studies lens reinforcing how all women should define intellect and affirm knowledge for themselves.		
72 Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga O Raukawa	Te Awēkotuku, N. (1988). Kia mau, kia manawanui: We will never go away: Experiences of a Māori lesbian feminist. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1987–1998</i> (Vol. I, pp. 29–38). Allen & Unwin; Port Nicholson Press. Summary: Through their own story, the author explores LGBTQ+ community's need to embrace their rich cultural inheritance, particularly in the context of Polynesian gender identities (māhu, fa'afafine, and fakaleiti) and dispel historical heterosexism imposed by missionaries. "Takatāpui" is discussed with the legend of Hinemoa and Tutanekai, offering an alternative romanticised love story.	LGBTQ+, Polynesian gender ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (3)
73 Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga O Raukawa	Smith, L. T. (1992). Māori women: Discourses, projects and mana wahine. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1987–1998</i> (Vol. I, pp. 39–52). Allen & Unwin; Port Nicholson Press. https://www.puketeraki.nz/site/puketeraki/Mana%20Wahine%20Volume%201.pdf Summary: Smith articulates how Maori women are determined as 'Other' by white patriarchies and white feminisms. Smith discusses making differences visible, plus discourses (contemporary, whanau, spiritual, state, indigenous women, white women, Maori men, and current issues on health and education.	Patriarchy, otherness, feminism, health and education ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (3) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (3) Theme 13: Feminism (4) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (5)
74 University Libraries	Irwin, K. (1992). Towards theories of Māori feminism. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1987–1998</i> (Vol. I, pp. 66–82). Allen & Unwin; Port Nicholson Press.	History, women's contribution, resistance, feminism	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (8) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1)

	https://www.puketeraki.nz/site/puketeraki/Mana%20Wahine%20Volume%201.pdf	----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (4) Theme 13: Feminism (5)
	Summary: The author affirms the importance of Māori women's contributions throughout history. Oppression has obscured wāhine narratives but these must be highlighted in national Māori culture and history, and make international connections. Writing Māori women back into historical records is crucial for validating and affirming Māori feminist theories, resisting challenges, emphasising the holistic nature of tikanga and the authenticity and authority within the Māori context.		
75 University Libraries	Jenkins, K. (1992). Reflections on the status of Māori women. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1987–1998</i> (Vol. I, pp. 83–88). Allen & Unwin; Port Nicholson Press. https://www.puketeraki.nz/site/puketeraki/Mana%20Wahine%20Volume%201.pdf	Feminism, resistance ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (8) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (4) Theme 13: Feminism (1)
	Summary: Firsthand experiences provide data on motivations behind focusing on the status and structures of Maori women. Maori women are conditioned to resist radical feminism as this is a threat to Maoritanga. Two perspectives are explored to gain insights into roles of Maori women across history: The Mythical Paradigm and the influence of dominant Maori women.		
76 University Libraries	Smith, L. T. (1993). Getting out from down under: Māori women, education and the struggles for mana wahine. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1987–1998</i> (Vol. I, pp. 89–104). Allen & Unwin; Port Nicholson Press. https://www.puketeraki.nz/site/puketeraki/Mana%20Wahine%20Volume%201.pdf	Education, colonisation resistance ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (3) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (1) Theme 13: Feminism (4) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (4)
	Summary: Smith explores how Maori women resist colonisation in educational systems and structures. Education can be a platform for Maori		

	women as seen in the example in a girls' secondary school where mana wāhine Maori struggles, rooted in Maori worldviews and language, assert their space and identity against a dominant Pakeha culture.		
77 University Libraries	Mita, M. (1993). Head and shoulders. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1987–1998</i> (Vol. I, pp. 105–109). Allen & Unwin; Port Nicholson Press. https://www.puketeraki.nz/site/puketeraki/Mana%20Wahine%20Volume%201.pdf Summary: The author reflects on the difficulties Māori women face living in a society that doesn't embrace bi and multiculturalism. Māori women who do not compromise their Maori values for a more convenient life have conflicts with society's individualistic and competitive nature. It may be romantic and idealistic but the author envisions an ideal future with children rooted in holistic and not fragmented perspective.	Biculturalism and multiculturalism, society conflict ----- Aotearoa, NZ-	Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (2)
78 University Libraries	Hohepa, M. (1993). Hokianga waiata a nga tupuna wahine. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1987–1998</i> (Vol. I, pp. 110–113). Allen & Unwin; Port Nicholson Press. https://www.puketeraki.nz/site/puketeraki/Mana%20Wahine%20Volume%201.pdf Summary: At the Tamaki Makaurau Maori Women Writers Festival, 1993, the author reflects on her Hokianga tipuna wāhine waiata (on tupuna wāhine lives and loves) and discussions with her father. She explores her identity wāhine and tane ancestry, interconnectedness with whanau, and non-maori ancestry.	Literature, writing, Maori women's identity, whanau ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (1) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (1)
79 University Libraries	Milroy, S. (1996). Māori women and domestic violence. <i>Waikato Law Review</i>, 4(1), 58–76. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J.	Research, cultural differences in	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (9) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice

	Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1987–1998</i> (Vol. I, pp. 156–167). Allen & Unwin; Port Nicholson Press. https://www.puketeraki.nz/site/puketeraki/Mana%20Wahine%20Volume%201.pdf	research methodologies ----- Aotearoa, NZ	and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (1) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (1) Theme 11: Patriarchy (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (4)
	Summary: The article discusses adaptive research methodologies to account for cultural differences between Maori and Pakeha. This is in result of Nan Seuffert's 1991-2 research that employed wāhine Maori to conduct interviews with domestic abuse survivors. Based on feminist theories of methodology, the research raises questions about applying these theories to research involving Maori participants.		
80 University Libraries	Mead, A. (1998). Sacred balance. <i>He Pukenga Kōrero: A Journal of Māori Studies, Ngāhuru (Autumn)</i>, 3(2), 22–27. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1987–1998</i> (Vol. I, pp. 184–198). Allen & Unwin; Port Nicholson Press. https://www.puketeraki.nz/site/puketeraki/Mana%20Wahine%20Volume%201.pdf	Science, Māori cosmology versus Western science ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (2) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (1)
	Summary: The article discusses the Ranginui and Papatūānuku cosmological narrative and how iwi hold it as significant for Maori existence, connection, knowledge, integrity and spirituality with nature. However, post-Darwin reductionist constructs of modern science disregard this perspective. Extreme biotechnological practices (gene manipulation, cloning) are driven by commercial priorities and disempower Maori. The author advocates for a sacred balance (sustainable resources, protecting Earth, collective survival) over the profits for the few.		
81 University of Waikato Library Catalogue	Mikaere, A. (2019). Colonisation and the imposition of patriarchy: A Ngāti Raukawa women's perspective. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of</i>	Colonisation, patriarchy, Christianity ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males -

	<i>writings 1999–2019</i> (Vol. II, pp. 4–9). Te Kotahi Research Institute. Summary: This article discusses the impact of colonisation on the traditional role of indigenous women and the perception of these women by colonisers. Guided by the patriarchy, and Judaic and Christian ideals of womanhood, colonisers overlooked mana wāhine power and undermined the strength and unity of the whole Māori iwi.		Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (5) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (1) Theme 11: Patriarchy (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (10)
82 University of Waikato Library Catalogue	<u>Sykes, A. (2019).</u> Constitutional reform and mana wāhine. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1999–2019</i> (Vol. II, pp. 19–24). Te Kotahi Research Institute. Summary: The importance of Maori as equal partners in the Treaty of Waitangi and a call for extending rights to Maori women was discussed in a 1984 hui at Turangawaewae, Ngaruawahia.	Treaty of Waitangi, equality ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (6)
83 University of Waikato Library Catalogue	<u>Hutchings, J. (2019).</u> Claiming our ethical space: A mana wāhine conceptual framework for discussing genetic modification. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1999–2019</i> (Vol. II, pp. 25–37). Te Kotahi Research Institute. Summary: The article advocates for urgent discussion on genetic modification improving the imbalance to include Māori women's perspectives in the debate. Mana wāhine challenge dominant ideologies in science in Aotearoa and internationally.	Science, Genetic modification, science debate ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (2) Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (4) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (5) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (3) Theme 11: Patriarchy (1)
84 University of Waikato Library Catalogue	<u>Yates-Smith, A. (2019).</u> Reclaiming the ancient feminine in Māori society: Kei wareware i a tātou te ūkaipō! In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1999–2019</i> (Vol. II, pp. 50–59). Te Kotahi Research Institute.	Science, Earth Mother - Papatuanuku, feminine ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (4) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (2) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (3)

	Summary: The article reflects on the importance of considering the feminine and respecting Earth Mother in the face of globalisation threats. It discusses the imbalance with the lack of Māori feminine caused by colonisation and focuses on the efforts to address the negative effects over the last two decades highlighting the significance of gender balance in Māori cosmogony/ origin-creation of the universe.		Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (1)
85 University of Waikato Library Catalogue	<u>Pihama, L. (2019).</u> Mana wāhine theory: Creating space for Māori women's theories. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1999–2019</i> (Vol. II, pp. 60–74). Te Kotahi Research Institute..	Māori women's sovereignty, Mana Wāhine theory, Māori epistemologies ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (2) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (2) Theme 13: Feminism (7)
	Summary: With their unique perspective Maori women navigate the challenges of being both Māori and female in colonised Aotearoa with disrupted Māori epistemologies. The article acknowledges the importance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in articulating Māori sovereignty, highlights the struggle for tino rangatiratanga (Māori sovereignty) and the development of Mana Wāhine Theory as a distinctively Māori framework, challenging the inadequacy of Western feminist analyses for understanding Māori women's experiences. Pihama implores Māori women to take control of theoretical spaces, to articulate their own analyses and counter their marginalisation.		
86 University of Waikato Library Catalogue	<u>Yates-Smith, A. (2019).</u> Te ūkaipō – te taiao: The mother, the nurturer – nature. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1999–2019</i> (Vol. II, pp. 75–82). Te Kotahi Research Institute.	Earth Mother - Papatuanuku, role model ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (3) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (5)
	Summary: The article's title, 'Te Ukaipo - Te Taiao: the Mother, the Nurturer - Nature,' connects to the Earth Mother and ancestral grandmothers, symbolising the essence of creating life, and serve as role models for contemporary Māori women. The article		

	highlights the importance of acknowledging and respecting the feminine, particularly the Earth Mother, Papatuanuku. It discusses the vital role of women as nurturers, mothers, lovers, daughters, and kaitiaki throughout the life and death cycle.		
87 University of Waikato Library Catalogue	<u>Murphy, N. (2019).</u> Te awa atua: The river of life! Menstruation in pre-colonial times. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1999–2019</i> (Vol. II, pp. 123–133). Te Kotahi Research Institute. Summary: The article discusses the significance of menstrual blood as a symbol of mana, tapu, whakapapa, and gender unity in Māori culture. Oral literature, creation stories, and interviews provide understanding of Māori attitudes and practices related to 'potent' menstruation challenging the colonial's negative portrayal of menstruation as "paru" (putrid).	Literature, stories, menstruation, mana, whakapapa, gender unity ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (1) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (3) Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (4) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (3) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (10) Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation (4) Theme 11: Patriarchy (4)
88 University of Waikato Library Catalogue	<u>McBreen, K. (2019).</u> It's about whānau: Oppression, sexuality, and mana. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1999–2019</i> (Vol. II, pp. 134–146). Te Kotahi Research Institute. Summary: The author discusses whether they can authentically be themselves - after being raised Pākehā, being new to Māori knowledge, and queer within the Māori community. The article explores sexuality, tikanga (customs), and inclusivity in Māori cultural spaces.	Identity, authenticity, queer sexuality, tikanga, and inclusivity ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (1) Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation (1)
89 University of Waikato Library Catalogue	<u>Simmonds, N. (2019).</u> In search of our nannies' gardens: A mana wāhine geography of maternities in Aotearoa. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1999–2019</i> (Vol. II, pp. 147–154). Te Kotahi Research Institute.	Literature, essays, tūpuna knowledge ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (1) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (4)

	Summary: Drawing inspiration from Alice Walker's 1983 collection of African American essays, "In Search of my Mothers' Garden", Simmonds advocates reflecting on the resilient ancestors of the past to navigate present realities. Simmonds suggests that tūpuna have seeds of knowledge, concepts, and frameworks that can help provoke understandings to liberate Māori subjectivities.		
90 University of Waikato Library Catalogue	<u>Simmonds, N. (2019).</u> Never-ending beginnings: The circularity of mana wāhine. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1999–2019</i> (Vol. II, pp. 155–164). Te Kotahi Research Institute. Summary: The article explores the concept of whakapapa drawing on Moana Jackson's idea that whakapapa represents a continuous series of beginnings, leading to perhaps not immediate conclusions, but more questions in the creation of knowledge. Also Jackson's call for decolonisation and courage inspires the sharing of personal and professional struggles and insights of ancestors and contemporary Māori women such as the 1993 Mana Wāhine claim, the 2018 Kaupapa Inquiry, with inspiration from the ancestral figure Māhinaarangi.	Heritage story, Māhinaarangi, whakapapa ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (1) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (3) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (2) Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine Perspectives within Māori Knowledge (1) Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation (2) Theme 11: Patriarchy (1) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (2)
91 University of Waikato Library Catalogue	<u>Gabel, K. (2019).</u> Poipoia Te Tamaiti Ki Te Ūkaipō: Theorising Māori Motherhood (pp. 165-177). In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1999-2019</i> (Vol. II). Hamilton, Aotearoa/New Zealand: Te Kotahi Research Institute Summary: This article presents a theory of Māori motherhood deeply rooted in tikanga and cultural philosophies and opposing colonialism and fostering Māori women resilience, sustaining and reclaiming traditions. The poem by Kahu Koroheke Hotere illustrates the complexity of contemporary Māori maternities and Western interventions.	Maternity, Māori motherhood, philosophy ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership (1) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (3) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (2) Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality (3) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (1) Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation (1) Theme 11: Patriarchy (2) Theme 12: Gender (1)

			Theme 13: Feminism (1)
92 University of Waikato Library Catalogue	<u>Seed-Pihama, J. (2019).</u> Kapohia ngā taonga ā kui mā: Liberty from the theft of our matrilineal names. In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1999–2019</i> (Vol. II, pp. 178–189). Te Kotahi Research Institute. Summary: Inspired by a 1999 Linda Tuhiwai Smith 'Naming' research project that fosters the survival and self-determination of Indigenous Peoples, the author explores the significance of Māori personal names in resisting colonial hegemony and addressing language trauma as a site of resistance for Māori women.	Māori names resisting colonisation ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (1) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (1) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (1) Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation (4) Theme 11: Patriarchy (1) Theme 12: Gender (1)
93 University of Waikato Library Catalogue	<u>Pihama, L. (2019).</u> Mana Atua, Mana Tangata, Mana Wahine (pp. 190-197). In L. Pihama, L. T. Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), <i>Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1999-2019</i> (Vol. II). Hamilton, Aotearoa/New Zealand: Te Kotahi Research Institute. Summary: Pihama emphasises the significance of place (whenua or aina) in shaping Indigenous worldviews and practices. The pepeha positions Maori within their collective relationships to mountains, rivers, oceans, and family structures and informs of the understandings of the world and relationships. Pihama stresses the importance of collective interconnectedness for wellbeing, emphasising obligations, responsibilities, and accountabilities within whānau, hapū, and iwi collectives and the recognition of mana, and the spiritual power embedded within cultural connections.	Pepeha, Māori identity ----- Aotearoa, NZ	Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine (2) Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research (1) Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau (1) Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice and Te Reo Māori (2) Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males - Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles (2) Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment (1) Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation (2) Theme 11: Patriarchy (1) Theme 12: Gender (2) Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine (2)

Appendix 4: Referenced Quotes Organised by Theme and Subtheme

Theme	Sub-theme	Quotes
Theme 1: Definitions of Mana Wāhine	The Difficulties of Translating Mana Wāhine Concepts into English	• Providing a more detailed translation of mana wahine is somewhat problematic. The difficulty lies in trying to convey the multifarious nature of the terms 'mana' and 'wahine'. Within te reo Māori (the Māori language) there is a unique way of explaining and relating to the world that is difficult, if not impossible, to adequately convey in English. This does not necessarily mean that Māori concepts are incomprehensible to those not fluent in the language, but there are definite and distinct limitations when trying to explain complex concepts such as 'mana wahine' in the English language. (2, p. 6) • Indeed, I am not the only author to experience the challenges of 'translation' when writing about Māori concepts using the coloniser's language... Dictionary translations of 'mana' most commonly refer to it as authority, prestige, power or control (Moorfield 2005; Ngata 1993; Williams 1971). Rose Pere (1991) makes reference to psychic influence and also mana as acquired authority and control recognised by a collective. Hine Waitere-Ang (1999) draws on the relational qualities of mana, arguing that it is located not simply in human relationships but also in relationships to spiritual and biophysical domains. Discussions of the concept of 'mana' are vast and complex and I do not have the space to review all of these here (see Johnston & Waitere 2009; Pere 1991; Waitere-Ang 1999). What I will say is that like many Māori concepts, mana is multi-layered, relational, spatial, informed by wairua and intimately linked to tapu (the sacred).¹⁵ I draw on all of these meanings in this thesis. (2, p. 7) • It is important, however, to recognise that there are definite and distinct limitations when translating into English (Pihama, 2001). Providing a concise and accurate definition of mana wahine, then, is problematic. Much of this difficulty lies in trying to convey the multifarious nature of 'mana'. Dictionary translations of 'mana' most commonly refer to it as authority, prestige, power or control (Moorfield, 2005; Ngata, 1993; Williams, 2006). Numerous authors have attempted to tease out understandings of 'mana'. In discussing the complexities of the term they describe it as multi-layered, relational, spatial, and informed by spiritual influences (for a more detailed discussion see Johnston & Waitere, 2009; Pere, 1991; Waitere-Ang, 1999; Winitana, 2008). Wahine, too, simply translated is often taken to mean 'woman'¹. Again this does not always reflect the highly relational and spatial nature of the Māori language. Leonie Pihama (2001) makes the point that while wahine generally refers to being a woman, to assume it carries the same culturally embedded meanings as the English term woman is problematic, in that Māori women move in and through a range of subjectivities at different times and in different places. (9, p. 13) • To some extent, mana wahine remains an untranslatable term, although the word mana has often been interpreted as, for example in the popular short Dictionary of Modern Maori, "integrity, charisma, prestige." In the widely referenced H. W. Williams' A Dictionary of the Maori Language of 1844, there are eight carefully delineated interpretations of the word mana—"1. authority, control, 2. influence, prestige, power, 3. psychic force, 4. effectual,

		binding, authoritative, 5. having influence or power, 6. vested with effective authority, 7. be effectual, take effect, 8. be avenged" (172). As one of the Austronesian words that has, through anthropological and now contemporary discourses, had a global circulation, it is cursorily translated in a current Oxford English Dictionary (1998) as "(especially in Polynesian, Melanesian, and Maori belief) pervasive supernatural or magical power" (1122), an explanation that demonstrates the variety in meanings across texts and time periods. (24, p. 108)
	Nuances in the Cultural Meanings of 'Mana' and 'Wahine'	• Wahine, too, simply translated is often taken to mean 'woman'. 16 Again the relational, spatial and spiritual elements of this term are not well reflected in this (2. p. 7) • A macron over the 'a' in wahine changes the term to the plural, women. It should be noted, however, that the term mana wahine implies the collective 'women' without the need for a macron over the 'a'. (2, p. 7) • Leonie Pihama (2001) makes the point that while wahine generally refers to being a woman, to assume it carries the same culturally embedded meanings as the English term woman is problematic. As Māori women, she argues, we move in and through a range of subjectivities at different times and in different places. She (2001, 261-262) states: The term wahine designates a certain time and space for Māori women but is by no means a universal term like the term woman in English. There are many times and spaces Māori women move through, in our lives, wahine is one of those. There are others. There are varying terms that relate to times in our lives and relationships. From birth we journey through those spaces. (2, p. 8) • use the terms wahine/woman and wāhine/women interchangeably ... mother, nanny, whaea, daughter, sister, partner, wife, student, employee, manager, supervisor, midwife (2, p. 8) • Rose Pere (1994) points out that Māori words often have both a sacred or spiritual meaning and an everyday translation. The sacredness of the term wahine can be derived from the latter two syllables 'hine'. 'Hine' refers to the female uha (essence) and is applied to a range of relational subjectivities, for example wahine (woman), tamāhine (daughter), tuahine (sister) and ruahine (elderly woman of rank). Aroha Yates-Smith (2006) maintains that the collective of atua wāhine (female goddesses) – Hine-ahu-one, Hine-titama, Hine-nui-te-pō, Hine-te-iwaiwa, to name a few – form the constellation 'hine'. It is through whakapapa to these atua wāhine that mana wahine is derived. (2, p. 8) • Mana wahine as a principle of Kaupapa Māori is integral to this study in a number of ways. Mana Wahine principles are concepts and theories relating to Māori women. Rangimarie Turuki Rose Pere is a tohunga and elder of Tūhoe and Ngāti Kahungunu descent describes the concept of mana as "beyond translation from the Māori language" (1994, p. 36) Its meanings are multi-faceted including psychic influences, authority prestige that is acquired through acts or vested from others, "that quality of a person that others know he or she has" (p. 36). Similarly, Ngāpuhi tohunga Māori Marsden⁴⁶ (2003) refers to mana as an "extraordinary power, essence, or presence" as forces that relate to people and to the natural world. By this statement Māori is asserting that mana is integral to all parts of Māori society. Mana therefore is connected to notions of status, and power that is earned and is recognized by the collective. The concept mana used with the term wahine honours and uplifts the roles of women in the Māori world. The direct translation of wahine is 'woman' however although correct this translation does not encompass the many phases and spaces Māori women

		move through (Pihama, 2001). The word wahine can be considered in two parts, Wa meaning time and space and Hine meaning the female essence. Leonie Pihama has written extensively on Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wahine theories, on representation of Māori in film and education for and by Māori (1994, 2001). Pihama (2001) maps out the historical development of Kaupapa Māori research and Mana Wahine theory. Leonie Pihama explains the term wahine in this way: The term wahine designates a certain time and space for Māori women but is by no means a universal term like the term woman in English. There are many times and spaces that Māori women move through in our lives, wahine is one of those. There are others. There are varying terms that relate to times in our lives and relationships. From birth we begin a journey through those many spaces. As such the term wahine should not be seen as a dualism with the term tāne, as we see in the constructed binaries of female and male that exist in the West and which are defined in biological terms (2001. p. 263). Mana wahine therefore encompasses not only the many and complex roles that make up Māori women's realities. I agree with Pihama that the term wahine not be seen in opposition to the term tāne, in that we all possess aspects of the feminine and the masculine. Aspects of these traits can be drawn on depending on circumstance and relationships.(4, p. 38-39) • Central to Mana Wahine is the concept and practice of 'mana'. The meaning of 'mana' is one that engages us conceptually, culturally, spiritually, emotionally and in material ways of being, and encompasses an essence and power of being that we have been reminded (8, p. 354) is beyond any singular translation (Henare 1988; Pere 1991; Pihama 2001). Mana is multi dimensional and requires an understanding of wider tikanga Māori and the relationships within which we locate ourselves.... Mana as a concept is beyond translation from the Māori language. Its meaning is multi-form and includes psychic influence, control, prestige, power, vested and acquired authority and influence, being influential or binding over others, and that quality of the person that others know she or he has! (8, p. 355) • 'Wahine' is most often translated or defined as 'woman' or 'women', however this is but one way in which we may understand what wahine means. Wahine also designates a (8, p. 358) particular phase within our lifespan as Māori women. 'Wahine' can also be understood through its component parts, wā and hine. Wā relates to both time and space, hine is female essence or femininity. It is important to understand place and space within which to understand Mana wahine and Māori analysis of gender as it fundamentally disrupts the ways in which colonial hegemony expects us to understand these roles. (8, p. 359) • It is also important to consider the multi-valences of the word wahine, the word for woman, of which the plural is wahine. The first syllable of the plural with a long vowel—wa—can also signify time and place, so that by extension it becomes the "time and place of Hine." Hina is the name of the wife or sister of the demigod and discoverer of Aotearoa, Maui, and, as Orbell puts it "continues to represent women in general" (1995:53). Hine is the word used for girl (in Maori and other places/languages of the Pacific) and is also the name of many of the ancestresses, demigods, and goddesses associated with women. Local versions of such beliefs, stories, mythologies and histories distinguish different iwi (tribes) and individuals from each other, but also connect them to shared cultural, situated, and migrational histories. (24, p. 29) • The word wahine can be read as referring to the time and place between Maori women, between the differing representations of Hine. Hine-ahu-one, for example, has been described as "a woman earth formed by Tane from the body of Papatuanuku and endowed by Tane with
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		the ira tangata—the life principle" (Jahnke 31). Hine-nui-te-po, goddess of night, death, and life is sometimes understood as a mature manifestation of Hine-ahu-one. (24, p. 109)
	Foundational Epistemological Definitions of Mana Wāhine	Connections to Māori Women's Realities • There are important connections between Patricia Grace's⁴ work and mana wahine. The novel <i>Cousins</i> focuses on the geographies of Māori women. It is authored, and therefore the parameters of the story are defined, by a Māori woman and it exemplifies the diverse realities of Māori women as a result of colonialism.⁵ (2, p. 2) • Mana wahine is founded and grounded in the lived realities of Māori women. (2, p. 5) • In short, mana wahine considers the intersection of being Māori and being a woman. It provides for and celebrates the histories, cosmologies, geographies, genealogies, stories and lived experiences of Māori women. It challenges those spaces and discourses that perpetuate misrepresentations of Māori women's knowledges. It is about (re)claiming our knowledges, practices and power from those who, knowingly or not, continue to oppress and marginalise Māori women. Mana wahine is also about power. It is about drawing strength from our tūpuna and atua wāhine to make sense of and empower our lived realities. In the context of this research, mana wahine is about reinstating the power of the maternal body and providing for uniquely Māori (and tribal) understandings and performances of maternities (2, p. 11) • Mana wahine stems from the lived, embodied and spatial experiences of Māori women. It is not a universal or homogenous theory. It must provide for the mutability of Māori women's lived realities (see Hutchings 2002a; Mikaere 2003; Pihama 2001; Smith 1996). (2, p. 52) • Mana wahine is about making visible Māori women's knowledges and making heard our voices and her stories. It has emerged to describe and analyse Māori women's lived realities. Mana wahine is "about intellect. It is also about culture, spirituality, and economic or material forms, the way we define ourselves and the parameters we impose on that definition" (Hutchings 2002, 9). (3, p. 4) • The life experiences of a woman who has grown up away from the marae, with neither language nor strong whānau connections are just as much a part of what it now means to be Māori as those of the woman who has grown up in a rural, marae centred Māori community, is fluent in the language and secure in her iwi identity. All Māori women are involved in the struggle, some consciously, others without even realising it; whether rural or urban, whether fluent or not, whether they choose to bear children or not, whether lesbian or heterosexual, whether proud or ashamed of being Māori. Ultimately, we are all connected by whakapapa, to one another and to our Māoriness. To question the authenticity of one another's Māori womenness, as though there is a standard definition to which all „real Māori women" must conform, is to deny the complexities of colonisation. It is also highly destructive, introducing divisiveness which Māori women can ill afford (Mikaere 2003, 141-142). (3, p. 9) • Mana Wahine is of this place Aotearoa developed from the Māori experience. As Māori we can draw on feminist perspectives, however Mana Wahine is drawn from Māori understandings. Wahine Māori have the right to express and define us through our own experiences of the world, to state our own positions in our own world. (4, p. 40) • From birth we begin a journey through many phases, roles, spaces and identities. To acknowledge the many ways in which Māori talk about various stages of life is to recognise the complex ways that our people have always viewed roles and relationships. As Margie

		Hohepa states: Who I am is inextricably bound within my roles and relationships with others, including my father and grandfathers, my bothers, my sons, my husband. I am wahine Māori, I am moko puna, I am tamahine, tuakana, teina, whaea, hoa, wahine. And I look forward ... to being karani. We draw our descent from both male and female ancestors, through the way they connected to and from each other. (Hohepa 1993, 24) (8, p. 357) • Pihama (2001) promotes mana wahine as an exciting development of Kaupapa Māori which explicitly engages with gender relations. She notes (Pihama, 2001, p. 232) that 'the struggles for our people, our lands, our worlds, ourselves are struggles that are part of our daily lives as Māori women, they are never just about being Māori or just being women but are about a combination of what those things mean'. (9, p. 13) • Mana wahine, therefore, must be multiple, plural and provide for the diversity and complexities of Māori women's lived realities (Hutchings, 2002; Mikaere, 1999, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1992, 1996). This is a potential strength. It is also problematic, however, as any attempts to describe mana wahine run the risk of delineating definable parameters that may exclude the very women we wish to represent. Donna Matahaere-Atariki (1998) issues a word of warning that as Māori women academics, we must be conscious of the unequal power relations that are produced in our attempts to speak for Other Māori women. (9, p. 19) • Cousins exemplifies many of the values of mana wahine; it is female authored and it focuses closely on the importance of Māori women, and relationships between them, in their own terms. (68, p. 74) • Mana wahine aligns with an urgent need to rebalance. There are components of mana wahine that are about the essence of mana itself, and there are components that are about redressing the impact of oppressive colonising views and practices that deny the place and position of Indigenous women. It is particularly important to honour the wahine Māori and Indigenous women globally who have been at the blunt end of the colonial abuse instrument; to give honour to those who have and who do work endlessly to return us to our cultural normal, where wahine are honoured and where we all take a role in fighting back against the colonial erasure of Indigenous women. (93, p. 195) Mana wāhine's integration of spiritual, material, and cultural understanding • Here mana wahine is conceptualised as a harakeke plant with the leaves being critical focus areas. These areas align with, and develop further, some of the key themes identified by Pihama. The roots of the plant are Māori women, whānau, and tikanga Māori. An important point to note is that the harakeke is grounded in Papatūānuku, and interacts with Te Taiao, making this framework all the more pertinent to this thesis. (3, p. 25) • Mana wahine provides the space to legitimise spiritual (as well as material, emotional and cultural) understandings of Māori women's relationships to Papatūānuku. (3, p. 26) Cautin: Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1990, 1991a) notes that taha wairua permeates our worldview profoundly. She issues a word of caution that to isolate and analyse aspects of wairua could threaten its very fabric. (3, p. 26) • The point I am emphasising here is that there are varying ways in which roles and relationships are negotiated, and the assertion by Māori women that we are connected in multiple and powerful ways all of which are embodied within us and within our understanding of Mana Wahine. Clear ways of understanding these relationships is within the cultural frameworks of whakapapa and whanaungatanga. This means that any analysis that is
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		grounded upon Mana Wahine needs to be grounded upon these fundamental cultural templates upon which we position ourselves. Another way by which to gain more depth insights into Mana Wahine theory is in framing our analysis with a te reo and tikanga Māori lens (8, p. 358) • Mana Wahine brings to the fore the power, knowledge, strength and dignity of Hineahuone, the first wahine shaped at Kurawaka by Tane with the guidance of Papatuanuku and with atua gifting each part of the body form. ... It means bringing forward our understandings from a source that is deep within Papatūānuku and revitalising that knowledge to support the wellbeing of Māori women (Irwin, 1992; Simmonds, 2014). It means affirming and recognising the power of Māori women's resistance to colonisation and the efforts of our tūpuna wāhine to defend, protect, reclaim and assert Mana Wahine. This includes a focus on the analysis and deconstruction of colonial discourses. (93, p. 195) • In relation to the place of wahine, wahine are part of a functioning ecosystem within that flax bush, along with men, along with grandparents, along with the wider community. That's what mana wahine means. (32, p.21) Broad definitions • Mana wahine, in its simplest definition, refers to the inherent uniqueness, strength, power, influence and authority of Māori women that is derived through whakapapa. In the context of the academy, mana wahine can mean Māori women's discourses (Hutchings 2002a) and has developed as an epistemological approach that extends Kaupapa Māori (Māori centred) theory by explicitly examining the intersection of being Māori and female. A relatively recent development within academic scholarship, mana wahine is rooted in, and grows from, the stories, histories, genealogies and geographies of Māori women (Hutchings 2002a; Pihama 2001; Smith 1996). • In other words, existing elements of mana wahine are not definitive or exhaustive (Hutchings 2002a). (2, p. 40) • Mana wahine is not anti-Māori men. Mana wahine is not about seeking some "oppressive matriarchal alternative" (Diamond 1999, 307). Rather, it is premised on the argument that pre-colonisation mana wahine and mana tāne existed as complementary. (2, p. 55) • Mana wahine is not intended to perpetuate the binaries between Māori and Pākehā but to recognise the distinctiveness of Māori women's everyday geographies. This is not to say that it is derived from an „authentic“ sense of what it means to be a Māori woman. Rather, the approach necessarily recognises and provides for the plurality of Māori women's lived realities. (3, p. 9) • The obsession in much postmodern and postcolonial framing of essentialism, that reduces discussions to one of a liberal individual self disconnected from collectives or cultural relationships, is not one that serves the interests of Indigenous Peoples. Diversity is, within the context of Mana Wahine, is articulated clearly by Kathie Irwin: (8, p. 356) In our work with Māori women we need to recognize that they, like any other community of women, are not a homogenous group. A number of other factors influence Māori women's development: tribal affiliation, social class, sexual preference, knowledge of traditional Māori tikanga, knowledge of the Māori language, rural or urban location, identification on the political spectrum from radical to traditional, place in the family, the level of formal schooling and educational attainments to name but a few. (Irwin 1992, 3) (8, p. 357)
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		• Mana Wahine is ... the past present and future. Maree Sheehan (and further personal definitions) (8, p. 362) • At its core, mana wahine is about the intersecting spaces of being Māori and being female; however, it does not exist in isolation but is entangled with mana tāne (Johnston & Waitere, 2009). It is this that is one of the distinguishing features of mana wahine and locates it firmly in the wider social and political fabric of New Zealand. Colonisation has attempted to disrupt the balance between mana wahine, mana whenua, mana whānau, and mana atua. Mana wahine is but one space within which we can critically analyse the impact of colonisation on all of these institutions – there are many others. (9, p. 15) • As stated previously, mana wahine has grown out of wider cultural and political struggles of which Māori women have often been at the forefront (Johnston & Waitere, 2009). (9, p. 15) • the mana of Māori women continues to be calculated in terms of our physical presence and the conceptual absence of the messages embedded within our voices. We are undeniably present in social indices that suggest Māori women reside in the precarious spaces outside the norm of quality standards of living, protection within the law, good health, quality education, and policy processes. Often, however, we are absent in the forums that attempt to give us a voice to resolve our dilemmas. (18, p. 19) • As Ataria Sharman defines it, "mana wahine is the expression of mana from the atua through Maori women, the expression of mana through the hine element, the female essence and time and space".⁴ It exists in balance with the mana tane of men and refers to the mana inherent in all women, as a collective.⁵ At its core, it is a force that denotes the prestige, authority, sacrality and power of women. It is closely related to the cosmological principle of tapu (sacrality, state of restriction), as the mana of wahine is informed by the inherent tapu of women, deriving from their whakapapa connection to the atua (divine ancestor) Papatuanuku and Hineahuone. This intrinsic tapu gives wahine the ability to control the sacrality and restriction of people and things around them, thus informing their authority and prestige.' (26, p. 19) • Mana wahine is about intellect; it is about how we define ourselves and the space and parameters we place on that definition. Mana wahine discourse has claimed and continues to claim ethical space where analysis and critical discussion is required. They are about resistance and emancipation. More so they challenge processes of colonisation and apply a gender analysis to situations that challenge current hegemonic colonial masculinist ideologies. ¹ Mana wahine theory provides a space from which to locate, predict and provide an analysis relevant to the aspirations of Maori women working within mana wahine frameworks (Pihama, 2001). Linda Tuhiwai Smith confirms the validity of the mana wahine space as a place to develop our analysis and as a key place of emancipation (34, p. 17) • There is a link between Mana Wahine and Mana Tangata insofar as Mana Wahine denotes practices and procedures in exercise of self-determination which are peculiar to women. Such practices and procedures are collectively performed by women or as part of Maori social groupings or activities which contribute to the self-determination of Maori as Tangata Whenua. (48, no pg no) • Of all the efforts to maintain our status as a people, it is Mana Wairua that sustains Mana Wahine. The vesting of the continuance of people in women "te whare tapu o te tangata" - is really the only basis by which we can be assured of the ultimate persistence of Mana Wairua. (48, no pg no)
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		• The current term used by Maori women to explain what it means to be Maori women in a Pākehā society and to be women in a Maori society is Mana Wahine Maori. Wahine means woman. Mana is a concept related to notions of power, strength, status and collective acknowledgment of merit. The Mana Wahine Maori term is broad enough to embrace a wide range of women's activities and perspectives. It is a strong cultural concept which situates Maori women in relation to each other and upholds their mana as women of particular genealogical groupings. It also situates Maori women in relation to the outside world and reaffirms their mana as Maori, indigenous women. Mana Wahine Maori is the preferred Maori label for what counts as Maori feminism. It is a term which addresses both the issues of race and gender as well as locates the struggle for Maori women within two distinct societies. (76, p. 92) • For me, mana wahine is part of something that also recognises and incorporates mana tane. That I can stand here as a Maori woman is because my tupuna wahine had relations with men! (78, p. 111) • Mana wahine is about intellect; it is about how we define ourselves and the space and parameters we place on that definition. Mana wahine discourse has claimed and continues to claim ethical space where analysis and critical discussion is required. They are about resistance and emancipation. More so they challenge processes of colonisation and apply a gender analysis to situations that challenge current hegemonic colonial masculinist ideologies. (83, p. 26)
	Mana Wāhine as a Theoretical Framework	• that mana wahine is an important epistemological framework that challenges the dominant hegemony that continues to produce Māori women as 'Other' within Aotearoa New Zealand. Moreover, by applying a mana wahine perspective to understandings and experiences of birth it is possible to reinstate the mana of the maternal body and transform the spaces - discursive, symbolic and material - of maternities for Māori women and whānau. (2, p. 16) • While grounded in these Māori feminisms from the '80s and '90s mana wahine is a relatively new theoretical concept. (3, p. 7) • mana wahine is a place specific theoretical framework that recognises the ideological, political, and cultural specificities of being located in Aotearoa. (3, p. 8) • The creative works for this study are underpinned by Mana Wahine theories; the works are woven sculptural body adornments that represent aspects of particular Atua wāhine, while also reflecting aspects of human traits. These creative works embody mana wāhine, mana tāne and mana tangata and are referred to as female. (4, p. 41) • Mana Wahine provides us with a culturally defined basis from which to not only reclaim our place as Māori women within Te Ao Māori, but it also provides grounding for distinctively Indigenous women's theory and analysis of the impact of colonisation and the structures that reproduce colonising practices within Aotearoa (Awatere 1984; Irwin 1992; Smith 1992; Simmonds 2014). (8, p. 359) • Mana wahine, often referred to as Māori feminist discourses, is a theoretical and methodological approach that explicitly examines the intersection of being Māori and female. There is little published academic work that engages with Māori women's embodied, spatial and spiritual experiences from an explicitly mana wahine standpoint. The exceptions, however, are significant. I draw on these, in this article, to highlight the exciting possibilities of mana wahine, an extension of Kaupapa Māori theory, as a localised and place-specific

		theoretical approach that examines the diverse and complex geographies of Māori women. The article reflects on Linda Smith's discussion of four mana wahine projects: wairua, whānau, state, and indigenous and white women's discourses. It is argued that the need to sustain and further develop mana wahine as an epistemological framework is still as pressing as ever. I contend that applying a mana wahine perspective not only challenges the dominant hegemony that continues to oppress Other Māori women but, and more importantly, validates mātauranga wāhine (Māori women's knowledges) and subsequently mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledges). (9, p. 12) • mana wahine is intimately woven with mana tāne, mana whānau, mana whenua, and mana atua is one of its distinguishing features and is vitally important to any theoretical considerations. In the second section, I promote mana wahine as an exciting theoretical development that enables Māori women to (re)present and (re)claim our knowledges, experiences, and practices. This discussion is framed around four key 'projects' identified by Linda Smith as being central strands to any articulations of mana wahine (Smith, 1992). These projects are spirituality, whānau, state, and the projects of both indigenous and white women. She defines these as 'projects' as they are made up of a constellation of social, political, and cultural discourses that inform and are informed by Māori women's lived realities. (9, p. 13) • The challenge for Māori women in the 1990s is to assume control over the interpretation of our struggles and to begin to theorise our experiences in ways which make sense for us and which may come to make sense for other women. In helping to determine how that interpretation might be advanced, it is worthwhile analysing the kinds of struggles in which Māori women have been engaged and to set them more explicitly within a Māori orientation to the world. This does not mean rejecting all feminist theories. Rather it means that we, as Māori women, should begin with an understanding of our own condition and apply analyses which can give insight into the complexities of our world. Consequently, the first task of any theory is to make sense of the reality of the women who live within its framework. The second task is to provide women with a framework which will assist in emancipating them from racism, sexism, poverty and other oppressions. (Smith, 1992: 34) (83, p. 27)
Theme 2: Themes Shaping Mana Wāhine Research	Concepts of Te Ao Māori: Language, Tradition, and Spirituality	• Wairua, whānau, Māori masculinities, diverse Māori realities, mātauranga wāhine, the state, decolonisation, indigenous women, and feminism/feminist geographies are examined as 'sites' that shape, and are shaped, by mana wahine in the context of this research. (2, p. 17) • I examine a number of key 'themes' or 'projects' that have been identified by mana wahine scholars. These are: decolonisation; whakapapa, te reo Māori and tikanga; wairua; diverse realities; whānau; Māori masculinities; indigenous women and feminism. (2, p. 40) • Leonie Pihama (2001) identifies whakapapa as important to mana wahine research because it provides a Māori centred framework for multiple positioning. Further, whakapapa can also serve as a symbolic connection between researcher and researched. (2, p. 48) • The notion of authenticity in relation to tikanga must also be interrogated. ... careful analysis of 'tradition' and 'tikanga' from a mana wahine perspective may prompt a drastic reconsideration of those tikanga which are distorted colonial versions of what our tūpuna would likely have practiced. (2, p. 49)

		• Wairua is a critical site of resistance for mana wahine and for Māori. It is this spirituality that, as Linda Smith (1996) argues, marks the clearest contrast between indigenous knowledges and the west. (2, p. 50) • The importance of wairua to articulations of mana wahine cannot be stressed enough. I contend that the spiritual realities of Māori women are inextricable from their physical realities. This is a consistent and unwavering theme that runs through expressions of mana wahine both inside and outside of the academy (see Gabel 2013; Grace 1992; Hutchings 2002a; Kahukiwa and Potiki 1999; Mikaere 2003; Murphy 2011; Yates-Smith 1998). In fact, one of the most exciting possibilities of mana wahine, I believe, is that it allows researchers to draw from a blend of lived and embodied experiences and spiritualities... caution...Engagement with the spiritual must, therefore, be informed by culturally appropriate tikanga and guidance to keep those involved in research 'safe'. ... Reclaiming wairua, therefore, is a critical site for mana wahine and can be transformative for understandings of Māori women's subjectivities, knowledges and bodies. (2, p. 51) • The primary focus of this research is on the complexities, connections, and contradictions of Māori women's embodied relationships with the spaces of Papatūānuku – spaces that are simultaneously material, discursive, symbolic, and spiritual. In doing so, I displace the boundaries between coloniser/colonised, self/other, rational/irrational and scientific/spiritual. I demonstrate that Māori women's colonised realities produce multiple, complex and hybrid understandings of Papatūānuku. (3, p. iv) • wairua discourses are important in examining the geographies of Māori women. (3, p. 11) • Despite arriving at this, seemingly comfortable (and definitely longed for), conceptual space (mana wahine), I am not so quick to dismiss other critical theories. To do so would be arrogant and would deny the importance of feminist, post-colonial, post structural and queer theories in shaping my academic journey so far. (3, p. 14) • the motivation for this study, by explaining the intent of creative practice as a vehicle to affirm cultural identity. (4, p. 22) • Kaitiakitanga/connections with past and future, linked to spirituality: These taonga plants and their properties are discussed from physical and spiritual perspectives. In addition, the philosophies of Te Pā Harakeke are discussed revealing how these ancient philosophies are realized in contemporary practice. Integral to the world of kairaranga are our native plants and how we nurture them for future generations. (4. p. 23) • Western knowledge systems are in direct contrast with the Māori world view that Te Awēkotuku posits highlighting the appreciation of the ancestral arts as knowledge, as Mātauranga Māori. Architect and scholar Deirdre Brown (of Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Kahu (2012) writing on cultural knowledge suggests that "the majority of the world's knowledge could be claimed to be indigenous" (p.7) and 30 that cultural knowledge is debated as "better conceptualized as different "worlds" of knowledge, rather than "worldviews." (4, p.30) • Connections to cycle and nature: The cyclical in te ao Māori is illustrated by the kaupapa set down by our ancestors (Panoho, 1996) a view of the natural environment. (4, p. 32) • I invoke the tūpuna through visualisation, in particular Hineteiwaiwa the guardian of childbirth and weaving, and my kuia Puti. I immerse my thoughts and making within their beings through the practice. (4, p. 45) • Māori epistemologies are founded on the way we view the world, from our creation pūrākau, tikanga practices, and Mātauranga Māori, informing the relationship Māori have with the
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		environment (Marsden 1988; Henare 2001). By acknowledging the Māori world- view of the interconnectedness of all things, the relationship we have with the whenua becomes more meaningful and related. (4, p. 60-1) • In the context of discussing Māori women's theories, mana relates to notions of power, status and collective affirmation of our place within our communities (Smith 1992). (8, p. 355) • In 1992, Linda Smith identified a number of projects important to mana wahine. She says 'by projects I mean a combination of politics, work, orientations and organisation of the activities in which Māori women were grouped' (Smith, 1996, p. 286). (9, p. 15) • whānau discourses ground mana wahine in the lived - and often stark - realities of Māori women and their whānau and thus require a very practical application of mana wahine in order to prompt change for better realities. (9, p. 17) • Alongside her work, videos were played showing Wilkinson's whānau. This brought greater meaning to her work as it tied in an important essence of Māori culture: when creating something taonga, you involve your whakapapa in your work. The emphasis on the artists and their background removes the objectification of their art by highlighting their personal journey that led to the pieces on display. (12, p. 71) • Whakapapa in work: Kākahu are a connection to your whakapapa; the spiritual and physical world becoming linked through the materials collected from the natural world that form the cloaks. (12, p. 71) • The method of Korikori Kōrero, in my research was more about the interconnected relationships that wāhine had with their activity, with the chosen environment, and the influence of environment on activity. In such a context, each element (person, place, and physical activity) has an influence on each other, and each element is of interest. (17, p. 5) • In the present study, the primary researcher (Masters, 2006) identified as a Māori woman of Ngati Maru and Ngati Tamatera (iwi/ hapu) descent and was highly involved in sport and physical activities in a variety of capacities. The researcher adopted elements of culturally-specific ethics in the research process similar to those outlined by Te Awēkotuku (1991a): 1. aroha ki te tangata (show respect for people), 2. he kanohi kitea (face-to-face contact is preferred), 3. titiro, whakarongo ... korero (look, listen ... then talk), 4. manaaki ki te tangata (be generous), 5. kia tupato (be cautious), 6. kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not intentionally trample on the mana of people), 7. kaua e mahaki (do not flaunt your knowledge). (47, p. 334) • Whakapapa embodies a comprehensive conceptual framework that enables us to make sense of our world. It allows us to explain where we have come from and to envisage where we are going. It provides us with guidance on how we should behave towards one another and it helps us to understand how we fit into the world around us. It shapes the way we think about ourselves and about the issues that confront us from one day to the next. Whakapapa, then, is much more than 'genealogy'. It is an intricate web of connections, intersections and relationships that serve to connect Māori women to enduring lifeways that are ancient in origin but that will carry them into the future and enable them to navigate the complex systems of power that are part of our colonised realities. (90, p.160) • As Māori we are born with mana. It is inherent to our whakapapa. As Jenny Lee-Morgan (pers. comm 2019) reminded us, one way of thinking about mana is in regard to the concept and lived practice of manaakitanga. Manaakitanga is, in essence, the affirmation and enhancing of mana through the processes and practices that we undertake in the care and
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		nurturing of others; the respect and generosity that we show others; and the reciprocity that is embedded within that practice. Whaea Rangimarie Rose Pere (1991) reminds us that the origins of mana are directly associated to our connections to atua. This affirms the sacredness of all people. Mana, she notes, has multiple forms that include “psychic influence, control, prestige, power, vested and acquired authority and influence, being influential or binding over others, and that quality of the person that others know she or he has” (p.14). There are many ways in which our people speak of mana that move beyond tangata, beyond humanity, including: Mana Atua, Mana Whenua, Mana Moana, Mana Motuhaki. ... Mana is integral to all aspects of our cultural world as Māori, including the ways in which we engage with tikanga in a broad range of contexts, practices, protocols, rituals and relationships. It is important to note that our protocols and practices are interconnected and give us guidance in terms of what is ‘tika’, what is correct. ... Te reo, both as language and as voice, tikanga and mātauranga work hand in hand in the recovery of the wellbeing, of the mouri (sacred life force) of our people. (93, p. 192)
	Kaupapa Māori Methodologies	• Kahurangi Waititi (2007) engages with Kaupapa Māori to investigate processes for documentary filmmaking. Jenny Bol Jun Lee (2008) develops a unique Kaupapa Māori methodology that draws on the notion of pūrākau (a traditional form of storytelling). Mera Penehira (2011) examines the practice of tā moko (traditional forms of tattooing) as a method of healing for women with Hepatitis C. Carl Mika (2005) provides a critique of the medicalisation and normalisation of the body through the colonial ‘gaze’ from a Kaupapa Māori perspective. Clive Aspin and Jessica Hutchings (2007) review historical accounts pertaining to Māori sexuality to argue that Māori were traditionally accepting of sexual diversity and difference.⁴³ This growing corpus of work places Māori values, language, traditions and metaphysical foundations at the centre (Mahuika 2011). In doing so, it challenges the hegemony of colonial ideologies, discourse and practices. Perhaps more importantly, Kaupapa Māori scholars are (re)creating and (re)claiming avenues to liberate and transform the everyday geographies of whānau, hapū and iwi. (2, p. 42) • In 1992 a group of Māori women designed a course titled ‘Kaupapa Wāhine Māori’ (Te Awakotuku 1992, 52). The aims of this course were: ○ – To introduce an understanding of the heritage and herstory of Māori women, as different from Māori men whose ○ worldviews have formed the basis of most, if not all, ○ recorded cultural knowledge to date; ○ – To explore the nature of this difference from other female perspectives, thus stimulating discussion, offering new ○ insights and challenges, and focusing on a relatively ○ unstudied part of this country’s indigenous culture; ○ – To contribute to what is currently a very thin, shallow, and fragile body of knowledge, by research, publication and ○ the focused development of a strong exciting new ○ discipline; ○ – To return to wāhine Māori particularly, what they have been denied. To rediscover what has been lost or mislaid. ○ To uncover what has been spoiled or misinterpreted.

		These aims remain as relevant today as they did over 20 years ago. Also in 1992, Linda Smith, (1992 and reproduced in her doctoral thesis in 1996) wrote a ground breaking article in which she identifies a number of 'projects' which are pivotal to the articulations of mana wahine - whānau, wairua, Māori men, State, indigenous women's and 'white women's' project.(2, p. 43) • Kaupapa Māori theory is introduced as form and thinking that underpins this study. (4, p. 22) • By utilizing Kaupapa Māori theoretical frameworks this study identifies first and foremost as an affirmation and assertion of our cultural worldviews. (4, p. 23) • The methodology for this study is developed from the knowledge and practices of Te Whare Pora. Nepe (1991) explains whare pora as "a distinctive educational institution" (p.18) transmitting knowledge and culture from a distinctly Māori worldview. As well as being a physical space where historically kairaranga were taught specific forms of knowledge pertaining to raranga and whatu, Te Whare Pora is also considered a state of mind. Te Āti awa weaver Erenora Puketapu-Hetet (1999) refers to te whare pora as more than a house of weaving, or a weaving school. Te Whare Pora can be a state of mind where experienced kairaranga often subconsciously exist in this creative state. This state she goes to say does not require verbalizing or writing about "it has simply been a way of living" (Puketapu Hetet, 1999, p. 24). (4, p. 46) • Te Whare Pora methodology provides conceptual whenu or spaces where information gathered may be implemented or not and can be replaced if or when new information arises from inquiry. This whakairo of thinking is predicated on Kaupapa Māori praxis and is critical to a Māori creative practice model where the research is explorative and new ideas inspire multiple directions. Ultimately this model will provide for a range of design concepts to be brought together to create a cohesive whole such as the whiri. (4, p. 47) • his project also encompasses a Māori creative practice-led research platform as inquiry through my own creative practice "Research through one's own creative practice, or practice-led research, suggest an approach where the practitioner take the position of the researcher using his/her own professional practice as a means of inquiry (Rust et al, as cited in Nimkulrat, 2007, p. 66). The notion of the practice leading the investigation is an important underlying feature of Te Whare Pora methodology. (4, p. 47) • Smith (1999) developed a list of seven Kaupapa Māori practices to guide Kaupapa Māori researchers: (i) Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people). (ii) Kanohi kitea (presenting yourself to people face to face) (iii) Titiro, whakarongo ... kōrero (look, listen ... speak) (iv) Manaaki ki te tangata (generosity towards people) (v) Kia tupato (be cautious) (vi) Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people) (vii) Kia mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge) (17, p. 4) • Kanohi kitea (the seen face) is fundamental to the Kaupapa Māori approach and is arguably integral to the application of the other six. Acknowledging the values of Māori or the values of the research participant through the positioning and credibility of the researcher is essential. Unlike the concepts described earlier, where many western approaches to research seek to distance the researcher as objective or neutral, the many aspects of kanohi kitea deliberately bring the researcher face to face with the research participant or community. Concepts of kanohi kitea imply a physical presence or being present with their research community, and with that brings a sense of credibility, honesty, and integrity to the interaction (Cram 2009; Smith 1999). The researcher is not merely present in the interaction, but they are an active
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		participant in it. They create connections through sharing whakapapa (genealogy and backgrounds). They establish relationships through whakawhanaungatanga (connectedness and building relationships), and by taking the time and energy to plan to travel, showing up, and being present, they are showing respect to the participant that they are worthy of the effort (Bishop 1999). (17, p. 4) • Reflexive thematic analysis (RTA) - part of Korikori Kōrero: The appeal of RTA [Reflexive thematic analysis, part of Korikori Kōrero] is in its recognition that qualitative data analysis is about telling the stories from the data and that themes are interpreted and created by the researcher (Braun et al. 2016). This aligns well with a Māori approach where the researcher is not separated from the research and its data, and to Korikori Kōrero where I was actively engaged in the research process. Such RTA characteristics work well with aspects of a Māori worldview, including concepts of pūrākau (story telling) and whakapapa, where structures of knowledge are intertwined in contextual stories and personal connection (Lee 2009; Roberts 2012). The development of metaphors instead of themes or trait definitions provides a mechanism for broadening meaning rather than reducing it, and thus aligning the findings with a Māori world view. Metaphors or huahuatau provide a broad set of organising principles while also having the added potential to help shape the content into powerful reflective representations and expressions of the contributions of participants (Bishop and Glynn 1999; Marsden and Royal 2003). (17, p. 8) • A number of theoretical perspectives contribute to this research on Maori women's bodies (for more information see August 2004). There are two perspectives, however, that have possibly been more important than the others. The first is a Kaupapa Maori research perspective. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999: 125) describes Kaupapa Maori research as 'Maori centred' research. ... Postcolonialism is the second theoretical perspective that informs this research. Post-colonialism provides a discursive space in which indigenous writers can reassert and reaffirm them- selves. Smith (1999: 7) states 'researching back', 'writing back' and 'talking back' are important characteristics of postcolonial and/or anticolonial literature. (39, p. 118) • Although the researcher's rationale for conducting the study was rooted in identity politics and a kaupapa Māori philosophy, this paper in no way suggests that findings and conclusions are essentialist or complete in terms of representing the experiences of all Māori women. This study utilised intersectionality theory to deconstruct essentialism and to decenter dominant discourses that exist in managing diversity research, kaupapa Māori research and Māori feminism. The study also acknowledges that knowledge is socially constructed and socially situated and that there is no one master narrative, or partial perspective that is considered superior (Mann & Huffman, 2005). (47, p. 334) • The Kaupapa Māori research approach determines that research be transformative, benefits Māori communities and extends beyond gathering data for research satisfaction, so we asked, "What ways could we assist our participants?" (61, p. 228) • I used a kaupapa Māori and mana wahine theoretical lens in my research, locating menstrual rituals and tribal practices within Māori cultural paradigms. Kaupapa Māori celebrates Māori language, traditions, and philosophies and emerged from within the wider context of Māori cultural revival and politicisation (Bishop, 2005, 2008). It also emerged in response to a history of cultural redefinition by Pākehā. This is particularly relevant to the subject of menstruation. (87, p. 125)
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	Mana Wāhine Theoretical Framework	• Leonie Pihama (2001) ... draws together a number of key elements to a mana wahine theoretical framework. These are: te reo Māori me ōna tikanga; whakapapa; whānau; recognising diverse realities; wairua; Te Tiriti o Waitangi; decolonisation and mātauranga wāhine. (2, p. 44) • Ani Mikaere (2003, 141-142) who I quote in length. She urges anyone engaging in mana wahine research to ensure: The full range of Māori women's experiences be validated. (2, p. 52) • Jessica Hutchings (2002a) extends mana wahine theory further. She develops a mana wahine conceptual framework to contest the hegemony of science, more specifically the imposition of genetic engineering technologies in Aotearoa.(2, p. 44) • Purakau: This study weaves together narratives of Hineteiwaiwa through a mana wahine theoretical framework exploring the notion that raranga and whatu are a means to cultural regeneration and sustainability. (4, 21) • Mana wahine theory as a branch of Kaupapa Māori theory underpins this study concentrating on the many aspects of the expression of the feminine. The Te Ati Awa and Waikato scholar and activist Leonie Pihama states "Mana Wahine theory is a theoretical framework that provides for a Kaupapa Māori analysis that focuses on issues that directly impact on Māori women. Women as repositories of knowledge (Mikaere, 1995) in traditional and contemporary Māori society are inspirational to, and inform the nature of, the creative work. (4, p. 23) • Mana Wahine theory and discourse is often understood as to be a type of Māori feminism, fundamentally Mana Wahine theory is about raising consciousness of the diverse expressions of wahine Māori (Smith, 1999; Te Awēkotuku, 1991; Pihama, 2001; Simmons, 2011). Mana Wahine theory is a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework based in mātauranga Māori that challenges colonial patriarchal structures by providing a platform with which to critique said structures. Mana Wahine theories take into account multiple issues faced by wahine Māori, issues of patriarchy, colonisation, language and culture loss, marginalization.(4, p. 40) • Mana Wahine theories embrace the diversity of wahine Māori worlds. In saying this though it can never be assumed that all Māori wahine have similar understandings (Pihama, 2001). (4, p. 40) • Mana Wahine is thus used in this work as an indigenous feminist methodology, or research philosophy. Like Kaupapa Māori itself, Mana Wahine is a Māori form of theory that draws on indigenous Māori culture and perspectives (Pihama, 2001). The need for Mana Wahine is that even in Kaupapa Māori, Māori women and their views and interests may be sidelined. Mana Wahine means something like the term 'Kaupapa Māori feminism' (Simmonds, 2011). The principles of Kaupapa Māori research apply equally in Mana Wahine, overlaid with a critical feminist lens. As Naomi Simmonds explains: Mana wahine is often understood to be a type of Māori feminism. It extends Kaupapa Māori theory by explicitly exploring the intersection of being Māori and female and all of the diverse and complex things being located in this intersecting space can mean. At its base, mana wahine is about making visible the narratives and experiences, in all of their diversity, of Māori women. (Simmonds, 2011, p. 11) (6, p. 688) • Likewise, Mana Wahine capitalises on a form of strategic essentialism employed in research, since mana wahine does not exist in isolation, but is always entangled with mana tane, and
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		all other forms of mana (Robin, 1991). Mana Wahine is therefore a complex shifting space of intersectionality, in which to engage Māori women as active agents. (6, p. 688) • [About <i>Washday at the Pa</i>]: A Mana Wahine perspective understands the protest put to the Minister by the MWWL [Maori Womens Welfare League] in terms of their mana. The women of MWWL experienced or shared the misery these photographs caused for Māori children and their mothers. As a matter of mana, on behalf of all Māori women and children, it was only right and appropriate for them to demand its withdrawal, however unfortunate the waste of resources, and irrespective of its merits. Not to do so would have been remiss, in mana terms, and (6, p. 691) in terms of their rationale to support all Māori women and children. (6, p. 692) • Mana Wahine Theory is about providing theoretical and analytical spaces that reinforce and sustain movements of cultural and political reclamation that sits alongside the wider aspirations of Māori people. It is a direct challenge to colonialism in all of its many forms. As we live within an occupied land, we live daily with the impact of the intersections of racism, sexism and classism combined with the agendas of neo-liberal capitalist imperialism on our land. Wahine Māori and tamariki (children) experience the brunt of those forces (Mikaere 2017). Mana Wahine Theory speaks directly to that impact, to the role of colonial structures that reproduce the underpinning discourses and practices that perpetuate on-going oppressive systems on our lands (8, p. 360) • Mana Whenua underpins the kaupapa of my kōrero but it is intertwined with issues we face in the legal profession to highlight that these values can never be compartmentalised. They are pervasive in the way they enable my world view to be conveyed as a practitioner and as a daughter, mother, aunty and now grandmother who has found her way in Te Ao Māori. (14, no pg no.) • As a way forward, I draw on Mana Wahine (Maori women's discourses) to help further our understanding of contemporary Maori fertility patterns. From a kaupapa Maori research standpoint, the absence of Maori worldviews and thinking in demographic – research on Maori fertility is highly problematic. Kaupapa Maori research asserts that – any research, especially involving Maori interests, should be conducted “by Maori, for – Maori, and with Maori” (– L. T. Smith 1996, p. 48). This is particularly important to ensure that “cultural integrity is maintained when analysing Maori issues” (– Pihama 2010, p. 10). (22, p. 4) • Reclaiming the Maori Fertility Space: Mana Wahine is the power and authority of women, with mana meaning authority or prestige, and wahine meaning woman. Female authority has always existed in te ao Maori (the Maori world) but emerged as a theoretical and methodological approach in the – 1980s/90s, and was largely centred on Maori women's discourses (– Te Awakotuku 1991; Pihama et al. 2019a, 2019b; L. T. Smith 1992). Mana Wahine was developed to respond to the impacts of colonisation on the status of wahine Maori, and to reassert Maori identity (Pihama 2001). As a framework, Mana Wahine privileges matauranga Maori knowledges, methods of knowledge creation, and ways of knowing that are specific to Maori women (Jahnke 1997; Pihama 2001; Simmonds 2011, 2014; L. T. Smith 1992). (22, p. 4) • One of the core aims of Mana Wahine is to [re]claim and [re]present the status of wahine Maori – according to matauranga wahine. One way to do this is to make “visible the narratives, – experiences, in all of their diversity, of Maori women” (– Simmonds 2011, p. 11) (22, p. 4)
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		• Ecocriticism and Maori women's writing have connected in significant ways in the 1980s and since then have been negotiated by the movement of mana wahine, a specifically Maori form of women's activism with links to feminism, anti-colonialism and ecocriticism. The destructive effects of colonialism on Maori people, both psychologically and physically, were such that the impact is still experienced today. Environmental changes accelerated by European colonialism also had long lasting and often detrimental effects on ecosystems and geographies in Aotearoa New Zealand. (24, p. 107) • Mana Wāhine theory also emerged in the 1990s as “a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework that attends to the multiple issues that are faced by Māori women” (Pihama, 2001, p. 258). Described by Te Awekotuku (1991) as “woman-initiated political action at its ripest most elemental” (p. 11-12), Mana Wāhine theory intentionally centres Māori women's voice. As such this project does not set out to juxtapose Māori women's voices against Pākehā (New Zealand European) women, Māori men, or any other group. Instead, this research seeks to contribute a theorised research approach and a set of stories to write into the wider Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine theoretical agenda or speaking our truth in our ways. (25, p. 80) • It [Mana wahine methodology] importantly, addresses the silencing of Māori women's narratives and aspirations in a colonial context, and engages with the way an individual might navigate the challenges faced. (44, p. 168) • Māori feminists also differ in what they consider to be the best way of achieving equity for Māori women. Te Awekotuku (1984), for instance, believes that mana wāhine Māori (or power to Māori women) “should be about reclaiming and celebrating what we [Māori women] have been and what we [Māori women] will become” (p. 10). Awatere (1984), alternatively, has argued that justice for Māori women cannot occur until Māori sovereignty or tino rangatiratanga is achieved. Other Māori women (Irwin, 1992b) have expressed concern over issues such as the role and status of Māori women in contemporary NZ society, and the ‘bonds of patriarchy’ in New Zealand society that continue to disadvantage Māori women. In addition, the voices and experiences of Māori women tend to be concealed when power differences between Māori men and women are downplayed in order to present a united front against racism and capitalism (Irwin, 1992b). Emphasis on the holism of Māori culture associated with kaupapa Māori research (research based on Māori values and principles), implies that to study Māori women specifically is non-conducive to the holistic nature of Māori culture and society (Jenkins & Pihama, 2001; Te Awekotuku, 1984). Nonetheless, several Māori scholars argue that the experiences of Māori men and women are not the same, and that these differences are lost in kaupapa Māori studies that focus on men and women simultaneously (Irwin, 1992b; Jahnke, 1997; Tuhiwai Smith, 1992). Since the late 1980s and early 1990s, Māori feminists and Māori women scholars have been committed to rectifying the concealment of Māori women in academic discourse in areas such as education, health, art and culture, history, economics, politics, science and business (e.g., McNicholas et al., 2004). The application of Māori feminism in sport studies has, however, been limited (Palmer, 2007; Thompson, Rewi, & Wrathall, 2000). (47, p. 333) • The mana wahine conceptual framework that follows has been developed to bring a critical focus to the area of GM [Genetic Modification] relevant to mana wahine. The framework ensures that areas of importance to us such as decolonisation and emancipation are central to the framework's analysis... The structure of the mana wahine conceptual framework as presented in Figure 1 (83, p. 28)
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		- As seen in Figure 1 [see below], the structure of the mana wahine conceptual framework grows and emerges from Papatūānuku. The roots represent the foundation, continual life essence and energy of the conceptual framework and are defined as whakapapa, kaupapa Māori³ and Māori women. The framework weaves with the dimensions of Māori women, kaupapa Māori and the cosmological order of whakapapa. These various dimensions inform the mana wahine analysis of the framework. The nature and interpretation of these dimensions is fluid and dynamic and can vary among those telling stories within the framework. ... Whakapapa is a key aspect of the conceptual framework. Whakapapa identifies the position of Māori women as being one with Papatūānuku. This is seen in the diagram where the roots of Māori women are intertwined and supported by Papatūānuku. Alongside whakapapa and Māori women is kaupapa Māori for this provides the Māori framework or lens through which analysis is conducted. It is pertinent to this framework that analysis be conducted within a Māori worldview. This means framing research within a kaupapa Māori epistemology and being able to identify analyses and the impacts of those analyses that occur outside of a kaupapa Māori framework. To maintain the mauri of this framework, Māori women need to be involved throughout its development. The placement of Māori women within the framework allows them to define and tell their stories and analyse the situations pertinent to them. The framework has been developed in part to make visible Māori women's voices. The harakeke emerges above ground representing light and clarity of the analysis that occurs from the framework. The analysis is pertinent to Māori women as it is sourced from kaupapa Māori, Māori women, whakapapa and grown from Papatūānuku. The leaves of the harakeke are the critical focus areas and orientate the analysis that emerges from the framework. It is important to note that those outside of a Māori women's worldview are outsiders to this framework. If those outside of a Māori worldview do ask these questions they will, by the nature of being outsiders be unable to interpret the answers congruent to a mana wahine analysis or worldview. This position therefore excludes non-Māori from conducting analysis through this framework. (83, p. 28-30) - Any mana wahine framework must allow for a diversity of opinions and expressions and contribute to growing the body of mana wahine theory. As wahine takatapui,⁵ it is important that mana wahine theory allows for diverse sexualities to be expressed, diverse opinions to be visible and that Māori disconnected from their whakapapa are included. It is also important that Māori women do not exclude other Māori women who do not support mana wahine but rather recognise and support where they are on their journey in claiming mana wahine. ... The framework identifies the critical focus areas of; tikanga, Papatūānuku, kaitiaki, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, decolonisation, decision-making and intellectual property rights. (83, p. 33-34) - A mana wahine agenda for science provides guidelines and establishes a science framework that positions mana wahine as a living dynamic knowledge and analysis. It is not driven by profit rather it is centred on valuing diversity in people, knowledge and life forms over profit. It recognises the oppressing and dominant role that western profit-driven science has played and works towards a science based around emancipation and a holistic and interconnected world. It is my hope that this mana wahine science agenda is used alongside the mana wahine conceptual framework as another tool to carry forward mana wahine concerns with regard to GM and other new technologies. (83, p. 35)
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		• Kathie Irwin so clearly states, if we are able to define, develop, and control our own theoretical base as Māori women, then theory is a tool that we can use for our own interests of Māori women to be catered for in theoretical discourse we need to ensure that our theoretical developments take a wide view of what is happening for Māori women. That then requires a framework that is able to place te reo Māori me ōna tikanga at the center alongside issues of gender, class, race, and sexuality. For Mana Wāhine theory there needs to be an ability to engage the wider contextual issues for Māori while ensuring that there is a strong analysis of the specific ways in which Māori women are positioned in the world. This is crucial, as we are located within a societal context where Māori women often bear the brunt of government policies, although I would argue, they are holding up Māori society. (85, p. 71) • Mana Wāhine Theory has its foundation and origins in Māori knowledge, much of which is itself ancient. What we as Māori women are having to do in our present context is reassert our positions and status within our own communities as well as wider society. The status of Māori women has been seriously misrepresented. Mana Wāhine as a theoretical framework asserts that Māori women must be recognized in many roles that are ours, and that includes our leadership, rangatira positions. Mana Wāhine is an assertion of our intrinsic mana as descendants of our ancestors, as holders and maintainers of knowledge. (85, p. 72)
	Colonising and Decolonising	• I begin to conceptualise a mana wahine geography that accounts for the interplay of Māori women's subjectivities, space and place. Each strand represents a site of marginalisation that Māori women may struggle against but they also represent critical sites of resistance, resilience and transformation. As Linda Smith (2012, 4) notes: "the past, our stories local and global, the present, our communities, cultures, languages and social practices – may all be spaces of marginalisation, but they have also become spaces of resistance and hope." (2, p. 40) • Ani Mikaere (2003) demonstrates the multifarious ways that Māori women have been marginalised through colonisation. (2, p. 45) • Aroha Yates-Smith (1998) who provides a comprehensive and critical analysis of historical records that refer to atua wāhine and thereby beginning the immense (and powerful) task of (re)privileging the feminine in Māori spirituality. (2, p. 46) • Leonie Pihama (2001) argues that an essential part of any mana wahine project involves (re)gaining control of the 'processes and vehicles of representation' that shape, and are shaped, by Māori women's knowledges. This was also asserted by Kathy Irwin (1992, 5), in her oft quoted and powerful, statement: "we don't need anyone else developing the tools which will help us to come to terms with who we are. We can and will do this work. Real power lies with those who design the tools - it always has. The power is ours". (2, p. 47) • Decolonisation is also about my [Jessica Hutchings] right to determine how I will live with and within Māori communities; to reject non-Māori analysis of situations and events that concern me; and to value myself as a Māori woman. Decolonisation is an essential part of being a Māori woman; it recognises the colonial reality we still live in and provides space for Māori women to be visible, by valuing Māori women's on-going analysis of all areas of life, such as education, language and health systems. (2, p. 48) • Decolonisation is also about my [Jessica Hutchings] right to determine how I will live with and within Māori communities; to reject non-Māori analysis of situations and events that concern me; and to value myself as a Māori woman. Decolonisation is an essential part of being a

		Māori woman; it recognises the colonial reality we still live in and provides space for Māori women to be visible, by valuing Māori women's on-going analysis of all areas of life, such as education, language and health systems. (2, p. 48) • Reconfiguring hegemonic Māori masculinities and challenging those who consent to such representations is important to the articulation of mana wahine. The scope for further research to reconfigure and reaffirm mana tāne is wide and, to my mind, desperately needed. Mana wahine must support those efforts that genuinely seek to challenge hegemonic performances of Māori masculinities that subordinate women. Indeed a central premise in this study is that in order to realise tino rangatiratanga mana wahine must be recognised and be provided for alongside mana tāne, mana whānau and mana Māori. (2, p. 57) • Therefore, while this research has a specific focus on the embodied geographies of Māori women, Mana wahine geographies can make an important contribution to indigenous feminism and wider indigenous scholarship. (2, p. 57) • The first is theoretical. I offer mana wahine (Māori feminist discourses) as another perspective for geography that engages with the complex intersections of colonisation, race and gender. (3, p. iv) • The invisibility of Māori women's knowledges in dominant conceptualisations of mythology, tikanga and wairua discourses is not a harmless omission rather it contains a political imperative that maintains the hegemony of colonialism and patriarchy. (3, p. iv) • The first is theoretical, to offer mana wahine as another perspective for geography to re-theorise Māori women's relationships to spaces and places. The second is to examine the colonisation of Māori women's lived, embodied and spiritual geographies. The third seeks to reconfigure conceptualisations of Papatūānuku in contemporary Aotearoa. I have aimed to work against colonial masculinist ideologies that continue to marginalise, and discriminate against, Māori women's knowledges, values and embodied practices. (3, p. 2) • The colonisation and Christianisation of Māori mythology is then examined. I demonstrate that Māori women's colonised realities mean they occupy hybrid, complex and sometimes contradictory subjectivities, spaces and places. (3, p. 11) • Talking back against hegemony: Leonie Pihama explains Kaupapa Māori as "conceptually based within Māori cultural and philosophical traditions" (p. 94), and as such these theories are naturally privileged in this study. Graham Smith (1997) further argues "the deliberate co-option of the term 'theory' has been an attempt to challenge dominant Pākehā notions of theory and provide "counter-hegemonic practice and understandings" in terms of how theory is constructed, defined, selected, interpreted and applied" (p. 455). One of the key qualities of a Kaupapa Māori approach to this study is an organic, cyclical research process that is fluid and cumulative. Graham Smith (1997) positions Kaupapa Māori praxis as "a viable, organic 'theory' of transformation of Māori educational and cultural crises" (p. 450) reminding us of the need to develop our own theory(ies) in order to talk back to dominant hegemony. (4, p. 32) • Te Tiriti o Waitangi must be a central theme of any mana wahine research. Any mana wahine analysis is also an analysis of Tiriti rights. Some 16 years later, this claim is still yet to be heard. (9, p. 18) • Shut out from the hallowed halls of academia for generations, Indigenous wāhine have taken up the diversity of our perspectives and, in doing so, space has been created to compose from our own contexts. (10, p. 5)
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		• Mana wahine highlights multiple intersecting sites of struggle in the surgical workplace including racism, sexism and classism. Theories of mana wahine focus on the way patriarchal, colonialist attitudes impact wahine Maori and references the power and authority of wahine Maori (Pihama, 2020). In naming this theme 'mana wahine', the authors seek to highlight the additional curricula that wahine in the sisterhood have negotiated in their surgical journeys (13, p. 110) • Fortunately, those tired of approaches that have 'been used to legitimize and advance the political and social agendas of the colonizer', can now engage with an established body of knowledge demonstrating the role of Māori or Indigenous methodologies (Smith 1999; Smith et al. 2016). Such methodologies and methods strive to ensure a culturally safe dynamic between researcher and the research community, and contribute to positive outcomes for those research communities (Haitana et al. 2020). (17, p. 2) • Greg Garrard defines ecocriticism as "the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment," arguing that "ecocriticism is closely related to environmentally oriented developments in philosophy and political theory" (3). Garrard's focus on European and American histories of ecocriticism recognizes a long period in which "'primitive' people have been represented as dwelling in harmony with nature, sustaining one of the most widespread and seductive myths of the non-European 'other'" (122). What is significant for the writing of the 1980s and 1990s by Maori women is that through debate and discussion, Maori relationships with the environment have been reworked to explain enculturation in Maori terms (ranging from destructive to nurturing) rather than denoting an emotional but unarticulated and unsymbolized relationship to a location they were often assigned as stereotyped natural "other" in European discourses. Ecofeminism, as summarized in Karen J. Warren's introduction /to Ecofeminism: Women, Culture, Nature establishes and investigates "important connections between the treatment of women, people of color, and the underclass on one hand and the treatment of nonhuman nature on the other" (3). For Carol J. Adams, ecofeminisms are about global concerns with the way "the connections between the oppression of women and the rest of nature must be recognized to understand adequately both oppressions"(1) (24, p. 110) • This paper was developed at the time a Royal Commission on Genetic Modification (RCGM) conducted a debate into GM in Aotearoa. This process did not account for the views of Maori women and perpetuated Maori involvement in existing hegemonies. This paper aims to make visible views pertinent to mana wahine regarding GM by drawing from the voices of Maori women engaged in the GM debate. (34, p. 18) • Mana Wahine research seeks to decolonise historical and contemporary colonial interpretations about Maori, and privilege Maori women's analyses (Pihama, 2001). (35, p. 147) • While the research has not solely focused on the cultural and social realities of women's lives, it has been conducted within a domain of knowledge where Māori women may have skill and expertise, but are not given recognition. (37, p. 89) • Postcolonial theory, decolonizing methodologies and/or critical race methodologies counter majoritarian stories (i.e., the perspective of the colonizer), deficit storytelling (i.e., constructing the colonized as inferior) and provide space for Indigenous and critical scholars to conduct and present research that is grounded in the experiences and knowledge of people who have previously been overlooked in academic discourse (Bruening, 2005; Singer, 2005). Those
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		who need to be given voice in the New Zealand (NZ) sport management context are Māori, and in particular Māori women. This paper, therefore, attempts to give Māori women in sport management an opportunity to be centre-stage and to voice their experiences by utilising a kaupapa Māori paradigm, a Māori Feminist approach and intersectionality theory. Specifically, this paper seeks to critically understand how one of the most marginalized groups in NZ society (Māori women) experience leadership roles in one of the most privileged, Eurocentric and masculine institutions in NZ (organized sport). (47, p. 332) • Pakeha filters in "Whale Rider" Caro negotiated to ensure her Eurocentric feminist ideals were sustained in the film. She states, '...I can ONLY look at it differently. Because I'm not inside the culture' (Caro in Mottesheard 2005, 2). ... Therefore, Caro can only ever be expected to use her own set of cultural filters in her role as director, and for this reason is unable to reproduce the peculiar nuances in the film that Ihimaera captured so well in the novel. ... how then does this line up to the cultural paradigms of a Māori world-view? (50, p. 3) • Cultural differences between Maori and Pakeha mean that the methodology of research must be adapted to recognise and take account of those differences. In this article some of the issues which need to be considered in designing research for Maori are canvassed. The approach and methodology used in the project was based on feminist theories of methodology and, while useful in some respects, the application of such theories to research involving Maori participants raises considerable questions. These matters together with suggestions as to different approaches that might be taken are discussed in the first part of this article. (79, p. 169) • For those doing research involving Maori the overriding rule is that the researcher's responsibility is to the people studied, themselves and this transcends responsibility to sponsors.... It is therefore important that the researcher be accountable for the application of research findings. The research must be of some benefit to the people being studied. In this project one of the women interviewed made it clear that she expected something to come of the research (89, p. 171) • Moana Jackson has always stressed the importance of personal contact of some kind, such as holding hui at local marae and working with the people face to face.¹⁴ This relates to the importance Maori place on the researcher being accountable to the people affected by the research - it is much easier to assess the bona fides of a researcher in person and to exact accountability from those close to one in the community. It is also much more difficult for the researcher to treat the interviewee as an object if the interviewee is someone one knows. Another important feature is that active involvement in the community affected by the research is considered essential. Maori people like to see proof that the good intentions of the researcher are being carried out. Gone are the days when Maori were trusting of researchers. (79, p. 171) • Another feature of Maori research is that the research scheme must be based on culturally acknowledged practices, so that knowledge of and sensitivity to cultural values is shown. In the Rapuora survey, for example, the researchers considered that "the first and most important move"¹⁵ was to approach kaumatua to tell them about the project and to get their support. The researchers made a point of finding the true leaders in the community and not just the most public Maori. The true leaders were those with mana on the marae, regardless of their occupation in the Pakeha world (79, p. 171-2)
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		• The Rapuora survey also identified the need to use appropriate language. In the Rapuora survey a test of the language in the survey was made by first using a small group as a pilot.¹⁷ Maori and English may need to be used depending on what language the interviewee is most comfortable in. (79, p. 172) • Maori have an aversion to questionnaire type research.¹⁸ This is partly as a result of the bad experiences Maori have had with surveys in the past and partly because it indicates a distance between the researcher and the people studied that raises suspicions about the motives of the researcher and their accountability to the interviewees. Sometimes Maori will also object to being taped¹⁹ because of fears about how the information will be used and who will have access to it. s were those with mana on the marae, (79, p. 172) • The place where interviews are held should be one in which Maori feel comfortable and it should not be an imposition for them to come there. This could mean interviews being held in the interviewees' home or on a marae. (79, p. 172) • Underlying all these features is the requirement that Maori have control of the research from inception to the end result and that that control is located in the Maori community being researched, not in the researcher. Just as Maori have called for recognition of their status as tangata whenua, so that recognition must be given by the academic community as well as government. Autonomy must be devolved to the different Maori communities in relation to research affecting them. (79, p. 172) • The researcher must hold themselves accountable to the interviewees and, ideally, the interviewees should be empowered to enforce that accountability. Where the researcher is a member of the whanau of the interviewee, there may be little difficulty in effecting this, but it is a very different story where a stranger is involved. For a Maori researcher it would be the depths of shame to act in a way which lessened the mana of her whanau. Despite that responsibility, a Maori researcher will also be accountable to the project supervisor, and to others who may have taken a part in the organisation of the project - (79, p. 172) • One must also question the extent to which the power relationships have been transformed for Maori participants when the attempts to transfer power are flawed at the outset. The Maori participants still answered Pākehā questions. If Maori participants really had power, research funding would go to Maori Women's Refuge and the seat of power would have been with them rather than in academia (79, p. 174) • "We don't need anyone else developing the tools which will help us come to terms with who we are. We can and will do this work. Real power lies with those who design the tools - it always has. The power is ours. (83, p. 26)
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Theme 3: Wāhine in Cultural Narratives / Pūrākau	Deities and Their Stories	Te Kore - the void, Te Pō - the period of darkness and night, Te Ao Mārama - the world of light, Te Rā - the sun • Navigating Memories tells the story of Te Rā the only Māori waka 37 existence, housed in the British Museum, London. Chapter 5 focuses on the fascinating raranga methods employed in the creation of this unique taonga. (4, p. 24) • As a kairaranga I move through these phases of Te Pō Te Ao Mārama and Te Kore, at times in no particular order, moving through the phases as the work becomes and at times un-becomes Te Kore. (4, p. 56) • The mana of wahine is evident in the very stories of creation that abound in te ao Maori, even despite the many iwi variations in the cosmological beginnings of the universe. Within Ngai Tahu, one account of this is that the universe was sung into creation by the atua, going through many stages of creation, from Te Kore to Te Ao, to Te Maku to Te Po, where Papatuanuku resided. Although Papatuanuku is famously known as the intertwined partner of Ranginui, in this account she was first married to Tangaroa.⁸ She is a powerful example of female agency, wielding her sexuality in choosing to engage with Ranginui in Tangaroa's absence, and leaving the tane to battle it out between themselves upon Tangaroa's return. In this account, Papatuanuku eventually formed a lasting relationship with Ranginui, and it is this relationship that forms the basis for most iwi accounts of creation. Papatuanuku and Ranginui, Earth and Sky, lay intertwined, until they were separated by their children, Tane, atua of the forests, and his brothers. Through this separation, Te Ao Marama, the world of light we inhabit today, was formed. (25, p. 21) • There are at least three cosmological stories that reflect themes of menstruation as a medium of whakapapa, connecting us to our atua and creation stories. The oldest begins in the cosmogonic cycles of Te Pō (The Nights) where the earth and sky were born. Ranginui, the sky father, and Papatūānuku, beloved earth mother, clung to one another in union, birthing a pantheon of male and female gods. The pantheon multiplied within the darkness until it could no longer contain them, demanding an evolutionary leap. According to this version, the leap was realised by Tāne and enabled through the medium of his mother's menstrual blood. Intuiting the existence of another world beyond his parents stifling embrace, Tāne rode out of the darkness of Te Pō into Te Ao Mārama, the world of light, on his mother's menstrual tide (Smith, 1913, p. 120). This story reflects the idea that menstruation was regarded as a medium: a medium between worlds; a medium of evolutionary expansion; a medium of atua; and a medium connecting Māori women to our atua and our creation stories at the beginning of time. (87, p. 125-6) Papatuanuku and Ranginui - Earth Mother and Sky Father, and their children • An important focus of this research is the mutability of Māori women's relationships to the space of Papatūānuku; a space (and body) that is simultaneously material, discursive, symbolic and spiritual. Whakapapa identifies Māori women as being one with Papatūānuku, although not all Māori women choose - or have the opportunity - to identify with Papa 4 (Papatūānuku is most commonly translated as mother earth. This thesis will demonstrate, however the meaning of Papatūānuku is more complex. Understandings of her vary across time and space.) (Hutchings 2004). (3, p. 1)
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		• According to traditional belief the arts stem from shared belief systems and values or tikanga Māori, with the source of the arts being traced back to the gods [Papatūānuku] (Mead, 2003). (4, p. 45) • The weaving has its own life course, sometimes accompanying its kaitiaki back to papatuanuku [sic]. (4, p. 54) • The saying that opens this section 'Me aro koe ki te hā o Hineahuone – Pay heed to the dignity of Māori women' stems from one of the ancestral stories of our origins as Māori people. It is said that after a long and protracted search for the female essence, one of the descendants of Papatūānuku and Ranginui, Tāne, was directed by Papatūānuku to Kurawaka, where he was guided to shape a form that we now understand as a human being. (8, p. 353-4) • number of eloquent addresses drawing on the mātauranga of te ao tūroa were given. The quality of this evidence was exemplary in highlighting the balance between the feminine and masculine divine. Tangaroa still embraces Papatūānuku. Ranginui still embraces Papatūānuku. The foreshore is the space where one can clearly witness the movement and exchange of energies, and the preparation, bustling and adaptation made by the divine influences of the gods as they perpetually seek to express the inherent universal balance and harmony, one with another, within the ever-changing reality of the physical world. It is the open space, the courtyard on which the voices of all the divine influences of the gods are heard, seen, felt and sensed. As the tide comes in so Tangaroa stands to deliver his speech, and Hinewainui and Hinemoana move forward with cries of welcome and support, as they gently massage Papatūānuku. As the tide recedes it is Papatūānuku, and Tāne, and Hinewao, and Rakahore, and Hinetūākirikiri, and Hineone, and others who reach out to take hold of the life essence of the courtyard, and allow their individual and collective influences to be expressed and felt by all present. Each one of them has their own story, and each one of them has something to say. According to some, during the creation of the world, the gods began to fight, one with another, and Tangaroa and Tāne continue to quarrel. The physical manifestation of their dispute may be seen on the foreshore. (14, no pg no) • By breaking down the term into its two components, whakapapa can also mean “to become (“whaka”) earth (“papa”)/be embraced towards Papa (earth mother)” (Mika 2014, p. 53). Here, Carl Mika (2014) refers to Papatūānuku (earth mother), a powerful figure “that exemplifies the “generative foundation of all life” because “all things are born of her and nurtured by her” (Royal 2007, p. 2). According to Maori cosmogony, the origin of all “living things, including the natural world, centres on the union and eventual separation of the atua (gods)—Papatūānuku and Ranginui (sky father) (“ T. Smith 2012). Pinnacle to their union was the birth of children, including natural phenomena, who then bore more children and so forth (Royal 2007). It is said that through their son, Tane, who formed “a woman, named Hineahuone, out of the earth, became the first female to birth a child (Royal 2005). Similarly, because of their power to generate life through the whare tangata, wahine “are creators, providers, and nurturers of life—past, present, and future generations (Higgins and Meredith 2011; Mikaere 2017). Ani Mikaere writes that “the survival of the whanau, “hapu and iwi is dependent upon the reproductive functions of women” (Mikaere 2017, p. 41). Framed another way, the following well-known whakataukī (proverb) encapsulates the centrality and the mana (power/status/authority) of wahine, including Papatūānuku, “to the survival of humanity
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		(Jahnke 1997; Pere 1982): He wahine, he whenua, e ngaro ai te tāngatā – By women and land, men are lost. (22, p. 2) - the figure of Papatuanuku, "a metaphor for earth mother" (Jahnke 30), as goddess of the whenua/land has been widely understood to symbolize the necessity for holistic and ecologically aware national policies, and for the interpretation of Maori land rights as a way of protecting and ensuring the regenerative aspects of the land. (24, p. 107) - In Maori mythological narratives, Papatuanuku is not only a fertile, but also a grieving mother, separated from her offspring, gods of the features and creatures of earth and sea, as well as their father, the Sky god, Ranginui. These differing manifestations suggest life cycles that are generic yet experienced individually in time and place, mitigating against essentialist interpretations since each generation has to be understood in terms of specificity—cycles of birth and death and a relationship to changing times as well as the bigger picture of representing national cultures (24, p. 118) - It is from Papatuanuku's sacred feminine energy that humankind descends. When the first woman was formed by Tane with clay taken from Papatuanuku's pubic region, she was imbued with this energy. Many iwi accounts identify Hineahuone as the first woman, although in the Ngai Tahu account described above she was named Io-wahine." The sacred, feminine energy that Papatuanuku provided for the creation of this first woman has passed down into her female descendants and is central to the mana and tapu of wahine Maori today. The ability to bear children means women continue to give life to humankind, beyond this first instance of creation. Women quite literally constitute the world. Women hold the whare tangata (houses of humanity, referring to their childbearing capabilities) and thus the mana and tapu of women are intrinsically tied to the ability to bring forth new life. At the end of life, woman is also central. Hinenuitepo, the guardian of the underworld, awaits the dead, who pass back through her whare tangata to Rarohenga, closing off the cycle of life in Te Ao Marama, that begins and ends with woman.¹² (25, p. 22) - Papatuanuku is female, the metaphor for earth mother. Her power over humankind was revealed in her forced and violent separation from Ranginui, the sky father, by Tane. Firstly, the separation revealed that she contained the essential ingredient for the creation of humankind, the female element the 'uha', retrieved by Tane after a long and arduous search (Buck, 1949:450-1). Secondly, the power of Papatuanuku was invested in the notion that the procreative potential of humanity was dependent upon the nourishment and sustenance that only she could provide. Located within the sanctum of her body were the realms of each of her sons, the deities of the major resources of the universe (Jenkins, 1992:39). Papatuanuku contained the female element 'the uha' and Tane the life principle, the ira tangata, thus illustrating the complementarity and interdependence of male and female. (38, p. 30) - As the personification of land, Papatuanuku provides the symbolic rationale for the physical, spiritual and psychological attachment of Maori to land and in particular the attachment and special relationship of woman and land. The significance of the female principle was also reinforced by the actions of Tane in his search for the female constituent in order to create the first human. This was Hine-ahu-one, a woman earth-formed by Tane from the body of Papatuanuku and endowed by Tane with the ira tangata - the life principle. (38, p. 31) - There are many tikanga associated with Maori female bodies and the birthing process, that have been passed on from Papatuanuku, our Earth Mother. The majority of participants mentioned Papatuanuku and our association with her as women, because from Papatuanuku
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		came life and the first human being, Hine-ahu– one. This association with Papatuanuku has resulted in tikanga being put in place to protect the life-giving properties of women. There are many proverbs that reiterate this point, for example, 'manaakitia te hunga e whakawairua mai ana i nga koopu o nga whaea – protect the spiritual essence and life force taking place within the wombs of their mothers' (cited in Norman 1992: 2). (39, p. 120) • He wahine, he whenua, ka ngaro ai te tangata Whenua is the Maori word for land. It is also the placenta from which the child draws sustenance while in the womb. The analogy is clear and simple. We are dependent on the land to nourish us within the wider universe just as we rely on the placenta to nourish us in our mother's womb. But there is a deeper tie - land is also Papatuanuku the ancestor who together with Ranginui created the universe, as we know it. Her power of procreation is instilled in women and in the land. Both carry a form of tapu, which must be protected and safeguarded... "Through women and land man is lost", is an ancient whakatauki that is often quoted in the modern context as meaning women are the downfall of men. However, a deeper reading would uncover the mana and tapu of Papatuanuku, inherent in both women and the land, and highlight their importance in maintaining human existence (58, p. 119) • He wahine he whenua i mate ai te tangata': As a Maori woman this 'whakataukii' is of prime importance to me as it links me to the past, to 'whenua', 'tuupuna' and tribe, and illustrates the importance of Maori women, and 'tikanga', custom and tradition, as we move into the future to reclaim our autonomy. In the creation stories the activities of ancestors in ancient times celebrated the 'mana' of Maori women and is evidence of the deeply rooted attachment to the land. The creation story represents the central axis from which the Maori perceived all living things came. There was Papatuanuku, from whose breast sprang plants, trees, animals, fish and fowl all of which provided sustenance. 'Ko te whenua te waiu mo nga uri whakatupu', 'waiu' means milk from the breast, likening sustenance from the land to the milk from a mother's breast. Aside from the traditional role of Maori women moreover is the reminder of the matrilineal descent coming from Papatuanuku, which I believe to be one of the most powerful and vital sources of energy that we have. (70, p. 18) • From the nothingness Rangi (the sky father) and Papatuanuku (the earth mother) create the deities who develop and populate the land, sea and sky. Rangi and Papa (abridged name for Papatuanuku) lived in the permanent embrace of one another supporting and accommodating their large family between their bodies. The children became uncomfortable and struggled for air and light. They decide that their parents must be separated. At the point of separation there is great anguish and despair most vehemently expressed by Rangi. He sends down a torrent of rain, thunder and lightning aided and abetted by one of the sons who remains attached to his father (Tawhirimatea god of wind and storms). Papa is the peacemaker through it all. She guarantees safe lodging and maternal care for her wayward children and hides them from the wrath of Rangi. For this she is regarded with great reverence and respect. Rangi makes no counter offer. He remains aloft weeping and wailing over his isolation and continues to make life miserable for the family. Papa is turned over face downwards and back to the sky so she cannot see Rangi's misery. By this act papa is the symbol of endurance and long-suffering. She retains for herself the sons who are the deities of the major resources of the universe. (75, p. 85) • According to Māori, the creation of all living things on earth is a great epic love story, one in which Ranginui (sky father) and Papatūānuku (earth mother) sacrificed their deep love for
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		each other and separated. In their earthly embrace they were suffocating their children. Ranginui was pushed into the sky in order that their children could have air, light and space and be able to move freely and grow between them. ... Their separation was a heart-wrenching and violent one and it is recorded that the children had to cut the arms of Ranginui off because he would not let go of Papatūānuku. The form of Papatūānuku is female with her head lying face down to the east, her legs to the west. (Smith 1913:121). When Ranginui was finally positioned in the sky, where he remains today, the blood from his arms dripped down on to Papatuanuku, and hence the horu (red oxide of iron was used to paint houses, canoes and the face) and the pukepoto (blue phosphate of iron) that his descendants use in painting (Smith 1913:121). Initially, Papatūānuku faced upwards towards her husband, but such was the impact of their sorrow, that his tears throughout the day and night caused heavy rain and snow storms, and her tears caused clouds and mists. Combined they both muffled the light and stifled the air. Their children still could not see and so Papatūānuku's head was turned to face the ground away from the sight of Ranginui. This is why the inner earth still trembles with earthquakes. (80, p. 199-200) • The seventy children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku were all male and are the ancestors that Māori still acknowledge today, such as Tane Mahuta (god of the forests) and Tangaroa (god of the oceans). Every living being, in its smallest microbial form is descended from Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Far from this being a vague notion, Māori whakapapa is very detailed. Every species of marine life, every plant and animal endemic to this region can be traced back to Ranginui and Papatūānuku. (80, p. 200) • The creation of humankind upon the advice of Papatūānuku further reflected this theme, with Tāne Mahuta being sent by his mother to Kurawaka, her pubic region, to gather the red earth containing the necessary uha or female element from which Hine-ahu-one, the first woman could be shaped. Accounts of the first act of sexual intercourse between Tāne Mahuta and Hine-ahu-one indicate that she possessed an awesome sexual power that came from deep within her, thus setting the precedent for the Māori view of sexual relations between men and women as summarised by Te Rangihira: 10 "In sex matters, it is the female organ which figuratively kills its male antagonist." The daughter of this first male-female union to produce human life, Hinetītama, produced many children. When she discovered that her husband, Tāne, was also her father she recited a karakia to render him strengthless to pursue her and she left him. She commanded him to remain behind and care for their children in their earthly life while she descended to one of the underworlds, Rarohenga, to prepare a place for them and to care for them in death. She has remained there ever since, known as Hinenui-i-te-pō, guardian of the spirits of all her human descendants. The tales of one of her descendants, Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga, are particularly instructive as to the influential roles that women held. Māui acquired fire from his kuia, Mahuika. It was with the jawbone of his kuia, Muriranga-whenua, that he fished up Te-Ika-a-Māui (the North Island) and made the patu with which to subdue Rā (the sun). And it was to his ancestress, Hine-nui-i-te-pō, that he eventually succumbed when he failed in his quest to attain immortality. These stories tell us a great deal about the role of kuia as repositories of knowledge, and the conditions under which they are prepared to share that knowledge. These kuia possessed vast amounts of knowledge and supernatural powers. (81, p. 6) • Papatūānuku, the ultimate source of creativity, along with her female descendants, reflected the nurturing quality of the feminine and the complementary aspects of the creator/
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		transformer figure as embodied in the whare tangata/whare aituā⁵ concept, connecting women with life and death. Other qualities the deities possessed were identified. The sexuality of the female element was prominent throughout the anecdotes, karakia and waiata. (84, p. 52) • Menstruation was considered tapu, not because it was unclean, but rather because it was acknowledged as a medium of whakapapa. There are two other cosmological narratives that speak to this theme. Hineahuone, the first human, was sculpted from what is delicately described by scholars as the “red clay” at Kurawaka, the mons veneris of the great mother earth goddess, Papatūānuku. In popular accounts it was the god Tāne who discovered the altar of humanity. He had searched in vain for the uha, according to legend, but the female element had remained concealed within the confines of his own birthplace (Best, 1924; Kahukiwa & Grace, 1984). Under his mother Papatūānuku’s counsel, Tāne approached her pubis, discovering the elusive material that ushered in humanity (cited in Cram, 2000; Kahukiwa & Grace, 1984; Mikaere, 2003; Yates-Smith, 1998). What is consistently down-played across the colonial ethnographic literature is the significance of the location of Kurawaka, and the force inherent within the “red soil” that made Hineahuone’s creation finally achievable (Yates-Smith, 1998). Tāne is singularly celebrated for his act of procreation, denying the raw and very female sexual potency imbued in the “red soil”. (87, p. 126) • Added to this, my father was a Pentecostal minister for a large part of my childhood. It wasn’t until I was in my early teens that my family left the church. For me, the church was a much more frequented place than the marae, hymns were better known than mōteatea and waiata, and God was much more familiar to me than Hine-te-iwaiwa (goddess of childbirth) or Papatūānuku (mother earth). This is not an unfamiliar story, as it was through Christianity that many Māori women were deprived of spiritual knowledge pertaining to Mana Wāhine. The power of Māori women was quickly supplanted with ideologies of shame and sin. Furthermore, research on Māori spirituality was carried out by white male ethnographers who privileged the stories of male atua, while atua wāhine have been misrepresented. (90, p. 158) • we must remember to turn to our ūkaipō [“nurturer” or “sustainer of life.”]- to our physical and spiritual mothers, to our motherlands, to Papatūānuku - for sustenance and guidance and for restoration of soul and body. (91, p. 175) Hineahuone (also known as Hine-ahu-one or Hine-hau-one) - considered the first human woman created by the gods, formed from the earth. • Throughout the process, atua (sacred beings, deities) gifted parts of the body as sacred offerings. Hineahuone is both atua, sacred spiritual essence and tangata, earthly essence. Each part of Hineahuone was a gift from atua and as such within her fundamental being the sacredness of Māori women is embedded. Tāne shared breath with Hineahuone through the hongi. The hongi is often referred to as ‘the pressing of noses’ however through hongi we are connecting our relationships through the sharing of breath. Rangimarie Rose Pere (n.d) describes as this as ‘a tradition that reminds us, that we are interrelated to all living things that exist’ (2). As such it is an affirmation of ancestral connections through a sharing of the fundamental element of life, the breath. The first breath is expressed in Māori contexts through the words ‘tihei mauri ora’. In my doctoral research I referred to this as follows: The words of Hineahuone 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
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		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. (Pihama 2001, 18) For those that consider this pūrākau, this ancestral story, to be their creation or origin story, it is through the union of Hineahuone and Tane, human whakapapa emerges. I say 'for those' as there are a range of iwi stories that speak to the origins or creation of humanity. This is but one. (8, p. 354) • The sons of Rangi and Papa concluded that since they were all male the female principle, the uha, was essential for the creation of the ira tangata and therefore a search for this principle was necessary. Tane led the search and his experimental acts of procreation with female personifications in the natural world had produced trees, birds and insects, but not the appropriate female element (Walker, 1990:14). The brothers concluded that the ira tangata could not be derived from within their own realm, the ira atua but would have to be created. They then resolved to mould a female form from the red earth at Kurawaka, the pubic area of Papatuanuku (Ibid). Each brother took part in this creative process contributing knowledge and resources, deliberating carefully over each anatomical formation (Buck, 1977:450). Tane was delegated the task of breathing life into the inanimate form to create the ira tangata, the first human a woman named Hineahuone (Buck,1977:450. Walker,1990: 14). This narrative serves to illustrate a number of points. Although all of the off-spring of Rangi and Papa were male, they were nevertheless powerless to create humankind without the female element. Their knowledge of this precipitated their decision to carry out a search. The search in itself confirmed their powerlessness. The brothers debate over where to search, their decision about the outcomes and the conclusion they reached to create a human form all serve to emphasise the importance and the status of the female element as the subject of hui (conference), korero (discussion) and mahi (action). This also serves as a precursor to the involvement of woman in all social and political activities of society.(38, p. 30) • If argument about our mana wahine begins from 1840, this confines the argument within the parameters of Pakeha history and its British based version of mortality. I urge you to go deeper into the past to recapture the spirit of Hineahuone, the first human form created from the male and heavenly element, the female earthly element, who brought the power of growth and creativity and Hinetitama the first born of Tane and Hineahuone the dawn binding earthly night to earthly day. When she found she was the survivor of incest Hinetitama fled in her shame to the underworld and now denies immortality, holding power over life and death. Murirangiwhenua, Maui's grandmother, gave him both her jawbone and the karakia both of which he used to fish up Te Ika a Maui, the North Island. Murirangiwhenua acts as an inspiration to courage and adventure. Hineteiwaiwa is the patroness of females, the labours of women such as weaving. Female children were also dedicated to her as she presided over childbirth. We earth our mana wahine to Papatuanuku the earth mother and her mauri. From this whakapapa Māori women established their identity as being the land itself, not merely the people of the land as in the general translation of tangata whenua. (82, p. 22) • Hineahuone, far from the submissive Victorian caricature portrayed in colonialist literature, contained her own power, a force derived from Kurawaka which can be translated as a precious,sacred, red medium, synonymous perhaps with older descriptions of menstrual blood. Aroha Yates-Smith (1998) confirms that Hineahuone was imbued with her own autonomous power, inherited from her mother's genital organs. This power Tāne encountered upon entering Hineahuone, experiencing "a tremendous force from within Hine, a powerful
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		force, such as he had never experienced before" (Pere, 1982, pp. 10–11). This force was the raw primal sexual power of Hine, as a being created from the menstrual soil of her mother. Thus ikura is another old name for menstruation derived from the saying mai-iKurawaka (from Kurawaka). Menstrual blood, in this story, is an ancient matrilineal river connecting Māori women to our ancestress Hineahuone and, through her, to Papatūānuku, the mother of the gods. Similarly, the Ngā Pōtiki, Ngā Uri-a-Māui story about the origins of menstruation reflect the idea of menstruation as both a medium of whakapapa and a conduit back to the gods. Māui, a demigod, observed that Hinateiwaiwa, the moon god, could make her world wax and wane every month. Deciding that he too wanted continuity like the moon, Māui approached his mother, the god Hinenuitēpoteao, to receive immortality. His plan was to reverse the process of birth, entering her womb through the birth canal. As Māui entered Hinenuitēpōteao, she awoke. Māui told her about wanting to be like the Moon, to which Hinenuitēpōteao responded that she could grant this wish; she then crushed him and made him the first menstruation to come into the world. As long as woman menstruates, Māui will live on (R. Pere, personal communication, July 11, 2010). According to this version Māui did not die but achieved immortality after all, reappearing "like the moon" in the blood-tides of woman. Māui's monthly appearance signals continuity and the "immortality" of the people down through the generations, through whakapapa. (87, p. 127) • On the whole Māori leaned towards agnatic filiation, the male, he possesses greater mana that does the female, for is not man descended directly from the gods, while woman had to be created from earth! (Best, 1924, p. 89) Understanding the creation of Hine-ahu-one (the first female created from the earth) from a Mana Wāhine perspective provides a very different interpretation. Ani Mikaere (2003, p.19) explains: Three female figures play a crucial role in the creation of humankind. Papatūānuku provides both the materials and the advice to enable Tāne to form Hineahuone. Hineahuone, while given physical shape by Tāne clearly possesses an awesome sexual power that comes from deep within her female being. It is she who gives birth to the first true human being, Hinetītama. Hinetītama is a woman who expects and exercises absolute control over her own destiny. This example is offered to highlight the distortion of Māori spiritual knowledges by colonial ethnographers that serve to isolate Māori women from those stories that speak to their mana and tapu. This was extended to Māori women's bodies, which were inscribed, clothed and supposedly 'cleaned' up by Christian missionaries. (90, p. 158) Hine-nui-te-pō (Known as Hine-tītama before her transformation) - goddess of death and the underworld. • Hinenuitēpo guardian and protector of the spiritual welfare of the deceased: Her reaction serves to establish the immorality of incest (Walker, 1990 : 15) on the one hand and to demonstrate through her actions the contradiction of being at once powerless and powerful. Powerless in the sense that she was unable to undo the violation by Tane upon her body and empowered by her autonomy, strength and courage to determine her perpetual and irrevocable self-exile and inevitably to gain the most powerful position of all, that over the mortality of humankind. (38, p. 31) • The power of women's autonomy can also be seen in the account of the fatal attempt by Maui to gain immortality by entering the vagina of Hinenuitēpo. His attempt was thwarted by
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		the fantail's warning that woke Hinenuitepo and trapping him, she crushed Maui to death. (38, p. 31) • The one figure who could scarcely be characterized as passive was Hine-nui-i-te-po ...Faced with the irrefutable expression of female sexual power that Hine-nui-i-te-po posed, the redefiners of Maori cosmology recast her as evil and destructive. This fitted nicely with biblical notions of woman being responsible for sin. The negative connotations that men attached to the female sexual organs were also entirely consistent with Old Testament notions of women being unclean because of menstruation. (39, p. 120) • Hine-Nui-Te-Pō killing Māui is often understood as creating a new understanding of the where tangata or the womb, Yates-Smith (1998) suggests that through Hine-Nui-Te-Pō killing Māui with her vagina she emphasised the power both in the creation of life and death related to women. Some accounts suggest that Māui became the first menstruation and that menstruation represents the power of both creation and destruction (Murphy, 2011, 2013). Ngāhuia Murphy discusses other accounts of Māui's death involving Hine-Nui-Te-Pō; in one version she speaks of 'Māui being caught in the vulva of Hine-Nui-Te-Pō and as she convulses her vaginal muscles, he scrapes down the walls of the birth canal causing Hine-Nui-Te-Pō to bleed' (Murphy, 2011: 51). This idea illustrates the power of Hine-Nui-Te-Pō and women through the birth and death processes, as well as menstruation, which Murphy (2013: 11) suggests is a 'powerful site where colonialist assertions of menstrual putridity collide with Indigenous narratives of continuity'. Often Hine-Nui-Te-Pō is re-presented through the re-telling of this narrative. Hine-Nui-Te-Pō is regularly re-positioned and re-named as the Goddess of Death, and as passive and dark for killing Māui (August, 2005). This re-defining creates a dual re-presentation that simultaneously glorifies Māui as a male heroic trickster for taking Māori women's knowledges and seeking to cheat death by entering Hine-Nui Te-Pō without consent, and positions Hine-Nui-Te-Pō as a taker of life (Yates-Smith, 1998). Hine-Nui-Te-Pō and her expression of female energy meant that colonial re-tellings and re-definings present her as evil. This re-framing of women, particularly Māori women, as evil and unclean has been positioned by Māori academics such as Ani Mikaere (1999) as stemming from biblical narratives. (42, p. 216) • Definitions of tapu are difficult to explain and vary depending upon the circumstances under which tapu is being exercised. James Irwin (1984) states the women's tapu is connected to mythical accounts of Maui and Hinenuitepo, where Maui tried to obtain eternal life for humans by attempting to enter Hinenuitepo's birth canal, but Maui was crushed to death between her thighs. (44, p. 119) • Hine-titama is considered to be the mother of all human beings. She is one of three main interconnected manifestations of the female element (uha) in Maori cosmology. The other two manifestations are Hine-ahu-one, whom the male god Tane fashioned from the earth to become the first female form. and Hine-nui-te-po who presides over after-life. Maori male deities sought uha as an indispensable part of the creation of human beings (Best 1952, p. 41). In this cosmogony, Hine-titama represents the female component of human existence and procreation. She is also, however, an offspring of the sexual union between Tane and Hine-ahu-one. After producing a number of children with Tane, and later realising the incestuous nature of her relationship with him, Hine-titama fled in shame to another dimension called Te Po, one of death rather than life, and she became Hine-nui-te-po. (59, p. 303)
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		• The Genesis story of Adam and Eve finds a parallel in the myth of how Tane created the human race. Mating with one's own flesh for procreation purposes is regarded as incestuous. Adam created Eve by using one of his ribs, but Tane created Hine-ahu-one from the earth. He then mated with her and produced Hine-ti-tama. His incest commences with his mating with this child from whom he produces the first human. Hine-ti-tama is ashamed and flees from the face of the earth to the underworld when she learns of Tane's abuse of her person. There she remained for eternity with Papa in solace and sombre meditation. Within herself exile she changed to become the goddess of death Hine-nui te-po. Maui, among his many antics tried to conquer her by entering through her vagina to kill her from within (and thus grant mankind immortality). He fails however, because of the twittering fantail whose laughter arouses Hine nui-te-po. She closes her legs on Maui and he dies from suffocation. (75, p. 85) • Hine-Titama represents a manifestation of the female element in a Maori cosmogony that considers this element an indispensable part of human existence. The female deity represents life and death and a cosmological connection between three dimensions inhabited by spiritual entities, ancestors and those of us who continue to inhabit a more physical world. In Hine-Titama this deity is one of compassion, understanding and benevolence. In Maori terminology she is filled with "aroha" which can be translated as a combination of 'love' and 'compassion'. (59, p. 305) • Traditional Māori beliefs maintain that the wairua (spirit) of a dead person travels to the domain of the spirits, where it joins Hinenuitepo and the ancestors, while the body is interred in te kopu o Papatuanuku (Earth 's womb), to rest. Hinenuitepo, the guardian of spirits, awaits the arrival of her descendants in Te Reinga, the gathering place of the spirits, where she takes them into her care. At tangihanga, Hineteiwaiwa was manifested in the numerous whariki (mats) and fine garments used to adorn the tupapaku (the deceased), and the house or the area in front of the meeting house known as the marae atea. It was usual practice, too, for the bodies of nobility to be wrapped in garments and/or whariki before being laid to rest. These finely woven cloaks and mats were the result of many long hours of dedicated weaving on the part of women. (86, p. 78) Hine-te-iwaiwa - goddess of weaving, childbirth, and the arts associated with women (and Hinekōrako - associated with birth alongside Hine-te-iwaiwa • Wahine bodies represented in creative arts: the image below by Robyn Kahukiwa depicts a woman giving birth embraced by Hine-te-iwaiwa (deity presiding over birth) with other atua wāhine, Hinekōrako and Ronawhakamautai, who have important associations with birth, standing behind. Around her neck Hine-te-iwaiwa wears a tiki, a symbol of fertility, passed on by Tāne. (2, p. 13) • Hine-te-iwaiwa is considered to be one atua that presides over childbirth and the karakia originated during the birth of her son Tūhuru hūru (Yates-Smith 1998). (2, p. 51) • Hine-te-iwaiwa is the name of one of the principal atua wāhine or female deities in the creation narratives of the Māori world. She presides over all womanly facets, including the arts of Te Whare Pora³¹ the celebration of te whare tangata³² and women as guardians of knowledge for future generations. These are the kura or treasures that originate from her divine being. The arts of raranga and whatu are created within her realm and as such this study is a reflection of the importance of our atua wāhine in the present day. ... Hineteiwaiwa is the guardian of all aspects of the feminine, significantly te whare tangata, ³⁵ the birth rites
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		and tikanga pertaining to childbirth in the Māori world. She also presides over all aspects of the fibre arts. (4, p. 21) • I also use the female pronoun to talk about the creative works in this study including the korowai Te Whatukura ki Oraurangi as the embodiment of Mana Wahine and representative of Hineteiwaiwa. The female reference being acknowledgment of the feminine principal of Hineteiwaiwa the spiritual ancestress of childbirth and weaving. (4, p. 40) • Relatively little knowledge has survived about Hineteiwaiwa, Hinerauwharangi and other ancient figures⁷ owing to details about them being forgotten or misplaced.⁸ ... The fundamental role of woman remains as creator and mother thus fulfilling the generative function previously carried out by Papa, Hineteiwaiwa, Hinekōrako and the many other atua wāhine. Women are still regarded as te whare tangata. (84, p. 52) • There is evidence that invocations were used throughout a woman's pregnancy and to herald the birth of a member of the noble class. One such karakia, 'te tuku o Hineteiwaiwa,' was used during difficult births.⁷ This karakia was recited to aid the process by invoking Hineteiwaiwa and to encourage the mother, reminding her that Hineteiwaiwa herself had had difficulties delivering her own child, Tuhuruhuru.(86, p. 77) Māui - The contributions and importance of Māui's female ancestors (Also Mahuika - goddess of fire) • The endeavours of demi-god Māui are an oft cited example of the marginalisation of mana wahine knowledges by colonial ethnographers (see Mikaere 2003; Murphy 2011; Pihama 2001). The colonial (re)telling of Māui stories see Māui reified as the central heroic figure to which women are represented as "passive, old crones whose presence in the 'story' was to add interest to an otherwise male adventure" (Smith 1992, 34). For example, in popular accounts little reference is made to: Māui's grandmother Muriranga-whenua, who gave him her jawbone from which he fashioned the fish-hook that was used to fish up Te Ika a Māui, the North Island of New Zealand; or to Mahuika who gave Māui the gift of fire; or to Hine-nui-te-pō who enables Māui to achieve immortality (albeit in a different form than he had sought - see Chapter Six for more on this). It was through Christianity that many Māori women were deprived of spiritual knowledge pertaining to maternities. The reproductive power of Māori women was quickly supplanted with ideologies of shame and sin. Furthermore, research on Māori spirituality was carried out by white male ethnographers who privileged the stories of male atua, while atua wāhine have been misrepresented. (2, p. 29-30) • The demi-god Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga (Māui) is a central character in the many traditions of the Māori (Indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand). These traditions provide Māori with an understanding of how aspects of their environmental world were created. These range from the slowing of the sun, Tama-nui-te-rā, the fishing up of the North Island (Te Ika-a-Māui), the attainment of fire and mortality. The subplot to all of Māui's adventures is his relationship with his tīpuna kuia (female ancestors) who provide Māui with the knowledge to undertake his feats. One of his tīpuna kuia, Muri-ranga-whenua, gave her jawbone to Māui, among many things, symbolising the importance of women in leadership roles in Māori society. The metaphorical use of this title symbolises the intent of this article to challenge the way in which the film Whale Rider portrays many Māori cultural concepts. (50, p. 1)
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		• The Maui Legends give special insight into the position of women. Taranga aborts her last child Maui and throws the foetus into the sea. ... Taranga's act demonstrates an attitude of women towards unwanted pregnancies which even in today's modern society still has not found comfortable favour for abortions. Of importance is that Taranga was free to make such a major decision whatever the later moral consequences were. (75, p. 86) • When Maui wanted to go fishing he had to employ the co-operation of his grandmother. She possessed magical powers and knowledge which Maui needed. He persuades her to lend him her jawbone. Once out fishing, Maui chants the prayers and incantations that she has taught him and follows her instructions of making her nose bleed to have blood to smear on the jawbone hook. Thus Maui is credited with having fished up the North Island of New Zealand. The formula and strategy actually belonged to his grandmother. (75, p. 86) • In putting out all the fires in his village Maui was seeking the real knowledge of fire-making. he wanted to gain access to that power also. Such knowledge in a primitive culture was supreme as fire provided heat for warmth and cooking as well as an energy source for felling trees. Sure enough Maui's mother Taranga knew who the resource person was - a great ancestress of the family - Mahuika. Maui tricks her into surrendering all her power. Doing so nearly costs him his life. This legend particularly underlies for me the message in the myths about the powerful positions of women. (83, p. 86) Muriranga-whenua and Mahuika - the roles and significance in providing Māui with knowledge and tools • Muri-ranga-whenua was motivated by these cultural concepts to rip her jawbone, te kauae mārō, from her lower face and offer this to her mokopuna (grandchild) providing him with the technology to assist him in his journey for the advancement of te ao Māori. Without this assistance, Māui would have failed. Te kauae mārō means 'a strong jawbone.' However, kauae also refers to knowledge; te kauae runga means esoteric knowledge and te kauae raro means practical knowledge. In traditional Māori society, this knowledge was handed down from generation to generation through tribal whare wānanga. The transmission of knowledge, and who received this knowledge, was not premised on either age or gender; more to the point it was driven by cultural markers such as rangatiratanga (right to exercise authority in relation to sovereignty, leadership and identity) and the preservation of whānau, hapū and iwi. (50, p. 5) • In putting out all the fires in his village Maui was seeking the real knowledge of fire-making. he wanted to gain access to that power also. Such knowledge in a primitive culture was supreme as fire provided heat for warmth and cooking as well as an energy source for felling trees. Sure enough Maui's mother Taranga knew who the resource person was - a great ancestress of the family - Mahuika. Maui tricks her into surrendering all her power. Doing so nearly costs him his life. This legend particularly underlies for me the message in the myths about the powerful positions of women. (83, p. 86) Hinerauwharangi - Guardian of the Tides and Coastal Waters • As a goddess of spiritual and physical growth, Hinerauwharangi, too, was symbolically represented or manifested in the greenery used at tangihanga, the branchlets held by the tangata whenua when extending a pohiri (welcome) to the group of visitors approaching the marae atea, and the pare kawakawa, chaplets of greenery worn by the mourners, along with
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		the greenery adorning the deceased's body and the meeting house. One could equally attribute the use of green leaves to Papatuanuku, as mother earth, or to her son Tane, as the male deity of the forest, or as suggested here, to Hinerauwharangi, the deity of growth. The symbolism evokes the sense of connection between the human dimension and the ancestors present in the surrounding environment, the tangible link between the physical and spiritual dimensions, and the fragility of life. (86, p. 79) Māhinaarangi • Māhinaarangi, of Ngāti Kahungunu, is a prominent ancestress for many iwi in Aotearoa. Perhaps her most famous act was to journey, while heavily pregnant, from the lands of her people in Kahungunu to those of Tūrongo, at Rangiātea. Māhinaarangi purposefully made the journey across ridges and ranges, lakes and rivers. Leaving her home village of Kahotea (near Te Aute) she travelled with a retinue of whānau and supporters (including Tūrongo's dog) some 500km walking north-west via Wairoa, along Lake Waikaremoana, across Huirau range to Ruatahuna, Te Whaiti and to Rotorua. She then carried on, crossing the Kaimai Ranges and giving birth to Raukawa in this area before carrying on through Te Poi and then along to the Waikato River, where they crossed and carried onto Rangiātea, where Tūrongo made a home for them (see Jones, 1945, 1995; and Te Hiko, 2010). Māhinaarangi demonstrated great mana and foresight through her journey, thus securing lands for her descendants. Her hīkoi also offers significant conceptual and physical maps that speak to: mātauranga and tikanga pertaining to childbirth and mothering (see Simmonds, 2014); the relationships between tribes and between people and the land; intimate knowledges of diverse environments; and the endurance and courage to move through space to new lands, all done with a newborn baby. Māhinaarangi was a navigator and cartographer in her own right - mapping her story, history, language tradition, ceremony, knowledge and therefore herself and her descendants into the land upon which her footsteps fell. (90, p. 160-1) Muriwai - Heroine of Whakatāne and Originator of Kawa Wahine • For example, consider Muriwai and the 'kawa wahine' that has developed as a result of her deeds. Muriwai was a sister of Toroa, Puhi Moana Ariki and Taneatua, of the Matatua canoe. At Whakatane they sighted a beautiful mountain and a harbour with a good landing place. They decided that they should inspect this beautiful place. Muriwai and some of the people were left aboard the canoe. The rising sea and currents carried it close to the rocks. Powerless to act, and recognizing the imminent crisis, Muriwai stood in the canoe, chanted a special karakia, then called out 'e - i! Tēnā kia whakatāne ake au i ahau! - Now I shall make myself a man!' She ordered the crew to paddle away to safety, saving it from sure destruction. Eruera Kawhia Whakatane Stirling was named Whakatane in memory of his ancestress Muriwai. From her deeds is derived the "'kawa wahine", a women's etiquette amongst the tribes descended from Muriwai... high-born women in the direct line from Muriwai have held the right to speak on the marae'. Eruera Stirling's mother, Mihi Kotukutuku, was one of those women. In the book Eruera: the Teachings of a Māori Elder, he retells the story of Muriwai Deeds. This deed, he relates, is often incorrectly attributed to Wairaka, the daughter of Toroa. (74, p. 77) Wairaka - Rescuer of Mataatua, one of the great migratory waka
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		- Wairaka was one of the women who travelled to Aotearoa from Hawaiiki, on the Mataatua Waka (canoe) captained by Toroa. Wairaka was Toroa's daughter. The Mataatua Waka came to shore in the mouth of the Whakatāne River, where the township of Whakatāne stands today. Once on shore, the men went up the cliffs just above the shore line where they could see all the surrounding land. The women and children stayed on the shore. The Whakatāne River is a tidal inlet and, as time went by, the water level started to rise— something that the people of the Mataatua Waka would not have known. As the water level rose, the Mataatua Waka, which was filled with all of their possessions, began to drift, heading down the river towards the ocean on the outgoing tide. When Wairaka saw their Waka adrift, it was well on its way down river. She realised that there were no men around as they had gone to scout out their new land base. There were only children and women on the shore. She dived into the water and swam out to the Mataatua Waka. This was not easy, given the currents of the Whakatāne River. Once Wairaka reached the Mataatua, she climbed in. At that point she faced a cultural dilemma: "Māori tradition forbade the right of women to paddle the great canoes" (The Lady on the Rock, n.d.). As the only person on the Mataatua Waka, she either needed to follow the custom of her people and not paddle—which would mean that the Waka and Wairaka herself would be lost to the ocean—or she could, in this instance, in this new place, driven by circumstance, do something about it. It is said that Wairaka stood in the bows of the Waka, raised her head and cried "Kia Whakatāne au I ahau!" which means "I will become man!" This allowed her to take on the role of a man in the Mataatua Waka. In doing so, she could pick up a paddle and bring the Mataatua Waka back to the shore. Wairaka battled against the elements to save the canoe; she also adjusted her cultural framing as a woman to save herself and the possessions of her people. This is how the town of Whakatāne got its name. We share the story of Wairaka, not to encourage women to become like men, but to highlight how we as women can take back our power and assert ourselves as women within our communities. (56, p. 77) Rona in the Moon - implications for women's roles and domains - Rona in the Moon is a legend that portrays the selfish nature of woman. Yet is it so selfish to want to get out of a warm bed in the dark of night to go out to the well to fetch a gourd of water for a wailing, whining child? Rona curses the moon for not shining its light so she could see the path. As she utters her obscenities, the moon comes down and snatches her up from earth to be held captive for eternity. The moral appears to be that women must meet without complaint the needs of her family. Of significance through Rona's capture is that the moon has become another domain of female occupation. (75, p. 86) Tawhaki and his grandmother, Whaitiri - The Legends of Tawhaki revolve around the escapades of the deities as well. He takes his wife from the heavens but unfortunately he offends her by telling her that her child is very smelly. Hapai is offended and leaves him. Tawhaki is mortified and follows her. In order to gain access to the heavens, he is directed to his grandmother Whaitiri who is blind. Tawhaki uses magical powers and restores her vision. In exchange for this good deed, Whaitiri tells him what he wants to know - the path to the heavens. She cautions Tawhaki and the servant that they must be sure to grasp the vine that was anchored into the earth. If not they would be flung back and forth across the heavens and possibly lost to earth forever. The servant makes
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		that mistake but luckily on his backward swing is able to let go of the vine and land back on earth. Tawhaki leaves the servant behind for his grandmother in case he gets himself into any more bother on the trip. (75, p. 87) Mataora and Niwareka - the story of ta moko and its cultural significance • This is embedded in purakau such as the story of Mataora and Niwareka and how the practice of ta moko (tattooing) was brought to human-kind. Mataora, a human, abused his partner, Niwareka, who fled to her home in Rarohenga (the underworld). In striking her, he disrespected her inherent mana. Overcome by regret, Mataora followed her to Rarohenga. Mataora encountered Niwareka's father Uetonga, who was a skilled practitioner in the art of permanent ta moko. Uetonga tattooed Mataora's face and it was during this painful process that he reconciled with Niwareka. They both returned to the physical world and Mataora gave an oath to Uetonga that he would never harm his daughter again. When I first heard this purakau explained by a kaumatua at a mokopapa (tattooing day), he emphasised that ta moko is therefore inherently intertwined with the principle of anti-violence against women. In this way, every ta moko that is applied, is, from one perspective, a reminder that such abuse is not accepted in Maori society and indeed could be conceptualised as honouring the mana and tapu of wahine tracing back through to Niwareka. (26, p. 34-5) Wāhine Kāi Tahu - women of the Kāi Tahu (Ngāi Tahu) iwi (tribe) • The pūrākau of Hinepīpīwai resonated with the idea of preferencing wāhine Kāi Tahu stories and specifically conferred the urge and need for relevant methodology that future gazed with a wide view, while also understanding that there will always be some unseen elements (hidden behind the mountain), making space for research surprises and variations. Hinepīpīwai understood that, in order to safely navigate the way forward as they travelled along mahika kai trails, it was important to take the time to have some oversight forward and back (10, p. 5) • The collection also includes some really significant stories of wāhine Kāi Tahu who were warriors, swimmers, guides and heroes, including Kaiaiao, Hakitekura and Hinepīpīwai. These treasures are threaded through my research and support the wāhine Kāi Tahu who have chosen to share their journeys of identity and belonging. (10, p. 10) • Some wāhine Kāi Tahu photographers engaged in re-membering, reclaiming and remembering are Conor Clarke, Fiona Pardington and Rachel Rakana, contributing in stories of identity and belonging and incorporating being into seeing and photography. Through visual recognition of: whenua and nature as living and having life-force; the challenges of the post-colonial wahine; the importance of our cultural artefacts; and the connections to whakapapa, these wāhine explore through the camera what it means to be wāhine Kāi Tahu (Brown, 2008; Mills, 2009). (10, p. 11) Broad Māori Cosmology Concepts: Varied Sacred Roles of Deities, Ancestors, and Natural Elements • Māori knowing depends on maintaining our bodily connections to the whenua, to our natural environments that prompt and make manifest our embodied knowing. (4, p. 59) • What we know is that within each of these traditional stories, and their iwi renditions, is the affirmation and recognition of the sacred positioning of the female essence and the vital role
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		of wahine in the creation of who we are now as whānau, hapū and iwi (Te Awe kotuku 1991; Irwin 1992). These pūrākau also remind us of the sacred relationships that have emerged from the creation of all living things and the importance for us as 'tangata' (people) to always affirm our place alongside 'atua' (sacred deities) that gave us life. (8, p. 354). • Knowing the stories of our tūpuna wāhine and being able to weave them in to our everyday not only strengthens us in the now but also us in the future. (10, p. 10) • The work of Leanne Simpson, <i>Dancing on our Turtle's Back</i> (2011), advocates for the listening with open hearts and feeding the fires or what we would call ahi kā. To Simpson, storytelling is intrinsically tied to the relationality we have with land and "land as practice" while also providing theories that we do not find in western academia. (10, p. 11) • When I [Lawyer, Sykes] discovered that I had an ancestress of equal notoriety, Makino, a reputed warrior woman with many lovers also located between the territories of Te Arawa and Maniapoto, between the mountains of Matauwhara and Kakepuku and who it is said thwarted a marauding war party with her bare hands, while the men were away fishing I might add, it made sense for me to align her relationship to me as a significant marker of identity equal in weight to the acknowledgements I also make to my Pikaio tūpuna. (14, no pg no) • Maori literary texts consulted in this discussion [1980s to present day] often foreground symbolic and imaginary versions of gods, demigods, and ancestors, significant figures in oral narratives and performances, waiata (song), moteatea (poetry) and whakairo (carvings) transferred into the terms of performances, poetry, novels, plays, paintings, installations, and art work, as well as film. (24, p. 107) • In one instance, she retells the story of Haumapuhia, the daughter of an abusive chief, who, when she is drowned by her father for being disobedient, is transformed into a taniwha; longing for the sea but unable to reach it, Haumapuhia thrashes her taniwha body against the earth until she forms a lake, Waikaremoana. Despite Waikaremoana representing 'a lake of tears, a place of magic, a lake of tragedy' (p. 45), it also becomes, through Te Awekotuku's telling, a landmark of defiance. (29, p. 7) • the place of women within pakiwaitara, purakau, tribal stories, the naming of places and important events, the naming of hapu and iwi after important and chiefly notable women. (32, p. 13) • The critical link between women and tribal sustainability is self-evident and epitomised in the famous whakatauki "He Wahine, He Whenua - E era ai te Iwi" meaning "By Women and Land, People are sustained". However, one should not draw the conclusion that it is from the relationship between women and land alone that women derive their mana [sic should be mana] or status in Maori society. If Mana Whenua is taken as a metaphoric and generic reference to resources, Maori women have inherent rights and status and, as such, an established basis from which to claim benefit. In our early mythology the deeds of the Goddesses Mahuika, Muriranga-whenua, Hine Nui-Te-Po and Hine Ahu-One provide a blueprint for the feminine dimension of the divine. Hine Ahu-One in particular, the first being created was not only human and divine but also a woman. In waka descent stories, the deeds of Nga Tuawahine such as Kahutianui were recognised by virtue of their chiefly status. In her case the continuance of her chiefly line was further recognised by the naming of Ngati Kahu after her. (48, no pg no) • In the novel <i>Whale Rider</i>, however, Ihimaera develops it further by referring to the well known Māori narrative of Muriwai, the ancestress of Te Whānau-a-Apanui, who called out to the
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		Gods, 'Kia whakatāne au i ahau' ('Now I shall make myself a man'), in order for her to save the Mātaatua canoe (Ihimaera 1987, 17). This reference indicates Ihimaera's respect for, and deep understanding of, the status of women in traditional Māori society. (50, p. 7) • My dream of becoming an academic has helped sustain me through the first decade of my chosen career. It has the power to re-energise and recommit me [Kathy Irwin] in my work as a Maori feminist academic, because it is not my dream in an individualistic sense, but part of a dream and vision handed to us by our tipuna. This dream, more than anything else, keeps me working as an academic, against the odds. TOI TE KUPU, TOI TE MANA, TOI TE WHENUA The language lives, The mana is great, The nation is strengthened. (69, p. 54) • To us, to be Maori is to acknowledge 'tuupuna' and keep them close to our hearts as a 'puna'; a source of inspiration, wisdom and knowledge. 'Te Aho Tuhi', the tradition of writing,³ records the memories and thoughts of some of the earliest writings of 'waahine' Maori wahine' Maori, some of which are available in early Maori manuscripts.⁴ The inspiration, the 'wairua', the spirit, the very essence of these writings is ever present in the hearts and minds of our writers and poets today. 'Te Aho Tuhi' also gives us some insight into the lives of our 'tuupuna'; their way of life in the past, how they adapted to new ways, and more than that, something tangible and real to hold on to and to look upon from another time, something to feel a heaviness about the eyes, of 'roimata', tears, something that makes us feel emotional about.⁵ (70, p. 14) • Maori women in their mythology occupy an important role. While biologically the Maori male occupies a position of great physical strength from which to oppress the female, women assume the balance of power in the psychological dominance they achieved through the knowledge they have of the universe. They have the power to control its forces. They enter freely the spirit world and return to their earthly natures with few restrictions or demeanours. They have the power to permit access to forbidden domains such as the underworld or the heavenly portals to those males wishing to travel. They not only controlled the power, they also had the control of resources (75, p. 84) • The power of the myths in describing the way the human race organised itself has a very strong message about the role of women. I wonder at the impact of the message contained within them and begin to understand the respect the younger generations towards their kuia (female family elder). The myths actually outline time and time again the supreme authority they held as elder spokespersons of their era. No wonder the kaumatua insist that young people make the journeys home to meet with and talk to their kuia. She should be the fountain of all knowledge. Without such knowledge one is not equipped to face the unknown of the future. (75, p. 87) • Let us now reflect on the feminine, which was a vital component within Māori cosmology and history. References to atua wāhine (goddesses) in kōrero (stories, history), karakia (incantations), whakapapa (genealogy) and waiata (songs) indicate that female power was built into Māori philosophy, religious ritual and cultural experiences of everyday life. (84, p. 51) • Such productions as 'Ahorangi Genesis', although mainly focussing on the male gods, paid tribute to the mana of Papa, Hineahuone, Hinetītama/Hinenuitēpō, Mahuika, and Murirangawhenua. The play 'Wāhine Toa' (staged in 1992) presented Māori cosmology from a woman's perspective. Modern Māori compositions focussing on the feminine in cosmology and society have had their debut at Māori Performing Arts Festival events where kapa haka
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		performers display their prowess through competition. The compositions are in the form of traditional waiata, haka, poi and waiata-ā-ringa, examples being Wakahua's 'He mana tuku iho' which contains the words 'Ko Hineahuone tōku mana e', and Te Whare Wananga o Waikato's 'Ko Papatūānuku'. From waiata to written poetry, new compositions are appearing with references to the more well-known Māori female deities.(84, p.52) -a list of more modern creations naming cultural narratives follow in this article. • The sacred place of atua wahine (Māori women deities/goddesses), and the critical roles of Māori women have been denied over many generations of white documentation and domination (Te Awēkotuku, 1991; Jenkins, 1992; Yates-Smith, 1996; Murphy, 2011; Simmonds, 2014; Mikaere, 2017). (93, p. 193)
	Pūrākau in Research	• Upon our own shores of Aotearoa, the work of Somerville (2010) and Lee (2009) both describe the diverse benefits of storytelling in research and as a continuation of our Māori theories. (10, p. 11) • Perhaps our greatest modern-day Māori storyteller, who straddles success as orator and academic is Moana Jackson who so eloquently and powerfully delivers key messages and ideas through the use of pūrākau (10, p. 11) • I have woven wāhine Kāi Tahu pūrākau through my research which are examples of autoethnography intergenerationally. These stories in their wholeness are allowed to grow and change from generation to generation and do not represent one truth. Here data analysis is discarded and a practice of response, reflection and personal insight replaces it. Ellis (1999) calls this evocative autoethnography where the author writes to pull out emotion, feelings and connection and the reader makes associations with the text or performance, drawing on their own stories through their own emotive responses. (10, p. 13) • Pūrākau sits in the essence of my social work practice. From early on in my training Narrative Theory, Strengths based and Rangatiratanga became the key parts of how I wanted my practice to develop. These combine to create a framework that centres the voice of the whānau that I work with. That included making space for whānau to tell their stories, be heard and to have a response that supports them (10, p. 14) • Understanding the vitality of Māori women begins with recognising wāhine as the source of all creation. Pūrākau (origin stories) are more than mere mythologies for Māori people; they offer critical insights into the driving forces of human actions and relationships. Jenny Lee asserts that these narratives 'contain Māori philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes and worldviews' which 'provide a framework of representation'. Margaret Forster, Farah Palmer and Shirley Barnett utilise pūrākau to develop a framework of leadership models for Māori women around the five key female archetypes in Māori cosmology: Papatūānuku, Earth Mother; Hineahuone, woman of the Earth, mother to humanity; Hinefītama, first human form, often personified as the daughter archetype; Hinenuitēpō, who established limits to human existence and is guardian of the afterlife; Kuia, the grandmother archetype.¹⁰ These atua wāhine (female deities) provide paradigms for everyday and spiritual conduct of Māori women through very specific traits – such as the 'Whaea/ mother' figure, a 'facilitator, quietly in control, outwardly strong, maternal, malleable, guiding, and nurturing from behind'; the 'Kuia/ grandmother', described as 'directing, esteemed, venerable, confident, and manipulative when necessary'; and the 'Wahine Toa/ warrior', a 'warrior leader, outwardly strong, inwardly directed, leading by example'.¹¹ The tropes not only offer leadership

		constructs which are specific to Māori women, they are also constant and recognisable traits of characters in Māori literature and performance texts, from pre-contact to the present; primal resources which remain familiar and useful. Vitally, these specific tropes appear nowhere in the works of Shakespeare. (31, p. 214-5) • Pūrākau, which had atua wāhine as protagonists, were recast with male genitalia, Christian moralities were inserted, and wāhine matakite (spiritual women) were rendered 'witchy' (as per the Weird sisters of Macbeth) or insane or invisible. The retelling of Māori cosmology through translation led to a shift in power in favour of male characters. Mikaere suggests: '[I]n the re-telling of our myths, by Māori male informants to Pakeha male writers who lacked the understanding and significance of Maori cultural beliefs, Māori women find their mana wahine destroyed'.²³ Our stories lost their female protagonists, and our archetypes were sullied by Western cyphers. (31, p. 220) • Despite the difficulty of not being able to obtain primary sources written by Māori women, I found several pūrākau that spoke to the importance of naming and which, upon the application of a mana wahine lens, revealed some strong messages and discourse about the mana of wāhine and naming. It is also important to note that early written recordings of our pūrākau are not, in my view, the only or most authoritative source(s). Our mothers and grandmothers, who have maintained these pūrākau in our whānau since time immemorial, are the true keepers of this knowledge. (92, p. 185)
Theme 4: Mana Wāhine in Leadership	Prominent Wāhine Leaders and Their Accomplishments Across Various Fields	Wāhine in cultural heritage narratives: Wairaka • Dominant Maori women and their influence: Wairaka - remembered by the descendants of the Mataatua canoe for having saved it from floating out to sea while the men had gone inland, she is also remembered for her great beauty. The town Whakatane is named in honour of the deed of Wairaka when she quit herself like a man (which is the translation of Whakatane) to drag in the canoe. There is also a proverb about her - Na te po i raru ai a Wairaka - which means that Wairaka was confused or made a mistake because of the darkness. This refers to a particular event in which Wairaka became enamoured by a very handsome visitor and told her father of such. He in turn told her to point out this man to him, which she promises to do by putting a scratch on the face of this handsome man during the night. A very ugly man overheard the exchange and during the night, swapped places with the man that Wairaka had hoped to be betrothed to. In the morning, her father (surprised at her choice) arranged the marriage and the poor deceived girl has to marry the ugly man (75, p. 87) Hinemoa • Hinemoa of the Rotorua region who is remembered for her great swimming feat in order to achieve her heart's desire. Against the odds and advice of her people she followed her love. I often think about Tutanekai and wonder why he didn't organise himself to row over and fetch Hinemoa instead of leaving all the initiative to her. Hinemoa reflects the determination and stamina that women are capable of. Within the Kahungunu area of the Hawke's Bay they sing of their great ancestress Rongomaiwahine even to this day and how she brought to heel the great macho Kahungunu. She had more than beauty to attract him. She had great mana and prestige. Her rank was of the noblest and she commanded great respect. Reitu and Reipae are ancestors of the Nga Puhi tribe in the North Auckland region. It is claimed they flew on a

		meteorite and landed at the place of Whangarei hence named. The significance of mention for these two is that they portray the impossible of flying a meteorite. A similar legend is told in Wellington about a Rongomai whom I'm not sure of as being male or female (75, p. 87-88) - The legends of Hinehopu, within Rotoiti, and Hinemoa in Rotorua, should of themselves affirm the status and rank that Te Arawa women enjoyed well before the process of colonisation. That brilliance should not be denied a participation in our tribal development. It is incumbent on us as a generation of new leaders to reclaim and revitalise our tikanga so as to assert an equal participation by Te Arawa women within the current tribal administration systems. (90. p. 22) Prominent historical wāhine: Ruataupare (1580 - 1650) - Wife creates own hapu: Ruataupare grew tired of Tūwhakairiora and eventually left him, moving from Wharekāhika to Tokomaru Bay. She established her genealogical links with the Ngāti Ira and Wahine-iti hapū in the area, quickly establishing her leadership over the people and the land, thus creating her own hapū, Te Whānau a Ruataupare (I am a descendant of Ruataupare). (50, p. 6) - Prior to Pākehā arrival to Aotearoa, Māori had systems in place for their survival, and the sustainability of the tribes was through a physical and spiritual balance (Mead, 2003). Evidence of female leadership is recognised in many tribal names that acknowledge their chieftainess and tipuna kuia. For example, Te Whānau-a-Ruataupare, Te Aitanga-a-Mate of Whareponga and Te Whānau-a-Hinepare are also known as Ngāti Hinepare, and Ngāti Hine, to name a few (King, 1992). The characteristics of many chieftainesses found in oral histories demonstrate that Māori woman leaders were informed socially and politically. These women were developed with a purpose and with determination to lead their people into the future (Mikaere, 2017). Evidence is also found in the lives and experiences of Dame Te Puea Herangi (King, 2003), Dame Whina Cooper (King, 1983), and the many wāhine Māori leaders of the past. (33, p. 71) Hine-matioro (c. 1750 - 1823) - Hine-matioro, who was a prominent female leader in Ngāti Porou history, was considered too tapu (sacred) to walk on the ground like other human beings because of her leadership status in the tribe. Consequently, she was carried from place to place by male servants. Such was her power that she was reported in international circles as, 'the great Queen who possessed a large territory and numerous subjects' (Ballara 1990, 192). (50, p. 6) Te Puea Herangi (1883 - 1952) - Te Puea Herangi was the female leader, often regarded as Princess, for the Maori king movement in the Waikato in the twentieth century. Granddaughter to the second Maori King Tawhiao Te Wherowhero, Herangi was to play a crucial role in the revitalization of the Tainui Kingitanga or King Movement.⁷ Being that this was not the case for Te Puea, it is not surprising that she was met with a cold reception upon taking up her leadership status. The pot was stirred even more by her occasional breaking of tradition "by standing and speaking in public, for example, which Maori women did not do conventionally."⁹ Te Puea persevered against her critics and adopted a role in the community often unseen in previous leaders. She
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		lead her people not with an iron fist or dictatorially, but with the generosity and care of a mother figure to the Kingitanga. Her solidarity to Tainui was first consolidated in her firm stance against the Government's conscription policy. She provided "much needed encouragement" to the men forced into camps for their refusal to enlist, and her stance against conscription held fast even through to the Second World War.¹⁰ This motherly, nurturing style is seen again in her moving of the Mangatawhiri settlement to a building on reclaimed land in the Waikato to be called Turangawaewae marae. (28, p.3-4) • Te Puea lead the Kingitanga to a more comfortable existence in Ngaruawahia, potentially preventing their wiping out at the hands of influenza, amongst many other things; (28, p. 6) • Princess Te Puia: Within the last century dominant Maori women have played a significant role in the settler history of this nation. Of particular note was Princess Te Puea of the Waikato who was responsible for rallying the tribes of the Waikato and re-establishing them in their own territory. The people had become refugees in their own country. Negotiating through the land courts was a futile venture as the courts were prejudiced against her cause. So she set about raising money to buy some land back. She started off on a few acres of land she had, growing kumara and vegetables which she took to Auckland to sell on the streets. She'd be most impressed to see the 'flea markets' of Otara doing much the same thing except not for the cause she had in mind. Her assistants in her programme were children. Wherever she heard of or found homeless children she would take them in and give them refuge. She was the great benefactor to her area at their greatest hour of need. With few resources, reduced to poverty, Te Puea the great matriarch carved a sanctuary for her people. The Maori palace at Ngaruawahia were redeveloped by her. People throughout the country remember her troupe walking to Gisborne and other places to entertain and raise funds for the re-establishment of the community in the Waikato. A lot of the measures Te Puea adopted to relocate and stabilise her people, Maori groups are using today. Take the street kids for example. There are many benevolent Maori families trying to care for the destitute as she did. Perhaps the difference is that Te Puea succeeded early in her struggle because she was always clear about her identity and she had support as a member of the Kahui Ariki. Te Puea's struggle matches for me, those of Florence Nightingale and Joan of Arc. She represents the humanitarian giant of our time, here in Aotearoa. (75, p. 88) Dame Whina Cooper (1895 - 1994) • Women were often leaders in activist groups on the ground (Dame Whina Cooper for example, led the 1975 Land March) in education and in formulating as well as carrying through social and political policy. (24, p. 108) • In Aotearoa/New Zealand, mana wāhine serves as a similar, albeit different, form of wilful womanism. The upheld arm of Te Rawara leader Whina Cooper as she undertook the 1975 hīkoi from Mangere to the Wellington Parliament (King, 2000) serves here as an embodied symbol of perseverance and wilfulness. Over the 1,000 kilometre walk, it is the figure of 79-year-old Whina Cooper which stands out, as she wilfully leads Māori into the spaces and structures from which they had been institutionally shut out. (29, p, 16) • Māori women have played important leadership roles well into their senior years; indeed, one of the most iconic women in contemporary Māori history was Dame Whina Cooper, who, at over 80 in 1975, led the great land march to communicate that enough is enough as regards further loss of land (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014). (30, p. 375)
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		• Dame Whina Cooper. All her life she had been involved and identified with Maori struggles and enterprises. She speaks out on many issues particularly the radical ones and is unafraid of criticism. Within the remote tribal area of the North it is surprising how well informed and abreast with the issues she is. She is the living testimony that age is not a barrier to wisdom and knowledge. (75, p. 88) • Women were often leaders in activist groups on the ground (Dame Whina Cooper for example, led the 1975 Land March) in education and in formulating as well as carrying through social and political policy. (24, p. 108) Wāhine Signatories of The Treaty of Waitangi: • It is not generally well known that Maori women signed the Treaty. They included Ana Hamu, the widow of Te Koki who was the original patron of the Paihia Mission, and Te Rau o Te Rangi (Kahe) of Te Whare Kauri and Ngati Toa at Port Nicholson. The same Te Rau o Te Rangi swam from Kapiti Island to the mainland with her baby strapped on her shoulders to warn her people of invaders from Kapiti. There was Rangi Topeora, an Arikitaipairu of Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toa, a strategist in Te Rauparaha's military, Rere O Maki, a woman of rank from Wanganui, and Ereonora, wife of the chief of Nopera of Te Rarawa. (90. P. 21) • In terms of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, there were at least 13 female signatories to the Treaty but of course, we don't know of the Soo plus signatories, because many Maori names are non-gender specific. Some of those signatories may be women that are unidentified. We also know of many wahine rangatira who turned up to sign on behalf of their hapu who were turned away. Matua Moana Jackson gives a story of one of his female tupuna who was in that position, who was denied the right to sign and who then had her people walk away. (32, p. 15-16) • Waitohi's daughter, Rangi Topeora, was also a leader in her own right. She was one of the few women to sign the Treaty of Waitangi, she was fiercely warlike when the occasion demanded, and she was a political force to be reckoned with.⁴⁴ She was also a prolific composer of waiata, many of which continue to be sung today. That women played a particularly significant role in the maintenance and transmittal of iwi history and knowledge through the composition of waiata is apparent from the most cursory of glances through the volumes of Nga Moteatea.⁴⁵ (81, p. 14) Contemporary wāhine leaders listed in various sectors - academic, politics, media, arts, sport, health and Māori culture: • Work by, for example, Kirsten Gabel (2013), Jessica Hutchings (2002a), Kathy Irwin (1992; 1993), Ani Mikaere (2003; 2011), Ngahuia Murphy (2011), Leonie Pihama (2001), Linda Smith, (1992; 1996; 2012), Aroha Yates-Smith (1998) and others have progressed mana wahine substantially. (2, p. 10) • Despite these laws, many Māori women continued to birth in a traditional way, at home with whānau support, right up until World War II.³⁵ A Committee of Inquiry (COI) into Maternity services in 1937 found that 83% of Māori women continued to birth at home attended by a 'lay' midwife. (2, p. 31) • Real gains in the struggle to make mana wahine visible within the academy have been made by Māori women such as Linda Smith, Patricia Johnston, Aroha Yates-Smith, Leonie Pihama, Hine Waitere, Ani Mikaere, Kathy Irwin, and Jessica Hutchings, to name a few. (9, p. 15)
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		• Moana Maniapoto and Hinewehi Mohi are famous for having pioneered a distinctively Māori form of popular and political music in the 1990s, and they continue to produce remarkable contemporary waiata for audiences in Aotearoa and overseas. Their successes have inspired other artists, and more importantly, they have both made significant contributions to the empowerment and strengthening of te reo Māori and mātaranga Māori. (11, p. 78) • An estimated 100 million people worldwide witnessed Hinewehi Mohi singing the New Zealand national anthem in te reo Māori only, before an All Blacks match during the 1999 Rugby World Cup at Twickenham (Shiels, 2002). (11, p. 84) • One of the artists whose work was on display was Areta Wilkinson, who specialises in linking taonga concepts with contemporary cultural and social practices. (12, p. 71) • The final and central part of the evening was the Smart Talk discussion panel of He mana, he wahine. It was moderated by the thoughtful and articulate Mihingarangi Forbes, an investigative journalist and television interviewer who works for Radio New Zealand as the Māori Issues Correspondent. (12, p. 72) • The largest presence on the panel was Professor Ngahua Te Awekotuku, who awed everyone with her confidence, power, and history. Professor Te Awekotuku is a Māori, women's, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) rights activist and researcher who focuses on Māori culture, gender, and sexuality. Her publications include extensive work on te moko such as in her 2007 book Mau moko: The world of Māori tattoo and research surrounding Māori understandings of death. (12, p. 72) • Lawyer and Judge, Dame Lowell Goddard (19, no pg no) • I wish to acknowledge the research contributions of the wider community in this area. In particular, the tribal leadership and knowledge of Dr Te Rangimarie Turuki Rose Pere; the shelter, nourishment, and teachings of Ti Hauora o Te Aroha; the leadership and role modelling of Hinewirangi Kohu-Morgan and Hinewehi Mohi. I also wish to acknowledge Sir Apirana Ngata's contribution to Māori oral literacy; and the work of Māori Marsden, Charles Royal, and Manuka Henare in the area of source vitalities; Whaea Robyn Kahukiwa for her ongoing and tireless commitment to wahinetanga re-vitalisation, re emergence, role modelling, and leadership. (23, p. 90) • Professor Ani Mikaere, one of the foremost, probably the foremost Maori feminist legal scholar, of Te Wananga o Raukawa. That's the title of her Master's thesis from the 1990s, The Balance Destroyed, in reference to the balance between women and men in te ao Maori. (32, p. 11) • The mana wāhine leaders selected for the research were Distinguished Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith—Education, Moana Maniapoto, MNZM—Music and Film, Honourable Nanaia Mahuta—Politics, Pania Newton—Environment, and Dame Lisa Carrington—Sport. (33, p. 75) • A leading whakawahine (kite flier), Verbina Kopa, is the co-leader of He Manu o Aotearoa, NZ's foremost Maori kite group. (36, p. 28) • During November, Tania Simpson was reappointed as Director of Tainui Group Holdings for a second term. Around this time, Tania was also appointed as a Director of Auckland International Airport and as a member of the New Zealand Conservation Authority. Many of Tania's governance appointments, including as a Director of the Reserve Bank of New Zealand, see her taking on national positions that have not previously been held by Māori. (41, p. 45)
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		• Many wāhine Māori were at the forefront of these struggles. Examples include: the 1975 land march led by Dame Whina Cooper; the 1978 occupation of Bastion Point by Ngāti Whātua of which many wāhine were involved; the protest over the sale of the Raglan golf course led by Eva Rickard; and the kōhanga reo movement fronted by a number of influential Māori women. Many Māori women faced struggles of a different kind simply trying to survive. Mana wahine, at this time, was enacted and sustained in and on these social, cultural and political battlefields (Pihama 2001; Smith 1992; 1996). (2, p. 8-9) • Awatere was one of a small group of young, university-educated urban Maori radicals who, in 1971, formed Ngā Tamatoa (Young Warriors) to oppose racism and champion Maori culture and identity in New Zealand (Harris 2004: 48). (52, p. 258) • Kahukiwa's picture entitled Hine-Titama (see Figure 1) was completed as part of the exhibition Wahine Toa (Women of Strength) in 1980 (Kahukiwa & Grace 1991, p. 10). (59, p. 301) • Being an academic leader: Yet the order that I have tried to work to promote the issues of Maori development and women's needs, the more resistance I have met. To survive, I have had to learn to become a strategist, a politician, a negotiator, a bridge builder, detective and a tracker dog with a keen sense of smell for traces of the scents of 'hope and potential'. This, along with being a scholar, researcher and writer. I have also had to become a pioneer because so much pioneering work still needs to be done in the university system. As a result, I know that my experience of becoming an academic has differed from that of academics who are not Maori, who are not feminists and who are not Maori feminist academics. (69, p. 62) • Also at the time of my first appointment, only one Maori woman, Ngapare Hopa, had ever earned the PhD degree, and she was teaching in an American university. She graduated Doctor of Philosophy from Oxford University in 1977. The reality of the breakthrough that Ngapare made for Maori women serves as a chilling reminder to me of how recent Maori women's arrival in the academic fraternity has been. In 1982, Ngahua Te Awekotuku graduated Doctor of Philosophy from Waikato University, the second Maori woman Ph.D. Our third Maori woman PhD, Kathy Garden, graduated Doctor of Electrical Engineering from Canterbury University in 1984. Margaret Mutu-Griggs, our fourth, graduated Doctor Of Philosophy from the University of Auckland in 1990. (69, p. 64) • Writers such as Rangimarie Rose Pere,² Vapi Kupenga, Rina Rate and Tuki Nepe,³ Ngahua Te Awekotuku,⁴ Mira Szaszy,⁵ Donna Awatere⁶ and Kathleen Irwin,⁷ to name but a few, describe the forms and contexts of oppression which are being confronted by Maori women. (73, p. 42) • Maria Romana of Te Mahurehure, was a noted singer and orator in the early part of this century. She held speaking rights in Hokianga and across to Waitangi. She wrote this tangi apakura for her husband, Haki Moeroa Romana a tohunga from Waima. Haki was described as a man of few words, this was Maria's domain. (78, p. 111) Collective movements in society: • Māori women have been leaders in Māori society throughout history. Numerous stories of wahine within iwi histories point to the important role that women held within Māori society and also to the mana that they possessed (Mikaere 2003; 2011) (2, p. 8) • Māori Womens Welfare League (MWWL) action: representatives of the Māori Women's Welfare League (MWWL) protested against a school bulletin, Washday at the Pā (Westra, 1964), which was distributed to all primary school classrooms around the country in May
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		1964, in line with then-current state educational publishing policies to support teaching and learning. At their national conference in July 1964, the MWWL resolved that the book was harmful to Māori children, and demanded its withdrawal. (6, p. 685) • Instead of dismissing the [Māori Womens Welfare League] MWWL women as foolish troublemakers, Brookes recognises their mana, insightfully analysing their political savvy, to which she attributes the success of their protest: The MWWL called on a particular version of Māori identity in order to counter what they saw as a damaging picture of Māori life. Their contested claims may be seen as a political project, staking their right to control their own representation. (6, p.687) • Through the 1950s until present times, the Māori women's welfare league continued to seek a realignment to a gendered imbalance of power while supporting the whānau system. (10, p. 9) • Māori mothers and grandmothers as key cultural revitalisers. As the women wove feathered Māori cloaks, they discussed how their experiences of growing up and "being Māori" now inform the aspirations they have for their children and grandchildren to "live as Māori". This discourse was popularised by renowned Māori scholar Mason Durie (2001) as a way to describe Māori-held aspirations to live well, fulfilled, holistically balanced lives with access to the Māori world including language, culture, community, resources, and land as well as active participation at a global level. (25, p. 79-80) • Mentors and role models also assisted the participants in fulfilling their leadership roles effectively. Ruiha considered that she was fortunate to have a Māori male mentor when Māori people were under-represented in sport leadership roles, while Rehua felt it was important to include kaumatua (elders) in organizational decision-making: (47, p. 335) • The leadership which did emerge from the post-War era was largely through the Maori Women's Welfare League. The League was established in 1951 largely to facilitate the implementation of government social and economic policies arising from the changed social conditions. The League was established with the assistance of the Secretary for Maori Affairs, Rangi Royal, and for many years all administrative assistance for the League came from the Department of Maori Affairs. (48, no pg no) • In recent studies of Maori Leadership, Professor Ranginui Walker and Professor Hirini Mead(2) along with a group of kaumatua advisers to Te Puni Kokiri, defined leadership models and decision making. The studies were in response to the capture of leadership roles and resources by a recent wave of Maori leaders defined as "sub-altern". The study is a radical statement and yet it is not so radical when compared with the marae-based challenges issued to conservative Maori leadership about the Treaty of Waitangi in the 1970s and 1980s. The study looks at Maori leaders who have featured in interaction with government. There is mention of Mahuika's thesis on women leaders in Ngati Porou.(3) However, from my own knowledge the Maori Women's Welfare League, Te Kohanga Reo, Kura 1970s-80s study]: Kaupapa, Te Reo Maori and Nga Tamatoa are all organisations in which women played an important role. (48, no pg no) • Maori female leadership has changed as much as male leadership since the end of the second World War. The end of the War signalled a vastly different Maori society precipitated by the shift of Maori from rural areas to the cities. This move was led by Maori women who sought employment in the towns and cities while the men went off to War. It is said that a vacuum was created in Maori leadership as the result of the attraction of Maori men into the
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		Maori Battalion during World War II. The efforts of the Battalion and the price they paid for "citizenship" of their own country have been recalled ad nauseam. However, I am not satisfied that the Battalion did deplete the total Maori leadership potential. Even if the Second World War had not occurred, the shift to the urban areas was inevitable and with it a new type of social order was required. The emergence of Maori female leadership was the ultimate solution to the leadership vacuum. (48, no pg no) • Mana wahine has not only existed in our collective consciousness but at different times key messages have been carried by significant individuals and groups, for example the formation of the Māori Women's Welfare League in 1951 and the entry of Iriaka Ratana the first Māori woman to parliament in 1949. It was in the 1980s and early 1990s that mana wahine began to explicitly enter academic and political discussions. The 1970s and 1980s saw: a Māori 'renaissance' with the reclamation of te reo Māori through the kōhanga reo movement; struggles over land rights through land marches and occupations; retribution of land confiscations and historical injustices through the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal; and struggles for adequate political representation of Māori with the establishment of the Ngā Tamatoa political group. (50, p. 6) • The energy and success of Māori women is evident in every sector of society. Māori women are providing leadership in numerous ways, on marae, in voluntary community groups, as well as in high profile professions. They have been a driving force behind the Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori initiatives. The accomplishments of Te Rōpū Wāhine Māori Toko i te Ora, the Māori Women's Welfare League and the efforts of Māori women in the Women's Health League continue to make huge inroads into improving aspects of Māori health. These groups have been responsible for assisting in the setting up of marae-based health centres and special programmes for Māori mothers and children, e.g., the Tipu Ora programme in Rotorua. In the wider community some women are matakite (seers or psychics), having inherited these particular powers from their ancestors; some are healers¹² who use traditional techniques combining karakia, massage and rongoa (medicine) on their patients. Some of the matakite and tohunga practise in Māori health centres, as in Ngā Miro at Ngāruawāhia, and the Tunohopu Health Centre at Ohinemutu, Rotorua. Politically, women have been active leaders in the campaign for the return of tribal land. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, a large number of women in the Māori community feel unsuccessful, lack self esteem and confidence, women who merely 'survive' the stresses of modern living.¹³ Knowledge about the feminine is particularly relevant for these women. Education is a key to self-empowerment. (84, p. 53)
	Contemporary Wāhine and Māori Leadership Attributes, Styles, and Philosophies	• Beyond the politics of the body and into the related feminist ethic of care, we find inspiration in the work of Naomi Simmonds (2011), as she explores her heritage through her work on Maori women's discourses and approaches, known as mana wahine (Maori women's power and authority), highlighting new temporal dimensions of maternities. (20, p. 1186) • Through recourse to discussions of mana wāhine by women such as Leonie Pihama, Kathy Irwin, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Simmonds (2011) explains that mana wāhine is "an extension of Kaupapa Māori" (p. 13) and is a "space where Māori women can, on our own terms and in our own way, (re) define and (re)present the multifarious stories and experiences of what it means, and what it meant in the past, to be a Māori woman in Aotearoa New Zealand" (pp. 11–12). (21, p. 45)

		• The influence that whanaungatanga (kinship) had on leadership and management was expressed succinctly by Hinekukutirangi: ... Hinekukutirangi explained how the mana (status) of those in the organization was enhanced by her management style: ... A philosophy of self-determination or tino rangatiratanga, as well as collective ownership of strategic objectives, was an important strategy that Ruiha attempted to foster: ... Ruiha's focus was on 'servicing' the community stakeholders of the organization and, in order to achieve this, transparency and flexibility were paramount: ... inclusive decision-making process: (47, p. 337) • All four Māori women in the present study had a powerful desire to serve or 'give back' to sport, and had a strong sense of vision in terms of what they wanted to achieve for Māori and women in their organization, and as leaders within it. These findings are similar to those of Leberman and Palmer (2009), who found that women in sport leadership roles and who also cared for children, combined a strong sport identity, high achievement motivation, and desire to develop and nurture others to enter into the realm of sport leadership. (47, p. 339-340) • The attributes of Māori leadership in contemporary society are: ○ Ability to strategise and plan for the future to ensure the wellbeing and survival of the people they are managing—politically, socially, economically, spiritually and intellectually. ○ Ability to make sound judgements. ○ Ability in te reo me ngā tikanga Māori (Māori language and customs). ○ Ability to communicate effectively. ○ Ability to represent the people in all forums, in an effective and efficient manner. ○ To be a role model for those they are representing. ○ To have excellent organisational skills. ○ Ability to motivate, inspire and mobilise the people. ○ Ability to critically reflect and evaluate their own performance as a leader. ○ Ability to manage conflict amongst the people, seek resolution and make difficult decisions. ○ Well developed negotiation and facilitation skills. ○ Sophisticated knowledge of, and experience in te ao Māori. ○ Ability to be multi-tasked. ○ Active participation in Māori cultural activities at a grass-roots level, such as attending tangihanga and tribal hui. (Ka'ai & Reilly 2003, 95-96) (50, p. 10) • In regards to homosexuality - Re-broaden our concept of leadership: One thing that I think would make a big difference is if our leadership (whatever we mean by that) reflected the diversity of our communities. I'm not knocking any of the contributions that anyone has made, but I think we should be asking why the people who make up groups like the Iwi Chairs Forum or the Māori Council seem so similar. (87, p. 143)
	Challenges for Wāhine in Leadership	Appointment Processes, Underrepresented, Overworked and Undervalued: • indigenous women are clearly under-represented in positions of power within those [contemporary tribal governance structures] structures, this thesis questions why this situation continues. (1, p. i) When asked how they entered into sport leadership positions, the participants emphasized that their appointments as opportunistic and reactive rather than purposeful and proactive. They mentioned being in the right place at the right time (e.g., due

		to injury or no-one else being able to do it) as well as head-hunted (by Māori males). (47, p. 335) • Structural issues that impacted negatively on the well-being and effectiveness of the Māori women as leaders and managers included the continual fight to access more resources and the related feeling of being over-worked and under valued. (47, p. 341) • Recognition of the inter-connectedness between the spiritual plane and the political plane could enhance the wider participation of Māori women in decision-making at all levels of society in Aotearoa (New Zealand) ... The power of the feminine is being re-asserted to establish the balance needed in these modern times. The positive effect of the shift in consciousness will filter out from the individual, to the whānau, the hapū, tribe, nation, extending to our natural Cultural Values: surroundings, to Papatūānuku and Ranginui from whom we descend. (84, p. 56) Gender Disparity and Bias in Leadership: • The report found that a small proportion of paid Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) and national coaches in Olympic and Associated Sports were female; organized sport in NZ therefore typifies a global trend of sport as a male-dominated institution (Aitchison, 2005; McKay, 1997). At the same time Māori women remain under-represented in its administration and management (Te Puni Kōwhiri, 2005, 2006). (47, p. 332) • [In the 1970-80s study] Of the thirty government and non government organisations which are Maori by membership or task, three are known to be significantly controlled by women. The study is resoundingly androcentric. (48, no pg no) • There is no gender-specific data available about Maori women stakeholders in Crown forests. There are no Maori women Trustees on the Rental Trust and, on the small administrative staff of the Trust, Maori women hold secretarial positions. (48, no pg no) • Whale Rider story: Koro Paka begins a search amongst the local eldest boys for a new chief to rejuvenate and lead the tribe. He starts a whare wānanga (traditional school of learning) to train the boys, hoping the true male leader will emerge, while ignoring, or else admonishing, Paikea's persistence in demonstrating her leadership qualities. A central theme of the film is Koro Paka's blindness to what he is searching for; a male leader. The blindness is caused by supposed traditional sexism and also traditional birthright (i.e. the eldest son). Koro Paka's blindness is overcome when he finally realises Paikea's leadership abilities when she rides the whale to safety after it had been stranded along with its pod. Paikea's leadership qualities are realised by the whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe, clan), iwi (tribe) because, just like their founding ancestor and her name-sake, Paikea—who rode to Aotearoa/New Zealand on a whale—she is a whale rider. (50, p. 4) Reasserting Mana Wahine and Māori Perspectives: • It is noted that indigenous women have been included as essential decision-makers and leaders in traditional tribal governance systems; however, contemporary indigenous governance models do little to reflect this. The impact is that for indigenous women, tribal institutions and structures can themselves embed and reflect western colonial and patriarchal ideologies. (1, p. i) • In 1993 the timing of the first filing of the Mana Wahine claim [Wai2700] was around the removal of Dame Mira from the Fisheries Commission shortlist. (32, p. 11)
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		• Part of the claim was that it was part of a colonial trope-this narrative that Maori men were the tribal leaders, they were the people of chiefly status, they were the heads of industry, they were the people who could lead the development of contemporary Maori. These women filed a claim in opposition to that. (32, p. 12) • this idea of the alliance of men across race, this idea of men bonding across the patriarchy in that fisheries settlement kaupapa, that Maori men were willing to diminish the status and potential leadership of wahine Maori in order to advance themselves. (32, p.18) • For Rehua, who worked in a predominantly Pākehā organization, the advisory group she was a part of spent considerable amounts of their time trying to convince the 'parent' organization of the value of adopting a Māori dimension (kaupapa). Rehua understood that she chose to work in a Pākehā organization and made efforts to promote a philosophy of partnership between the two governing bodies: ... It is about keeping your mana and if some Māori managers who haven't been brought up in a Māori environment go into a Māori environment and think it is like a mainstream environment with the 'I'm the Manager and therefore I have the right to speak' attitude, they will realize there are unspoken laws and if you don't want to lose your mana you need to know those laws. [Hinekukutirangi]. (47, p. 339) • Pfeifer and Love (2004) suggest that the consultative and communal nature of Māori leadership means that success is attributed to the collective rather than the individual, and this may explain why the Māori women are hesitant to 'speak of their own sweetness' in terms of gaining leadership positions – which could be considered whakahiihii or vain, conceited and arrogant (Metge, 1986). These cultural values may thus be considered a major barrier, in an organizational sense, for some Māori women unless they are promoted and encouraged by others to put themselves forward for leadership roles in sport. (47, p. 340) • The fourth objective of this paper was to explore the impact that socio-cultural and structural aspects of sport leadership have had on the well-being and effectiveness of the participants. Compromising situations occurred when strategies were adopted to avoid conflict due to cultural expectations as a Māori woman in traditional Māori contexts, or in the presence of Māori who adopted traditional Māori kawa (protocol). In these situations effectiveness in organizations could have been compromised, but the situation was often negotiated by either seeking a supportive kaumatua (elder) to promote their kaupapa (objective), or, more radically, by going against traditional cultural protocols (e.g., being less hierarchical with decision-making). (47, p. 341) • Despite the impositions of Western patriarchy on our society, Māori women have continued to take leading roles in our communities and to challenge state sanctioned ideologies that undermine this. Māori women have been at the forefront of many of our key activities of resistance over the years, a frontline positionality that has consistently challenged EuroWestern notions of the role of women in society. This assertion of mana wahine has not been without difficulty; it has required a considerable amount of energy invested into conscious raising activities. Reasserting the authority and prestige of the Māori maternal figure requires deliberate actions that disrupt the patriarchal hegemonies that have been constructed within our society. (91, p. 172)
Theme 5: The Power of Wāhine Voice	Wāhine Compositions: Storytelling, Oral	• I have alluded to the point that my own understandings of Papatūānuku are shaped by my embodied position, experiences, and upbringing. Therefore, I include my own voice in this thesis. (3, p. 50)

and Te Reo Māori	Traditions, Pūrākau, Whakatauki, Ihirangaranga, Autoethnography, Korikori Kōrero, Karanga, and Waiata	• Māori women storytellers and artists have provided us with powerful examples that illuminate the strength of our tupuna wahine (Kahukiwa and Grace 1984; Smith 1992; Brown 1994; Irwin, Ramsden, and Kahukiwa 1995; Te Awēkotuku 2003; Kahukiwa and Grace 2018), and in doing so remind us of the need for us each to bring forward the power of our stories and to bring to the world of light the stories that show that illuminates Mana Wahine within our own communities and to the world. (8, p. 361) • Autoethnography is a powerful and meaningful tool of doing research that allows Indigenist and Indigenous ways of thinking and feeling and validates the story in its wholeness (Ellis, 2004; Kidd & Finlayson, 2009). Autoethnography isn't new to Indigenous communities who have utilised storytelling over centuries and applied these as learnings throughout generations, drawing meaning and value from them in the modern world as much as in the past (Simpson, 2011). Autoethnography has helped and supported diversity, Indigenous voices, recognition of the experiences of People of Colour and space for takatāpui/LGBTQI+ to be heard by reducing the limitations of traditional research methodologies and making space for multiple epistemologies. (10, p. 13) • Composition is about our identity as Māori people. The stories we tell with words, actions, emotion, and creativity are intrinsic to the connection we have with our tupuna, and our world. Our compositions are key to the preservation of Te Reo Māori, knowledge transmission, and political commentary among others things. (16, p. 66) • Allen and Montell (1981) tell us that oral traditions can be seen to hold information about tribal knowledge, lore, protocols and practices in ways that are distinct from the information in written records. Oral transmission contains metaphorical, symbolical language that adds additional layers and context that the written word does not capture. (16, p. 66) • Composition acts as an archive of historical, cultural and tribal life. The creative expression of waiata and song has the ability to embody narratives that reflect notions of a Māori worldview, including the contribution and responsibility of women in traditional Māori society. Composition imbued with this knowledge is part of the Tino Rangatiratanga resolve and challenges beliefs about the roles of women as perpetuated by the West. (16, p. 66) • The representation of Māori women, as with other indigenous women across the world, was directly affected by colonisation. For example, Best (1924) in his book entitled The Maori as he was, attributed negative, dark and almost evil attributes to Māori Atua Wahine. His negative representation of Atua Wahine gave justification for non-inclusion of Atua Wahine in history, the mana she wielded and the key responsibilities she held within the Māori world. Composition is a space that allows us to rewrite difference and to speak back. (16, p. 67) • Donna Grant: All compositions are politically significant as they all tell a story ... we need many stories so that we can understand so that we can be inspired, to right injustices, to celebrate, to love, to forgive ... we are always making a comment about how we think about how we feel, and haka is just a natural medium that allows us to transmit the information ... korero is sometimes an ineffective method of getting the message across. (as cited in Ka'ai, 2006, p. 187). Waiata and haka are useful in identifying causes with a hope that such recognitions can create greater consciousness. Composition provides whānau, hapū, and iwi with an opportunity to communicate and express ideas, to debate, to talk against wrongs that have been conducted. (16, p. 68) • The walking interview, as an activity-based qualitative research method, involves a researcher and research participant walking and talking, and often is interested in the participants'
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		relationship with certain geographical areas or the specific route chosen (Evans and Jones 2011; Kinney 2017). (17, p. 4) • However, there was one wāhine I interviewed who was not able to make time to share an activity session with me. I met her at her place of work, and I interviewed her across a boardroom table in a meeting room. Although, she shared stories of her activity, whānau, and personal experiences, the interview experience was vastly different from those whom I was able to share activity with. (17, p. 12) • The idea was to trace the whakapapa of physical activities to understand how wāhine are successful in navigating active lifestyles. But instead, physical activity became an expression of identity and a vehicle for knowledge. Physical activity was how wāhine displayed creativity and resourcefulness. It was how they moved between spaces and kept balance. It was how they realised their potential and how they came to appreciate what their bodies could do. Physical activity, through Korikori Kōrero was a language spoken between active wāhine for the purpose of creating and interpreting mātauranga wahine (Māori women's knowledges). In this way, there is definite potential for Korikori Kōrero to translate knowledges of and alongside different research communities. (17, p. 13) • Whakatauki used by lawyer and Judge, Dame Lowell Goddard: The whakataukī that he created for my work at the Authority embodied the spirit of what I was trying to achieve in my work there, and also embodies the spirit of the legal profession that we have all chosen to devote our working lives to. It is: Whaia te pono, kia puawai ko te tika – Seek out the truth, that justice may prevail That proverb, together with the central principles of the Judicial Oath “to do justice to all manner of people, without fear or favour, affection or ill-will”, I have taken with me into my new role as Chair of the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse in the United Kingdom. (19, no pg no.) • Māori sacred sound science, and more specifically the practice of ihirangaranga (source sound vibrations) is the deliberate application of sound vibrations to facilitate healing and transformation in accord with the flow of life. Sound and vibrational forms have always and continue to play crucial roles in formal and informal Māori protocols. These protocols are central to the ongoing vitality and continuation of the Māori lifeworld (M, Henare, 2001; R. T. R. Pere, personal communication, July, 2014; Royal, 2009). Wāhine (Māori/Indigenous women) possess a unique affinity for and role in facilitating these sacred vibrations and protocols (Pere, 2012; R. T. R. Pere, personal communication, July, 2014; Ti Hauora o Te Aroha, personal communication, 2010). Subsequent to the onset and ongoing destruction of colonisation, limited oral or written literature on Māori sacred sound/vibrational forms and sciences, or the unique affinity, role, status, and power women hold in this domain remain. This article speaks into this absence. (23, p. 91) • Nanny Rose taught us that oriori are very particular combinations of words, sound, and vibrational forms designed to achieve a specific outcome. Kuia (female elders) would sing oriori to the developing babes in the womb from conception right up to and beyond birth. It was through this deliberate application of ihirangaranga that oriori could shape and also imbibe the babe with specific knowledges and understandings. This was important, so the child would know where they came from, who they come from, who they are, and therefore know where they are going (Pere, 2012,). (23, p. 93) • We were also taught there is an implicit relationship between women, ihirangaranga, and the flow of the life-force. In 2014 Nanny Rose re opened Te Kura Huna (wisdom school) in our
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		Ngati Kahungunu ki Wairoa tribal area and offered a series of karanga wānanga (women's ceremonial learning institutes). The first wānanga was held at Whākiranga Marae. Whākirangi is an ancestress known for the vibrational quality and power of her voice. In tribal accounts we recall that such was her mana, and the power of her voice, she could walk onto a battlefield and whisper and all warriors would immediately cease fighting (23, p. 93) • With one foot in Te Ao Marama and one in Te Po, through our bodies and voices women can facilitate the flow of source vibrations into and through the world of people and light. (23, p. 94) • For thirteen years I trained and worked in Te Hauora o Te Aroha, a traditional Māori spiritual healing clinic based in Whanganui. We worked primarily with wairua. We did this through the modalities or technologies of karakia (sacred words), karanga, waiata (sacred song forms), and mirimiri (application of tangible and intangible vibrations). You will notice that most of these expressions are sound forms that are imbued with and carry source vibrations. (23, p. 94) • Source vitalities, and especially ihirangaranga can be drawn upon to facilitate healing and wholeness (Gone, 2011). "When a person chants or sings, the sound of the voice heals the past and the future by bringing them together in the present" (Rael, 2004, p. 15-16). Within this vibrational environment those seeking healing and wholeness can reconnect with themselves and those they are of, and through this come into alignment with their source, gifts, identity, purpose, heal, and begin to do the work they are here to do. We can sing ourselves back into being (Morgan, 2019). (23, p. 94) • I believe it is the un-integrated effect (Danieli, 1998) of multiple colonially rooted historical (Walters, Mohammed, Evans-Campbell, Beltran, Chae, & Duran, 2011) and contemporary traumas, cumulative soul wounds (Duran, Firehammer, & Gonzalez, 2006), together with systemic and ongoing discrimination against and degradation of Māori (Harris, Tobias, Jeffreys, Waldegrave, Karlsen & Nazroo, 2006; Pihama et al., 2017; Te Hiwi, 2007); and Māori women in particular (Simmonds, 2011), that has blocked my mother from being able to consciously recall the words, and forms of her beloved Granny's chants. As Million (2012) explains, "[t]rauma supposes a violence that overwhelms, wounding individual (and collective) psyche sometimes suspending access to memory. (23, p. 95) • Rain-maker's Song for Whina" commemorated Dame Whina Cooper's role as leader of that march, repeating some elements of her speech such as the line "This is a sacred march" (127). Such reclaiming of the sacred ground/earth by Maori activists and supporters on their own terms, and of the earth as sacred with respect to Maori beliefs and histories, marked a vital moment in national politics and can be identified as a point of conjunction of the interests of ecopolitics, feminism, Maori rights political activism, and Mātauranga Maori. (24, p. 108) • Recent readings of novels by Maori author Patricia Grace interpret the way they dramatize both actual and textual conflicts as a way of signifying clashes between the harmful legacy of a scientific logic so detached and institutionalized that it can ignore the importance of the body in Maori beliefs and a holism in the treatment of all people recognized as necessary by both Pakeha and Maori (Keown 151). (24, p. 110) • Ngahua Te Awakotuku's collection of essays, Mana Wahine Maori (1991), provided a retrospective and forward-looking account of the political activism involved in the re-emergence of mana wahine into national discourses. She emphasized that multiple roles could be open to women, from Mira Szaszy's focus on "the leadership potential of Maori
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		women" (52), to takatapui (same sex love), to plural identities of Gay Liberation and the importance of Maori women-only conference space. (24, p. 113) • In Patricia Grace's 1987 novel, <i>Potiki</i>, as in Te Awakotuku's essays, such scenes of assault on earth/land and so on the Mother goddess Papatuanuku contrast with ideas about the nurturing and care of the land in custom-based Maori communities. <i>Potiki</i> tells the story of the struggle by a Maori community to protect their way of life from the acts and intentions of property developers led by the allegorically named capitalist "Dollarmann. (24, p. 114) • From the moment of conception, we as mothers metaphysically cloak our children in our desires for them, our hopes, aspirations, and dreams. Every day that I was hapū (pregnant), I would talk to my babies as they grew within the protective kahu of my womb, stroking them, singing to them, telling them of their ancestry, and the aspirations I had for them once they were born. (25, p. 82) • "Me aro ki te ha o Hineahuone - Pay heed to the dignity and power of women". This whakataauak' is not merely an instruction (or a warning, depending on context!) to recognise the power of women, but it is also a potent reminder of where that power comes from. (26, p. 18) • Patricia Grace: Having your work reviewed is a very vulnerable position to be in, as a writer. It's an achievement to write a novel. It takes a lot of effort. I'm inclined to keep silent and not do reviews, I'm not someone who could do that. But yes, reviews are necessary. I think a reviewer needs to be open and honest. As well as critique, perhaps there are lots of things they can find that are right with the work, or positive solutions, without putting the writer down. (27, p. 15) • Patricia Grace: That's difficult, because I know I've chosen myself to tell some stories. For example, with <i>Baby No Eyes</i>, I never met with the family whose story I had been told. I only ever met with the lawyer who had helped the family. I did try to contact the family, but it was happening to other babies as well, so it wasn't really a specific story. On the other hand, for some stories, such as iwi stories, you have to be asked first. I know for me, if it wasn't my iwi I wouldn't write it, even if I was asked. I would just leave it. (27, p. 18) • Emma Espiner: Response to James K Baxter's letter about his wife I love the word Indigenous so much it makes my eyes water. I whisper it to myself with a capital I, even though the part of me that was born of colonisers is a grammar pedant who insists that the inappropriate use of capital letters is a sin. (27, p. 53) • Ahmed suggests that the tension caused by the historical trajectories of colonisation can be bridged by wilful womanist dialogue: for to be womanist is also to be loving, and to seek loving connections with other women whom we recognise as adopting similarly wilful stances (p. 82). Through this dialogue, histories of violence can be voiced and heard, not for the sake of absolving guilt or blanketing differences under the broadcloth of 'diversity', but for the sake of staying close to our collective and individual 'scenes of violence' (p. 84). It is this close reflexivity to our histories that can enable women (all women) to bring together their fragments and their shattered selves, and to seek better conditions for each other, not in isolation but in what Ahmed describes as a wilful feminist army, made up of arms which keep thrashing both in life and in death. (29, p. 16) • Māori culture was an oral culture. Waiata [songs], haka, and whakatauki [proverbs] were therefore the primary means of transmitting knowledge, the vehicles through which ancient concepts and belief have been passed to us today. That women played an important role in
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		the maintenance and transmittal of iwi history and knowledge is clear from the numbers of waiata tawhito that have been composed by women.¹⁵ (31, p. 216) • Once a male, usually, has given a formal speech, it is the role of women to stand up and support, or not, what that person has said. Their choice of waiata, their choice of song, and the way in which they sing it, matters. Quite often in hui you will hear women very vociferously sing a song that gives the impression or sends the message that they either agree with what that man has said, or they do not. Sometimes they will sing a nonsense song which clearly gives the message that that man is not speaking for us. I've seen that many times in my own tribal setting. (32, p. 14) • This material has been assembled into a narrative form, through pūrākau, an Indigenous form of storytelling, akin to the notion of bricolage (Lee 2009). ... I approached this <i>pūrākau</i> analysis systematically, identifying three memories from a larger body of writing of 120,000 words. The memories were selected for their unconventionality, which had made them difficult to subjectively reconcile and integrate with an autobiographical narrative. The analysis was constituted through three layers: (1) memories, (2) writing and (3) analysis. I had previously forgotten a series of these memories. Their resurfacing may be understood to have arisen through a stream of <i>wairua</i> called <i>waituhi</i>, or an element of spirituality that records autobiographical memories (Cargo 2016). (44, p. 369) • I am reminded on a daily basis the issue of low Māori and Pacific use of Libraries in certain local boards of Tamaki Makaurau. There are many reasons our whanau don't utilise our resources and services and I try to entice whanau and communities to venture into a library and see culture that is familiar in interesting ways.(45, p. 14) • Ko tenei whakatauki, no Tawhiao mo tana Tuawahine - anei nga kupu, anei te timatanga o taku korero. This whakatauki was quoted by Tawhiao in remembrance of the deeds of one of his Tuawahine who had ordered the slaying and skinning of her pet dogs so that the tribe could be fed and kept warm. It was a chivalrous act of a woman who sacrificed her treasures for the greater good. It was an act deserving of honour from no less than a King. (48, no pg no) • The critical link between women and tribal sustainability is self-evident and epitomised in the famous whakatauki "He Wahine, He Whenua - E era ai te Iwi" meaning "By Women and Land, People are sustained". However, one should not draw the conclusion that it is from the relationship between women and land alone that women derive their mann [sic should be mana] or status in Maori society. If Mann Whenua is taken as a metaphoric and generic reference to resources, Maori women have inherent rights and status and, as such, an established basis from which to claim benefit. In our early mythology the deeds of the Goddesses Mahuika, Muriranga-whenua, Hine Nui-Te-Po and Hine Ahu-One provide a blueprint for the feminine dimension of the divine. Hine Ahu-One in particular, the first being created was not only human and divine but also a woman. In waka descent stories, the deeds of Nga Tuawahine such as Kahutianui were recognised by virtue of their chiefly status. In her case the continuance of her chiefly line was further recognised by the naming of Ngati Kahu after her. (48, no pg no) • Here Spivak argues that speech itself allows for the 'splitting' of the subject that operates in much the same way as writing (56, p. 110) • One CRI in particular has introduced Maori protocols in welcoming new staff, visitors or other Maori groups. One of these protocols is the powhiri or Maori welcoming ceremony. To execute
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		a powhiri, the protocol requires the Maori woman to karanga (call) the manuhiri (visitors) to the place of welcome. Traditionally, this was a procedure done on the marae but a number of the government institutes in Aotearoa New Zealand use the ceremonial practice in their places of work. Four of the Maori women scientists work for, or in association with, one particular CRI that has incorporated this protocol for groups of Maori and overseas visitors. Each of Maori women scientists works on a different site spread throughout the country. However, the two closest to the headquarters of this CRI have been called on to be the kaikaranga for the institute. ... and so every now and then [the CRI] wheels me out whenever they want somebody to do the karanga ... At this level Helen took steps to learn the protocol properly to enable her to carry out what was required. However, identifying as Maori and 'the learning of the karanga' has helped position Helen in the organization as to their expectations of Maori women. (57, p. 115) • Patricia Grace's fictional texts develop syncretically in terms of genre, theme and language. They combine Māori oral storytelling traditions in which, like the marae environment (now reproduced in media such as television and radio) so central to Māori community life, there are multiple points of view, with family history and mythical narratives. Grace approaches this fusion of genres from specifically female perspectives. Courtney Bates' thesis Taki Toru: Theme, Myth and Symbol in Patricia Grace's Cousins' reads the novel as an exemplary text of Indigenous women's writing in its particular mixture of autobiography and realism, and she identifies a number of repeated Māori centered tropes and patterns in the writing. The structure of Cousins, (is) like a tukutuku panel's complex web of interwoven threads that echoes the criss-crossing of relationships. There is also an association with tutaki, to meet; to shut; to join together, which in turn is related to taki toru, meaning to gather in groups of three. (68, p. 72) • In Patricia Grace's novel, <i>Cousins</i>: Short poems included at the beginning of some chapters in the section narrated by the spirit of Missy's twin (Pirgos or Platanus 161) refer to stories about goddesses and ancestresses, a reminder of the Māori language chants and genealogies that gesture towards founding female figures such as Hine-titama, Papatūānuku, and Mahuika. This trio, and variations on it, is sometimes understood as having similarities to models of the triple goddess found in many cultures. They can be imagined as mythological representatives of youthful, maternal and mature women.³ The short poems or fragments are a link to oral narratives, both stories and chants, that connect contemporaries to the goddess/ancestress figures; sparking off comparisons, parallels and departures. (68, p. 72) • At the level of plot, Cousins deploys one of the oldest story telling devices around, that of the swapping at birth of two children born into different class situations as a fictional device for exploring class structures from a number of perspectives, and the relationship of nature to nurture. The fact that the characters' social status is exchanged with each other becomes a way of exploring matters of rights and responsibility in relation to status and class, matters of some concern in the determination of mana wahine. At the level of plot, Cousins deploys one of the oldest story telling devices around, that of the swapping at birth of two children born into different class situations as a fictional device for exploring class structures from a number of perspectives, and the relationship of nature to nurture. The fact that the characters' social status is exchanged with each other becomes a way of exploring matters of rights and responsibility in relation to status and class, matters of some concern in the determination of mana wahine. (68, p. 75)
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		• Women's literary writing of the 1980s became increasingly interested in the merging of genres popular with women writers and readers (such as family saga, family romance, historical romance and romance) with genres such as realism and magical realism, folk elements being significant in the latter. As romance, Cousins has lyrical passages in which (hetero)sexuality is located in fertile natural surroundings, but these sections are already cast in terms of nostalgia in a world where other powerful forces are at work. (Hetero)sexual love is not an ultimate confirmation of women's identities but often a brief moment, overshadowed by war and other events. Missy and Gloria, who are protected by the closeness of the positive self images of the whanau, are possible exceptions to this, but the narrative places their marriages in the context of pressing concerns from outside the romantic closure of coupledness. The outcome of (hetero)sexual love, whakapapa (genealogy), whanau (family) and children are all important and yet the context of love and romance is framed by historical and natural discourses that shape the choices the characters make and the emotions they experience. (68, p. 76-7) • What are 'whakataukii'? Sayings or proverbs or aphorisms are perhaps the commonest terms used for them in the English language. However, when defining meaning from an actual Maori term, 'whakataukii' can be so rendered as to seem to set something down and bring it to rest 'whakatau', in speech, with 'ki' taking the meaning of speak, talk or tell; to say or utter something, so that the saying, the proverb, the aphorism may be remembered in the oral record of an iwi for generations to come. 'Whakataukii' are commonly used in the speeches of able, highly competent and imaginative speakers skilled in the art, orality and ingenuity of 'Te Reo Rangatira' the Maori language (70, p. 14-15) • A 'whakataukii' most frequently quoted and used from the past concerning Maori women, is the 'whakataukii': 'He wahine he whenua i mate ai te tangata' generally translated as 'for women and land men die'. or 'on account of women and for land people die'. Other accepted translations of these 'whakatauki' are: 1 He wahine, he whenua, i ngaro ai te tangata. Women and land are the reasons men die. 2 He wahine, he whenua, a ngaro ai te tangata. For women and land men will die. 3 He wahine, he whenua, ka ngaro te tangata. For women and land men die (are lost to the tribe). 4 He wahine, he oneone, i ngaro ai te tangata. Women and the land (the earth) are the reasons men die. 5 He wahine, he whenua i ea ai te pakanga. By women and land the battle is assuaged. 10 - see more on the 5 translations for this whakatauki (70, p. 15) • He whiriwhiri korero, ka whatungarongaro He whiriwhiri wahine, ka tonu. Words fade Women endure (71, p. 27) • Māori literature may be classified tentatively as prose and poetry, though Māori there is a fluidity between the two. These may be oral (unwritten) and written literature, and there are distinctive regional and descent group variations. Māori prose is of three kinds: traditional oral texts, modern oral compositions and modern written prose. (Dewes 1975) In this context the following all count as 'speaking', in the category 'traditional oral text': karanga, waiata, tangi, whaikōrero. Protagonists in this debate have recognized only whaikōrero as 'speaking'. The other forms of oral arts, some in which women only speak, have not perhaps been regarded as real speech making, but when women waiata, karanga tangi, our culture says that we are speaking through legitimate, and highly valued Māori oral arts. Others have denied this, claiming instead that it is only whaikōrero which counts as speaking. For Māori, the oral arts cover a wide variety of forms of speaking. (74, p. 75)
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		• Women usually begin pōwhiri with karanga. A woman from the tangata whenua side begins with an opening karanga, call of welcome. 'The karanga constitutes the first words spoken between tangata whenua and manuhiri. It is the first expression of welcome.' (Tauroa H. and P. 1989) The kaupapa of the karanga is crucial to the occasion. Women offer the first call of welcome to all who have gathered, the living and the dead; they make reference to the people gathered and their interconnectedness by acknowledging all the different groups that have come together; they also address the purpose of the gathering, openly referring to the reason that has brought everyone together on this occasion. The karanga from the tangata whenua is replied to from the manuhiri, the visiting side. Following the interchange kaikaranga from the tangata whenua and manuhiri, the pōwhiri moves into its next phase. (74, p. 77) • A Māori theory of motherhood can be sourced within our traditional cosmologies; the stories of our atua and the stories of our ancestors. There are many versions of these stories that not only reflect the diversity amongst our iwi and whanau, but also reflect a comprehensive attack by the colonising written world of Western society. However, these stories have survived; the voices that emerge from them now are reflective of our conscious decisions to speak to the stories of our ancestors from within our own individual and collective realms of Mātauranga. (91, p. 169) • women play a role in terms of kaikaranga, men as kaikorero-formal speakers, speech markers-and then women again. There's this constant to and fro, so that often the last word is given to a woman, a kaiwaiata. Once a male, usually, has given a formal speech, it is the role of women to stand up and support, or not, what that person has said. Their choice of waiata, their choice of song, and the way in which they sing it, matters. Quite often in hui you will hear women very vociferously sing a song that gives the impression or sends the message that they either agree with what that man has said, or they do not. Sometimes they will sing a nonsense song which clearly gives the message that that man is not speaking for us. (32, p. 14)
	Linguistic and Cultural Identity in Te Reo Māori	• The roles of men and women, while distinct, were not mutually exclusive, nor were there thought to be particular hierarchies between men and women (Jahnke 1997). This is evidenced by the lack of gendered pronouns in the Māori language, 'ia' meaning 'he' or 'she' and 'tōna/tana' translated as 'his' or 'hers'. Further, words such as rangatira, atua, ariki and tohunga are not gender specific (although have often been co-opted to refer to Māori men) (Pihama 2001). (2, p. 55) • University of Auckland Art History Course: By the end of the course, the students have a lexicon of ten or so words and/or concepts that they can (and do) apply in other art history courses. These include 'diaspora', 'survance' (and 'victimry'), 'mana wahine', 'gender hierarchy', 'hegemony', 'collaboration', 'patriarchy', 'heteronormativity', and 'stereotype'. At the same time, we interrogate terminology that is still used in texts about Indigenous women's art; for example, 'authenticity', 'minority', and 'isolated'. We also consider the use of pronouns in writing to situate the writer and audience ('us', 'we') as separate from those they are looking at ('them'). Students are encouraged to use the language of the maker and to immerse themselves in the historical, social, and political landscape in which the artworks are made and received. (7, p. 188) • Moana Jackson (1995), among others, refers to this effect as the 'colonisation of the soul' and extends Fanon's view to Aotearoa: For the Māori the attack on their soul was so terrible it led

		to a weakening of faith in all things which had nourished it. The demeaning of the values which cherished it, the language which gave it voice, the law which gave it order, and the religion which was its strength, was an ongoing process which ultimately affected the belief of Māori in themselves. (p.11) (16, p. 73-4) • Moles (2008) describes the notion of the Thirdspace which allows the researcher to engage 'critically with theoretical issues, while simultaneously being that space where the debate occurs. It is a place of enunciation, where new identities can be forged and marginalised voices can speak' (p. 32). bell hooks (1990) contributes her sentiment to the idea of such a shared space being one that is a site of resistance against colonial constructs. (17, p. 12) • By all accounts Māori women are noisy. They have historically spoken about a variety of things, across numerous contexts (locally, nationally and internationally) over a significant period of time. (18, p. 14) • It suggests that in Maori women's writing from the 1980s to the present, ensuring the centrality of female foundational and mythological figures, as well as the significance of female tipuna /tupuna (ancestors) to national discourse have been a primary concern. These indigenous representations are inextricably tied to ecocritical subjects and are deeply embedded in Maoritanga (Maori ways of thinking). (24, p. 107) • Part of my personal challenge is that as a wahine Māori (Māori woman), I feel ashamed that I don't already speak. When I was younger, I didn't value te reo. Now it is precious to me, it is part of who I am and who I will become. (45, p. 6) • Maori broadcasting grew out of the struggle for the retention of the language. Some of the key advocates included Cathy Dewes and members of Te Reo Maori in Wellington and Nga Tamatoa in Auckland and Wellington. Broadcasting was seen as a means to achieving greater exposure of the language; education was the other means of achieving the language objective. (48, no pg no) • The novel [<i>Cousins</i>] frequently addresses issues of language, recognizing that Māori English is familiar to some speakers and not others, as it acknowledges cross-generational matters about writing and speaking languages and dramatizes the processes by which Māori language was suppressed and then recovered (127). (68, p. 81-2) • There are numerous indicators in Māori language that there was no hierarchy of sexes. The language is gender-neutral in the sense that there is no he/she (ia) or his/hers (tana/tona) in Māori. The importance of women is also symbolised by language and concepts expressed through proverbs. (81, p. 8) • Many of the modern women mentioned in this paper are fluent speakers of Māori and have a strong cultural and spiritual identity; others are attempting to learn their language and tikanga. The achievements of the native speakers show that success is attainable when one is comfortable in one's own world. Those desiring to develop a stronger understanding of reo and tikanga belong to a diverse range of people, from society 'dropouts' to successful professionals. The common bond is the need they feel to reacquaint themselves fully with their taha Māori and assert their identity as Māori, at the inner core of which is the spiritual dimension, te taha wairua. Many of the women with strong cultural backgrounds recognize the positive impact that knowledge of the atua wāhine would have on Māori women's self esteem. Through such knowledge women are empowered. (84, p.52) • We cannot separate language regeneration from our healing of historical trauma, or the resurgence of our weaving traditions from our knowledge of matariki or our understandings of
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		how to heal our waterways, of how to fight for the rights of our people, our language, our knowledges, our lands, our maunga, our moana. (93, p. 193) • in our language, in our reo, the gender-neutral pronoun terms, ia for example, gender neutral names (32, p. 13)
	Wāhine Voices of Advocacy and Activism	• Indigenous Feminist theory also provides a framework for contextualising how First Nations, Aboriginal and Native American/American Indian women speak to these issues. Importantly, how indigenous women are engaging in decolonising methodologies that impact the colonised practices, ways and attitudes they have or are currently experiencing in tribal governance, are also revealed. (1, p. ii) • My PhD topic grew out of a desire to understand the extent to which Māori women have been able to influence Māori aspirations for self-determination (1, p. xiii) • Regarding positioning as a NZ Maori student doing a PhD in USA: As Linda T. Smith has commented, I had to find a place to speak from, to connect in an indigenous context concerning our place of origin (1, p. v) • Pepeha and introducing iwi/Ngāpuhi world view: Ko te te tirohanga o Ngāpuhi ki tōna ao, koia tēnei e kōpani mai i Te whare o Puhi....The worldview of Ngāpuhi is encapsulated in the construct of the House of Puhi. (i, p. vi) • Writing, painting, singing, [weaving] our worlds is a critical part Māori women's survival kit! Telling about what life is like for us, in our diversity, makes our stories visible.(4, p. 41) • Mana Wahine is an intervention that enables the story of Washday to be told from a 'wahine-centric' point of view: a term used to point to the nuances of similarity and difference between this and a Māori-centric perspective. (6, p. 688) • In this sense, ongoing agendas for intersectional feminisms in Aotearoa/New Zealand involve allowing Māori women to speak for themselves, and, most of all, hearing what Māori women have to say (Simmonds, 2011). This can be difficult to do when those words are painful to hear – and when, as Ahmed suggests, 'White fragility works as a defense system ... as if to say, we won't hear what we can't handle' (p. 179). In talking about their experiences of not being heard as Māori women in academic spaces, Waitere and Johnston (2009) make clear that this is not due to any passivity on their part, for 'By all accounts Māori women are noisy. They have historically spoken about a variety of things, across numerous contexts' (p. 14). Rather, they emphasise the oppressive, silencing structures of the institutions themselves, especially white, male academic structures. (29, p. 8) • About Washday at the Pa: Jacque Baxter (J. C. Sturm): Confidence and self-respect are the most treasured possessions to which Māori should hold fast. If you threaten a person's confidence you break his legs. If you threaten his self-respect you batter him about the head. This is a bigger problem than land tenure, living conditions, health or education, and is my answer to the question 'What do you think is the biggest problem faced by the Māori today?' I am often asked for the 'Māori point of view' and my first thought is, 'Why don't you know? Is it because you are so busy stating your own point of view?' The experts wish us well, but sometimes I wonder if they know what it is like to be always on the receiving end (Māori women incensed by bulletin issued by Education Department, 1964). Patricia Grace: Books are dangerous, and here are four things that make books dangerous to indigenous readers: (1) They do not reinforce our values, actions, customs, culture and identity; (2) When they tell us only about others they are saying that we do not exist; (3) They may be writing about us

		but are writing things that are untrue; (4) They are writing about us but saying negative and insensitive things which tell us that we are not good (cited in Smith, 2012, p. 35).(6, p. 690) • The formation of Māori women's groups and organisations as a means by which to voice and challenge dominant colonial patriarchal systems is not new. In the 1890s' this was expressed through the establishment of in 1893 of 'Ngā Kōmiti Wāhine' (Māori women's committees) within the political movement of Te Kotahitanga (Māori Parliament) as a means by which Māori women could deal with issues confronting Māori women at the time. As with their contemporary equal, 'The Māori Women's Welfare League', Ngā Kōmiti Wāhine dealt with key issues related to the well-being of Māori women and spoke freely about these issues whenever possible (Rei 1993). More contemporary expressions include Māori women's involvement in Te Amorangi; the Black Womens Movement; Māori Women's movement; Wāhine Mō Ngā Wāhine o Te Moana Nui a Kiwa (Māori and Pacific Lesbians) (Pihama 2001) and even more recently the formation of Māori women's collectives that have been active in challenging sexism, homophobia, transphobia, cultural appropriation and racism including Ngā Wāhine Tiaki o Te Ao (Māori Women Against Genetic Engineering); Te Wharepora Hou (Māori Women's Network) and the Taranaki Māori Women's Network (Taranaki Women seeking the return of stolen lands), to name just a few examples. (8, p. 357) • Their voices serve as reminders that framing of Mana Wāhine must be one that brings to the fore, and reaffirms, the inherent strength and status of Māori women through the many contributions we make to the regeneration, revitalisation and resurgence of all aspects of self-determination for Māori. (8, p. 362) • Not only is it to privilege and make visible wāhine Maori voices, but to also respond to Eurocentric interpretations of their own fertility. Presenting these narratives in this paper helps to fulfill these objectives, albeit, because of space limitations their stories in their entirety could not be sufficiently represented. However, overall, their voices echo and re-emphasise the broader reasons for fertility and reproduction: whakapapa and whanau. (22, p. 14) • Grace's writing anticipated the impact of these shifts through its concern with the extent of (or lack of) government responsibility for Maori welfare and the potential impact of investments and development. (24, p. 115) • In pre-colonial Aotearoa, Māori women were highly valued. Much of this value has historically been connected to Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother, as an embodiment of whenua (land) and the origin of all whakapapa (genealogy).¹² With the womb as whare tangata (house of humanity), women were posited as the bringers of life, vitally important for the continuation of the whakapapa line. Recognition of their intrinsic spirituality through connections between blood and earth rendered wāhine as inherently sacred markers of place and makers of peace. Awareness of this power and how it operated in the everyday was a vital part of the Māori female experience and continues to inform critical aspects of identity, building our mana wāhine, the power and status which defines us as women.¹³ Pre-colonial wāhine were also prized in broader terms as 'knowledge holders and decision makers',¹⁴ with leading roles in performance (for instance, as the first voice of the karanga in the rite of pōwhiri), in ceremony and cultural production. Wāhine also played vital positions in the preservation and generation of tribal narratives as oral historians. (31, p. 215-6) • The recognition of Māori women as leaders, expressed through both action/ activity and word, is vital. They were multi-taskers – mothers, hunters, weavers and gardeners – yet were also known to occupy positions as political and spiritual advisers, tribal mouthpieces, military
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		strategists and even warriors. This was enabled by a unique social organisation, the whānau, where private and public spheres were indistinct, and where care for children was shared by the extended community.¹⁶ While not wholly utopic, there was a symbiosis of gender roles in Māori communities, as Mikaere states: Both men and women were essential parts in the collective whole, both formed part of the whakapapa that linked (31, p. 216) • The Works of Shakespeare, transformed by Victorian sensibilities and colonial duties – bolstered by the ultra-conservative Bowdler's The Family Shakespeare and Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare – were also manipulated to educate Māori about how women were supposed to act. Namely, to be tamed: Western civilisation when it arrived on Aotearoa's shore, did not allow its womenfolk any power at all – they were merely chattels in some cases less worthy than the men's horses ... the Maori female had to be domiciled very quickly to the values of the new regime that had arrived to civilise her.²¹ (31, p. 218) • For Māori actresses, these plays [that have meaty roles for women e.g. Romeo and Juliet] exemplify rangatiratanga in action: they are given agency through the language and through the ways in which their roles are aligned with mana wāhine, rather than the 'tragic innocent', the 'bawdy woman' or the 'femme fatale' of the Western canon. Their acts and words are wholly connected to Māori culture. Neither their bodies nor their words are empty signifiers. (31, p. 224-5) • About Shakespeare: I am sick of seeing powerful women resigned to playing maids, pawns and passive mothers. I am sick of seeing their bodies used for colonial catharsis. I am sick of seeing their talents exploited to fulfil a quota. I am sick of the abuse of power wielded by the Shakespeare industry, which means I teach 'The Works' but not Māori theatre. Goodbye, Wiremu. The wāhine have spoken. (31, p. 234) • As part of a doctoral research programme the concerns of Maori women with regard to GM [Genetic Modification] were collected (Hutchings, 2003). These concerns focused on a number of key areas. Firstly there was the need to be aware of other indigenous women's analyses of GM specifically the impact GM was having on traditional ways of knowing and doing. Secondly some Maori women discussed the importance of networking and weaving connections with other indigenous women to share knowledge and strategies as essential to building a strong movement to oppose the technology. Thirdly, Maori women talked about a range of ora (well being) issues relating predominately to food, health and children including the safety of GM technology for future generations. (34, p. 20-21) • As we will demonstrate, for both men and women, practices of whanaungatanga are vital and live, but reproduction and child rearing are arenas where women's voices feature particularly strong. (37, p. 88) • These narratives [about sexuality] were unconventional, situated in opposition to feminist critiques of exotic dancing (Evans, Riley, and Shankar 2010), neoliberal understandings of successful women who only make 'good choices' and are unhampered by challenging histories (Allen and Osgood 2009), and expectations that 'real' sexual violence is associated with inevitable trauma (Gavey and Schmidt 2011). Through discussions with people described as whānau in this project, troubling memories that were difficult to reconcile with a sense of integrity, 'truth' and present academic identity were able to be validated, conceivably understood as a memory with a narrative context, albeit in ways that may not be seen as conventionally speakable (Alcoff and Gray 1993) or a neat fit within dominant social norms and understandings (Healicon 2012). (44, p. 370)
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		• This first person analysis clearly centres a Māori woman's voice, destabilising a colonial gaze (Moewaka Barnes 2000; Pihama 2001) and providing a firm basis point for deconstructing gendered and raced colonising influence (Jenkins Hall and Tanner 2016). Countering the silencing of Māori women's accounts, the present study compassionately attends to the subjective complexity of colonising marginalisation, asking how sexism, racism and heterosexuality may constrain our representations, intentions, agency – but also how it may be possible to navigate a way through that. (44, p. 371) • Opening up conversations for Indigenous communities to talk about sexuality is a starting point where the current Mana Wāhine pūrākau study could be a catalyst. This could include discussions about violence and the ongoing epistemological violence of colonisation underscoring sexual representation and experience of Māori women and men, challenging the notion that men's dominance over women is an inherent aspect of Māori culture (Le Grice 2014; Mikaere 2010). This includes mātauranga Māori; notions of tapu, inherent sacredness that is intrinsic to every person (Tate 2010); the wairua that facilitates connection to ancestors from the past; and the networks of relationships that constitute supportive spaces of kaupapa whānau and related kin (whānau) in the present moment (Moewaka Barnes et al. 2017). (39, p. 376) • For many years I have debated the issue of women speaking on the marae - amongst Maori women, with men, with the odd inquiring Pakeha and, more fruitfully, with many indigenous women. I have often wondered at times whether the exclusion from speaking on the marae has become a deeply internalised acceptance of powerlessness. (48, no pg no) • We wrote six individual sections which were published together under the heading "Pakeha Women Respond to Maori Sovereignty." (3) The separate responses were a sign that, despite our commitment to collective action and common interests, we still suffered from "severe problems of individualism" as we stated in the introduction. However, our pieces were all informed by communal discussion. (49, no page no) • Students' Association in Wellington attempted to ban [Ripeka] Evans from a speaking tour of university campuses on "women and racism" in 1982. Accused of being "antiwhite" and "antistudent," Evans's writings in bitches, witches & dykes and her association with Black Unity were used as evidence of her bias (Coney 1982: 7). Yet political revelation followed. (52, p. 264) • On the one hand, '[q]uestions of identity have always been one of the most prominent topics of literature' (Neumann, 2008, p. 53); on the other hand, narrative fiction provides a 'privileged site for identity analysis' (Bamberg, 2009, p. 133). Narratives can even be regarded as encompassing 'ways of worldmaking' (Nünning & Nünning, 2010, p. 6)3, as productive sites of active and effective identity constitution (53, p. 57) • Pakeha women interrupted the Maori lecturers; Maori women never disagrees with the lecturers: under kaupapa Maori rules, it is wrong to interrupt the kaikorero [speaker]. They didn't have to listen to the Pakeha voice anymore ... because Pakeha influence is so powerful on their lives. From since they were in the cradle (54, p. 298) • The pictures on representation just blew a lot of these women away. And they started to look at their own photos. Then they tried to retell their own legends, especially when they had lectures about their oral histories and how they told stories to children. ... Let's just talk about everyday lives taht you live and suddenly you cannot stop them talking. (54, p. 299)
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		• Both Donna Awatere and Ripeka Evans said that our women's struggle is not against Maori men because they are more oppressed than Maori women ... We're our own focus and all hell breaks loose with the dominant group, with the Pakeha women saying how it disadvantages them, not actually about how it disadvantages us ... that was the sudden revelation to them [Maori women] that 'I can do this thing'. And suddenly they were no longer silent; their mouths had been unlocked and they could actually speak (54, p. 300) • Lecturers change teaching style for maori learners; I think she [Alison] realized to some extent that her complex way of delivering that western theoretical framework would not be suitable for a maori and Pacifica audience. That she would not know what she was talking about and just go to sleep. It's about packaging the information (54, p. 301) • In the Maori tutorial we were actually operating kaupapa Maori ... and they {Pascifica women} can see from the Maori struggle that it is not enough to let Pakeha speak for them (54, p. 302) • Even the labelling of the article was important. It was labelled 'Matauranga Wahine' rather than looking for an equivalent of 'feminist'. Just holding it as 'women's knowledge' keeps us from being locked into a gender struggle while we're still trying to deal with the whole Maori struggle. (54, p. 302) • In interviews, the subject is present at the formation of the text, when words are 'voiced' onto tapes. However, they move out of the frame when the words are transcribed and are given over to the institutional context. In other words, in the process of giving an interview the individual can be seen to be separate from the subject she refers to in her speech. Gayatri Spivak (1990) describes it as: ...speech is structured according to those structures in writing that are generally denigrated as non spontaneous, dead. Speech cannot be understood if there isn't a pre-existing code which is institutional, and to conceive of the living present, the subject has to understand her own death. Any articulation of the living present in the stream of speech makes you understand that there was a 'present' before you and there will be a 'present' after you. (57, p. 35) • Kathie Irwin (1992) has argued that women have lost jobs in the public service to Maori men because women "can't speak on the marae (ceremonial meeting ground)"² (p. 18). If women are to travel to initiate projects with Maori communities they need to be accompanied by a male, which can be seen as an extra cost to the institution in order to get through the formal protocols. While some Maori women have contested this status given to Maori men (see for example, Binney & ChaKathie Irwin (1992, p. 17) has argued that the changes to Maori culture have seen "bonds of patriarchy" exchange between Maori and Pakeha men. She argues that Pakeha men are allowed to speak on a marae in English ahead of Maori women who can speak in Maori. As such, she has suggested that power has been transferred between men because of their gender is given priority over the bond of being Maori – what Bell Hooks (1995,) refers to as "moments of interracial homo-social patriarchal bonding" (p. 2). It would appear that Maori males have a 'cultural advantage' over Maori women and it can be supported institutionally, by the Pakeha males that run them. (57, p. 114-5) • Some have argued that the very language of human rights (which is the language used here) is alien to what it means to be an indigenous woman.²⁴ (64, p. 325) • Several participants suggested that Pacific community leaders could collaborate with fertility specialists and counselors to unpack technical fertility terminologies in Pacific languages. Currently, there are no corresponding terms in the Pacific language for English terminology like "assisted reproductive technology" and "in vitro fertilization." As several participants
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		explained, fertility treatment-related terms and concepts tend to have derogatory meanings when translated into Pacific languages and referring to genitalia is commonly frowned upon. In short, these terms are seen as taboo when discussed in family settings. For Mana, understanding fertility and the terminology associated with assisted reproduction could potentially provide a deeper and more sympathetic understanding of the reproductive journeys of people seeking fertility treatment. (65, p. 347) • Drawing on Dotson's account, we suggest that the dominant biomedical discourse around BMI prevents fat people from voicing alternatives or questioning the values embedded in this discourse. (65, p. 348) • It is within this context of the misuse of the category "global feminism" that I want to draw attention to just one issue that was hotly contested during the 1980s, namely, the question of speaking rights on the marae (a far more complex version of the Town Hall but with spiritual connotations; the marae is a building and the land surrounding it whose most important function is to symbolize the tribe), where traditionally women have the specific role of greeting and men that of speaking. Pakeha women's reading these structured roles within Western paradigms of what constitutes agency (speech rather than the ritual of greeting) led to the debate regarding whether women should speak on the marae or not. As Kathie Irwin has argued in "Towards Theories of Maori Feminisms," for many Maori, having the right to speak at the marae is not an issue and never has been. It is viewed as Pakeha women's preoccupation, which is irrelevant to Maori. Irwin nonetheless breaks the nature of speaking on the marae down into several parts: karanga (greeting), waiata (song), tangi (mourning), and whaikorero (speech making). "Protagonists in this debate have recognized only whaikorero as speaking," asserts Irwin (12). In short, the forms of speech in which women participate have not been recognized by Pakeha women, since no such equivalent categories exist within Pakeha feminism. (66, p. 63) • And why did we also adopt your ways? Why didn't we continue to develop ours? Did we ever have the choice? Do we have the choice now? Who controls who has voice in Aotearoa? Who makes the political decisions which mean that members of my family believe all Maori were cannibals, are thieves, couldn't organise themselves to set up a kura kaupapa let alone re-assume the positions of leadership and decision (67, p. 166) • This article is also an offering to my law course of 1994, to feminists in Aotearoa and to all who profess a commitment to the liberation of indigenous peoples from colonialism and women from patriarchy. I decided to leave two parts of the article in their raw, questioning, probing form, to share my experience. I wrote in anger and in sadness. I also wrote with a view towards change. Hence, I offer this to you all to listen to, to take in deeply, to ponder and to act upon. Yes, there are expectations attached to these shared whakaaro. Why would I bother to open my world to you otherwise? However I do not intend to tell you how to act or what to do. I have hinted at this, but those decisions are part of that difficult road we are all walking towards reclamation of our tino rangatiratanga. This article has also been a cathartic and self-indulgent experience. That I have expressed it in "academic" forum has been extremely unusual. However in a course like this one, with its model of a "theory-practice spiral", space must necessarily be made for or taken by women's experiences. So I have taken that space and I have written this account of my experience of the "theory" and the "practice" of being a solitary Maori woman in this course. (67, p. 168)
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		• This indigenous women's discourse is concerned essentially with locating our struggle as Maori women within an international context. We are part of a world from which we can learn and to which we can contribute (73, p. 49) • Both oral and written sources in Māori as well as English should be consulted in this work, as much of the history of Māoridom remains in the oral archives of the various tribes. Within Māori oral traditions, there exists a range of rich primary sources of data; 'haka, waiata,tauparapara, karanga, poroporoaki, paki waitara, whakapapa, whakatauki, and pepeha'(Karetu 1975). From these sources an authentic and authoritative Māori data base can be generated from which to study the role and status of Māori women and Māori feminisms (74, p. 71) • Work for Māori women must be promoted and undertaken by Māori women. People have spoken on our behalf for long enough. In the pursuit of equity, participation is central to empowerment. As the women of the Te Kōhanga Reo movement are finding out through their experiences, there is no substitute for taking personal responsibility for learning - it is crucial for the empowerment of Māori women. Sue Middleton's research, which incorporates women's oral histories, provides an excellent example of how women's herstories 'describe and relate the personal experiences of individuals to structural and historical phenomena'(Middleton 1990). Māori women must be provided with the time, space, and resources necessary to develop the skills to undertake this work, starting with the exploration,reclamation and celebration of our herstories, our stories as Māori women. The recently published annotated bibliography of work written by or about Māori women, contains over seven hundred references, many of which are biographical or autobiographical (Erai, Fuli,Irwin, and Wilcox 1991). (74, p. 71) • The speaking rights of women on the marae is one of the most misunderstood and abused contemporary issues of our culture and time. Many of those engaged in the debate, and identified as 'on the Pākehā side', have been accused of trying to analyse Māori culture in Pākehā terms, in order to give the colonization of our culture and people a twentieth century face, in the name of feminism and equality of rights. Those 'on the Māori side' claim that Pākehā ideas have been used to make observations and judgements about the Māoriworld with little or no attempt to reconcile the different epistemological bases of the two cultures. Those 'on the Māori side' are also accused of using the misunderstanding which surrounds this issue to protect colonized views about the role and status of women and that it is evidence of sexism and Māori male hegemony in the Māori community. SomePākehā use this 'evidence' of blatant sexism to justify both their ignorance about the Māorilanguage and culture and their refusal to become informed. As you can imagine, this does not go down well in Māori circles! It places Māori women who may wish to talk about this important issue with their whānau, hapū, and iwi, in a very difficult position.One major concern is the fact that very few people really debate the issue in full. It represents one of the classic examples of cross-cultural misunderstanding, of people 'talking past each other'.¹² People wanting to learn more about this area have been attacked for asking questions about the tikanga and protocol which pertain to the matter of women speaking on the marae. A very defensive mentality has grown around the subject and made it virtually untouchable in many quarters. For women, this practice of being attacked, bullied and ostracized for seeking knowledge is not new. Once it is recognized in these terms, women can learn to develop coping strategies for both the attacks and attackers. For Māori women,this is much more difficult, because there
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		are so few 'Māori, woman friendly' sources of knowledge about speaking rights on the marae, which are authentic and authoritative to Māori. (74, p. 72) • The issue of women's speaking rights on the marae ātea has become increasingly prominent during the last twenty years. As the second wave of feminism made its impact on this country in the early seventies, the role and status of women in all sectors of our society was opened to public scrutiny and criticism (O'Neil 1990). In the process, the anger and frustrations of the feminist movement were visited upon individuals and institutions alike. The marae, the central most important institution in Maoridom, became a target for the visitation of some of this feeling. (74, p. 74) • When visiting dignitaries are welcomed by a city, for example, Joe and Jill Bloggs don't have the right to jump up out of the crowd and take over proceedings, offering their own personal welcomes, just because we live in a democratic society. The speakers for the occasion will be carefully chosen to represent groups involved in the occasion. This point is crucial: when we talk about the welcoming procedure on the marae ātea, we are not considering a routine part of our culture. It is one of the most highly ritualized events, and as such involves only a small group of people, just as in Pākehā culture, where small groups of people are chosen by the people, to represent them. * (82, p. 75) • The following unfortunate¹⁵ comment was taken from a copy of 'He Panui', the Ministry of Women's Affairs newsletter (1988): '...generally speaking, women do not speak on the marae...' This introduces an element of ambiguity with regards the meaning of 'marae', a concept which is central to the whole argument. Marae can be used with at least two distinct meanings; firstly as a whole living complex (Walker 1975:21); the traditional meeting place of the Māori people (Tauroa H. and P. 1989); or secondly, as marae proper, an open space of ground in front of an ancestral meeting house (Walker 1975); or marae ātea the area between the hosts and the guests during a welcome (Tauroa H. and P. 1989). To say that women do not speak on the marae, using marae in its first context, is obviously ridiculous. It does not explain why women arrive home after hui on marae with no voices; how jokes, yarns, and other networking rely on hui for their effectiveness; nor does it explain the noise heard on most marae, which is often created by the women! In the above quotation, the marae proper or marae ātea, has become abbreviated to marae, with serious consequences. (74, p. 76) • As one woman writes, 'I passionately, passionately hated that school' (Te Awakotuku, 1988) and another one writes, 'We have to speak English. Kui, you must not speak Maori to me again. I will get the strap if I am caught speaking Maori' (Edwards, 1990, p. 33). There is a shared anger and suspicion of schools. (76, p. 92) • One very influential Maori woman who was herself a former teacher at the school fully supported the idea of women speaking on the marae. When she came to talk to the marae committee she stated that this was her hope and that possibly she would be able to do this herself one day. Her support was very important but, on its own it was not enough. (76, p. 96) • Moreover, it is important that Maori women have their stories told, even if only partially, if progress towards creating Maori feminist theories is to be made.²⁷ I also believe that the reality for so many abused Maori women is that the legal system and Pākehā systems in general impose themselves on Maori women willy-nilly and so we are forced to engage with those systems in order to research Maori issues or to help Maori women (79, p. 177)
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		• Mana wahine voices are opposing and speaking out against GM [Genetic Modification]. However, while strong, they are not recognised as legitimate Māori voices for inclusion in the GM debate. (83,, p.27) • Given that these positions of authority are part of the dominant system for regulating GM in Aotearoa, I am not surprised that mana wahine voices have been excluded and that the voices of those supporting hegemonic colonial masculinist ideologies have been given predominance and legitimacy. (83, p. 27) • Clear mana wahine voices with regard to GM [Genetic Modification] are coming from the roopu, Ngā Wāhine Tiaki o Te Ao, who gained interested person's status in the RCGM debate in 2001. This roopu was formed by a group of Māori women concerned about protecting their kaitiaki status with regard to GM. Its membership consists of mothers, artists, filmmakers, doctors, academics, activists, scientists and environmentalists. (83, p. 28) • The lack of Māori women involved at the decision making level with regard to GM [Genetic Modification] was also raised. The voices of these Māori women interviewed leads me to conclude that Māori women hold unique positions as kaitiaki, nurturers and re-builders of indigenous knowledge and have the right to protect and control the dissemination of that knowledge. Furthermore it is a mana wahine right that Māori women are able to provide an analysis that is relevant and accounted for regarding GM [Genetic modification] (83, p. 32). • A mana wahine science agenda encourages new forums for public participation enabling a deeper and more critical analysis of science projects to be established, including mana wahine kōrero. In addition, where there is the need to develop a responsible and critical independent media that is not bought by the promised profits of science, but which can facilitate and encourage critical debate. (83, p. 35) • In order to address the failures of the Crown in this regard, it is necessary to understand the depth and diversity of Mana Wāhine, and this requires more than just 'adding in' Māori women's voices in a way that leaves the hegemonic, colonial and patriarchal structures of knowledge production intact. (90, p. 157) • There are many more stories to be told, written and performed. For all the words, however, in the end we must act. The words and stories must turn into work and the work must be turned into words; new stories with never-ending beginnings. (90, p. 163) • Indigenous women have also established a strong and distinctive voice theorising motherhood. Cree/Metis scholar Kim Anderson is particularly critical of Western maternal theories and asserts that traditional gendered forms of mothering are a source of empowerment for women: (91, p. 167) • Tino rangatiratanga for us as Māori mothers can simply involve our everyday actions as mothers. Our everyday survival, resilience and persistence as Māori mothers is in itself a marker of our resistance. Tino rangatiratanga therefore is the language that we speak to our children, it is the names we bestow upon them, the songs we sing to them, the whānau and the individuals that we surround them with, the tikanga we immerse them in, the educational experiences we choose for them. Tino rangatiratanga involves the decisions we make around our birthing experiences, the tikanga we follow during our pregnancies and during our mate marama. It is the choices we make every day, whether consciously or subconsciously. We should not underestimate the impact of these everyday actions on our children and more importantly on our future generations. (91, p. 172)
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		In the aforementioned kōrero ingoa, themes of resistance, reclamation and resurgence are revealed and shared; however, there were also silences, things unsaid or unknown. These ‘forgotten’ stories of oppression, violence and denial are integral to understanding the cultural hegemony that has become internalised amongst our people and manifested in the denial of our ingoa tangata (personal names); in particular, those of our matrilineal whakapapa. (92, p. 179)
	The Silencing of Wāhine	- As Pihama (2001, 234) argues: [t]he silencing of Māori women's voices has meant the silencing of our theories, worldviews ... the marginalisation of mana wahine has meant that Māori women are constantly having to try and „find“ ourselves within the texts of the dominant group. We are forever trying to see ourselves in the images created by the colonisers. (3, p. 7) - He wai: te reo wahine—women's voices - This research aims to bring forward the views of women, especially Māori women, in the debate over Washday at the Pā. But how can we hear voices that have been silent or silenced throughout the 50 years of this history? (6, p. 688) - However, we have largely remained omitted from past literature and like many Indigenous women have been misrepresented, had our theories suppressed and as such many of what are important wahine narratives have been listed as “myths” rather than truths (Jenkins & Pihama, 2001; Murphy, 2013). (10, p. 9) - Where we are physically present, we are often vocally absent, while in the spaces where we are vocal, the forces of the already powerful act to deny our physical presence. Hence we continue to speak and to participate from the dominant group's margins that form our centres. (18, p. 19) - I wondered why I had never seen a Māori woman play a leading role in a professional, English-language Shakespearean production. In fact, I've barely seen any Māori women in professional Shakespearean productions. (31, p. 212) - I also explore productions where Māori women's voices and bodies have been rendered meaningless or invisible, and others where the presence of Māori men is intended to speak for all Māori – acts which demonstrate the ongoing colonial violence against wāhine Māori, perpetuated by Shakespeare Inc. (31, p. 213) - I am not surprised that mana wahine voices have been excluded and that the voices of those supporting hegemonic colonial masculinist ideologies have been given predominance and legitimacy. In my article, Molecular Kaitiakitanga (Hutchings, 2001: 10) I discussed how the Maori GM debate is being dominated by patriarchal ideologies, with vital issues of relevance to mana wahine being excluded. (34, p. 18) - Normative discourse and language can impose challenges to articulating, describing and naming experiences situated outside of conventional norms and contexts (Frosh 2007). Unspeakable and dialogical selves may be hidden within the limited terrain of conventional narratives (Adams 2010) and the act of articulating personal experience can further reinforce the process of exclusion (Frosh 2007), or through an orientation to focus on resistance to the dominant narrative (Butler 2005). Free association writing can mitigate these narrative restrictions (Frosh 2007) and instead allow narratives that open doors and windows (Butler 2005) and better attend to the complexity of lived experience. (44, p. 370)

		• The silencing of Maori women's voices has meant the silencing of our theories and worldviews. It has meant that Maori women's voices are then able to be defined as "myths", and therefore as some figment of the cultural imagination. (54, p. 294) • Can't speak as themselves due to the listeners/multiple subjectivities/fragmentation: All the women, through their interviews, speak of themselves by dispossessing their own perspective in the act of narrating. A performance of this doubleness or splitting of the subject is enacted in Donna's interview. The youngest woman in the study, Donna spoke about pronunciation of te reo Maori (Maori language) in her workplace: ...all our servers on our computers are Maori names and I have a lot of trouble ... I would say 'Kauri' to them [her colleagues] and they wouldn't understand. So I'd sit there and think, 'how do they pronounce it' and I choose not to pronounce it in a way a Maori would but from their point of view. I disown my Maoridom for a second. Donna positions herself as narrator of her own subjectivity. To speak of 'disowning her Maoriness' is to issue a challenge to what is visible and invisible, Donna's 'Maoriness' is obvious to all through visual markings of the body. There appears an impossible disembodiment. Donna absents her Maoriness while it can simultaneously circulate without being seen like 'a missing person'. The 'I' that is spoken is not the same 'I' of the speaker. ... The suggestion that the 'spoken subject', like the written subject, is a necessary fiction opens up the possibility of several narratives being told by the subject about herself. That is 'multiple subjectivities' or multiple positions and their strategic use. These multiple subjectivities can be sometimes competing, "as her subjectivity is displaced by one or multiple textual representations" (Smith, 1987, p. 47). (56, p. 110) • Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes: Maori women in particular have been written out of historical discourses not just in the years after colonisation but also from the centuries prior to Pakeha settlement. Schooling has served to legitimate selected historical discourses through its curriculum, pedagogy, assessment and organisation. This process has turned Maori history into mythology and Maori women within those histories into distant and passive old crones whose presence in the 'story' was to add interest to an otherwise male adventure. Women who were explorers, poets, chiefs and warriors, heads of families; founding tipuna or ancestors of various hapu and iwi have frequently been made invisible through processes of colonisation, such as education.(22) (60, no pg no) • For some time Maori women have struggled to gain a voice within this society and have on the whole been made invisible, silenced, marginalised. For Maori women in a colonial setting (we avoid using the term post-colonial since we believe that this country remains very much colonial), much of our 'selves' has been denied, and hence, for many Maori women there is an ongoing struggle to centre ourselves, to deconstruct colonial representations and to reconstruct and reclaim knowledge about ourselves. Maori women have been struggling with such a process from the margins, and many have said that in order fully to realise such a process we must locate ourselves in the centre. (60, no pg no) • Hating sitting, listening while we discuss Maori women as though they are some abstract, distant, curious and odd "other". You are talking about me. I'm sitting here amongst you. I am real. I don't exist only in your books, your heads, your intellects. You come to Aotearoa and set me up as the "side-show", something to be ogled, to be brought out when appropriate, something to satisfy your curiosity, your questions; but only when it suits you. It gets too uncomfortable otherwise. You feel powerless. Yet, I feel powerless every day, bracing myself,
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		waiting for your inevitable self centred demonstrations of your privilege, your power. (67, p. 166) • The need to write Māori women back into the records, to make ourselves visible - all of which may seem to some feminists to be stating the obvious - is a necessary part of introducing a paper which aims to work towards Māori feminist theories. Such is the state of the struggle to validate and affirm Māori women's studies in some quarters.² There it is still considered unnecessary to focus on Māori women and girls in their own right. It is argued that because Māori culture and society is holistic in nature, any study of them can only be carried out in a context in which the holism of both remains intact through every phase of the study, in order for it to be authentic and authoritative to Māori. (74, p. 67) • In schools Maori girls are often regarded as presenting serious behavioural problems, many are labelled at an early age as being lazy, recalcitrant and 'too smart for their own good'. Being 'too smart' is usually a reference to girls who have the ability to assert their own will in a classroom, who argue with teachers and who 'defy the authority' of the school. Because a greater proportion of Maori students are streamed or grouped in the lower ranks of their classes at secondary school they are frequently regarded as being troublesome and difficult to teach. Generations of Maori students have left school feeling alienated and 'dumb'. The powerful role of the peer group has been targeted by some educationalists as an explanation for Maori students who do show early signs of success eventually succumbing to the pattern of underachievement. (76, p. 91) • Māori women, like indigenous women, black women and women of colour worldwide, have consistently voiced outrage at being constantly located as 'Other' within dominant discourses, raising issues of difference and marginalization. Representation and definitions of Māori women have been, in many instances, historically constituted through the voices of the colonizer. We have been defined, painted, filmed, researched, imaged within dominant Pākehā frameworks and assumptions. The voices of Māori women have been marginalized or made invisible within the power relations that exist in our colonial experience. It is understandable then that feminism as a concept is viewed as problematic, particularly for Māori women who have historically been on the margins of what has been seen as a predominantly white women's movement. (85, p. 62) • I want to clarify that when I say erasure I speak not only to the marginalisation of our voices, or the denial of our place within our stories and our roles amongst our people, but also to the spiritual and physical erasure through the excessive rates of violence perpetuated upon Indigenous women, to the abuse of Papatuanuku, through the poisoning of our lands and our rivers, to the desecration of sacred sites such as mauna kea, to insidious levels of incarceration of our whānau members, to the denial of our ability to undertake ceremonies such as the return of our whenua (placenta) to the whenua (land), to the thousands of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women on Turtle Island, and to the forced removal of Indigenous children. Erasure is not a philosophical or conceptual experience; erasure is an experience of cultural, spiritual and physical reality. (93, p. 195)
Theme 6: Cultural Continuities: Wāhine	Wāhine Perspectives on Whānau within	• For example, Ani Mikaere (2011) explains that whānau was the primary source of support for wāhine and that the absence of distinction between private and public domains in traditional family arrangements protected and affirmed women. She (2011, 190) says "this form of

Perspectives within Māori Knowledge	Māori Involvement	social organisation ensured a degree of flexibility for women not possible within the confines of the nuclear family". (2, p. 54) - Whanau (extended family) is a rich context for learning about identity, relational skills, love and raising children, providing conducive circumstances for wanting to have children (Le Grice, 2014). Ensuring the continuation of the next generation into favourable social circumstances remains a priority among present-day Maori (Glover, McKree, & Dyall, 2008). The continued practice of whanau involvement and the practice known as whangai (caring, raising and nourishing another's child as your own) ensures children are not exclusively raised by their biological parents (Pere, 1994). Children are considered to have wairua (capacity for spirituality) prior to birth. This informs the practice of nurturing and communicating to children in the womb by speech and touch of the mother's skin (C. & P. Jacobs, personal communication, 11 April 2011). These practices inform the development of attachment to a baby within the womb, and care for pregnant women by their whanau, within an ideal developmental trajectory. (35, p. 146) - Whangai children were considered a "gift of love" (C. Smith, 2012), and in contrast to western notions of adoption, were not exclusively situated within a nuclear family. Instead, the child remained part of the wider whanau, and the whangai process strengthened bonds between whanau (C. Smith, 2012) (35, p. 155) - One participant, a mother of four children, described: "because she was working and then I felt that she wasn't capable of looking after her daughter... I brought her and my granddaughter up together and we stayed together. I nurtured her through... bringing her up with... her mother there [woman, 50s, rural]." As grandmother to the child, this women described leading the care arrangement, her lived experience of atawhai. The practice of atawhai has been traditionally favoured to Anglo European forms of adoption, as it provides an enriching environment for the child, who is able to maintain everyday contact with the parents alongside whānau who assist them to raise the child (C. Jacobs, personal communication, 12th June 2013). (37, p. 93) - Ngāti Porou and Ngāi Tahu share a history concerning a woman called Hamo who, too, was a prominent female leader. She was the wife of Porourangi, the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Porou, and according to Ngāti Porou tradition, upon his death she married his younger brother, Tahu Pōtiki. This was a common customary practice in traditional Māori society. (50, p. 6) - Soon after my daughter's birth I started to see that becoming a mother had made me, in some people's eyes, more of a 'real woman'. This was particularly so in the Maori community. Women without children by choice are a breed apart from 'real women'. Maori women who make a conscious choice not to have children are a cultural enigma. (69, p. 63) - Women who have strong whanau links take it for granted as part of being Maori. Women whose experiences of whanau have been more problematical are more cautious and tentative. The search for stable and supportive whanau structures has played an important part in a range of Maori initiatives, both historically and in contemporary contexts. It has become increasingly a discourse of conscientization', which at one level is unashamedly about the past and another about meeting the demands of the present. It requires the seeking of knowledge which is whanau-, hapu- and iwi-specific (73, p. 44) - Whakapapa remains irrespective of our knowledge of it. Our tūpuna will always be our tūpuna. What is crucial is finding a way of ensuring that all of our people are able to access
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		that knowledge in order to locate themselves and their relationships with their whānau, hapū and iwi. Therefore our agenda cannot be solely one of challenging modernist constructions of identity but it must encompass a process of reclaiming those knowledge bases that have been submerged through colonialism (90, p. 161)
	Wāhine Perspectives on Māori Spaces, Places, and Spirituality	• I argue that to understand further Māori women's relationships to space and place an examination of wairua discourses is necessary. (3, p. 5) • Despite the „othering“ of mana wahine knowledges, Papatūānuku and wairua discourses can still be located in the everyday geographies of Māori women. I hope to provide a space where Māori women can define and conceptualise their lived experiences with Papatūānuku in contemporary Aotearoa (3, p. 5) • Irwin (1992a) goes on to argue that, in order to fully achieve the goals of self determination, the mana of Māori women needs to be re-established so that we can stand alongside our men. The sexism of society, including that of Māori society, needs to be contested. (3, p. 22) • “For us as brown women, we have to be very careful. I hate the energy that we have to spend being ‘very careful’. We should be putting energy into the spaces that empower us - our patients and our people. Whether it's our sisterhoods, our communities, our surgical skills etc. that's what we should be doing. I don't think we should be listening to people when they say play the game.” (13, p. 111) • We need that space, and we need non-Māori women to support us in it. Within that space, the mana of wahine Māori is validated, and what rises to the fore are the dynamics of whānau, hapu, iwi, matauranga Māori, which enable the reinforcement and practice of ahuatanga, tikanga and te reo. There are no apologies for those who do not understand the reo; there are no apologies for those who have not learnt their whakapapa, their tikanga, their matauranga, but there is a tolerance for those who seek to learn, for the practice of tuakana/teina, of ‘ako’ (Pere, 1982), of manaakitanga, tautoko – all unencumbered by the ‘others’ whose questions of why and how can distract and fractionate the learning/supporting and teaching relationships. (18, p. 27)
	Wāhine Cultural and Creative Practices and Knowledge Transmission within Māori Contexts	• Creative practice for me as a Māori woman is ceremony. (4, p. 45) • These ageless practices [kairaranga and Raranga & whatu] and the taonga we create are permeated with our own present realities. The taonga then carry this tūpuna knowledge into the future in multiple forms. To highlight this, I explore a range of practices that exemplify raranga and raranga whatu as cultural embodiment. This is articulated through notions of raranga as an expression of cultural bodies of knowledge, creative practice and regenerative praxis that span the past, present and future. As such, this thesis is an expression of the creative journey of theory and practice inspired by tūpuna knowledge in the art forms of raranga and raranga whatu. The practices of raranga and raranga whatu not only transform the materials the kairaranga is using, but also the kairaranga themselves. These practices become self-affirming, culturally affirming and ultimately decolonizing. (4, p. 1-2) • When I refer to tacit knowledge, I am meaning the intuitive and experiential knowledge that arises within the praxis of raranga and whatu. I claim that by engaging with the tikanga and practices of the raranga and whatu arts the creation of implicit or tacit knowledge – non-verbal, or otherwise unarticulated and intuitive forms of knowledge is experienced. (4, p. 13)

		• Raranga and whatu are active processes on an essential level. These practices unite mind and body, “embracing the totality of our sensual perception and experience rather than intellectual activity alone” (Schneider and Wright 2006 p. 16). Accordingly, experience can become knowledge, you know because you have been in it. These practices are taonga which is defined by Rose Pere (1994) as “the highly prized practices and beliefs of our forebears, our ancestors” (p. 69). Putting these beliefs into practice is to manifest mātauranga Māori drawing on every experience of life. As the practices of raranga and whatu are passed on to us from our ancestors, they are imbued with mātauranga Māori. (4, p. 14) • [Māori] Marsden goes further “...taonga refer to the cultural tradition, lore, history: corpus of knowledge...with which the descendants can identify and which provide them with their identity, self-esteem and dignity “(2003, p. 38). (4, p. 19) • The kairaranga knows that the practices of raranga and whatu “are understood not only as way of making things by hand, but also as a way of thinking through the hands” (p. 64) that is to say all the senses are ignited through the hands. Thinking through the hands therefore is a means for thinking through the senses. The senses are activated through experiencing the material we are enacting our value systems, exploring our intellectual worlds, and engaging in mātauranga Māori. (4, p. 20) • What is the role of artistic relationships with Te Pā Harakeke in relation to cultural regeneration, affirmation and resistance? (4, p. 22) • Kaupapa Māori principles in creative practice informed the creation of Te Whatukura ki Oraurangi, the creation belonging to the collective knowledge of many weavers' hands and minds. (4, p. 37) • As a wahine Māori (Māori woman) creating taonga within the field of raranga and raranga whatu I have experienced a way to assert mana wahine⁴³, the regeneration of my culture and affirmation of Māori ways of knowing and being. (4, p. 29) • A potential catalyst to the realization of belonging to something larger than oneself is the experience of the women's collective of raranga. Essential to the experience of the weaving arts, is the collective expressed as whanaungatanga (kinship rights and obligations), connectedness and development of reciprocal relationships. (4, p. 34) • In terms of raranga and whatu the noted male weaver Karl Rangikawhiti Leonard, of Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Ngāti Ngāranui produces exquisite Māori fibre works in tukutuku, piupiu,⁵¹ poi tāniko,⁵² and kākahu⁵³. Karl Leonard is considered a tohunga⁵⁴ weaver, and his work and status challenges gender stereotypes (2015, wakahuiatvnz). Considering the concepts and practices of raranga is Tāwhanga Nopera of Ngāti Whakaue who is a Māori performance artist and scholar who utilizes raranga methodologies as a form of research. (4, p. 43) • For kairaranga this relationship is fundamental to understanding the taonga of plants, and the taonga of raranga and whatu. (4, p. 58) • How do Indigenous arts and theories of art relate to the Left? Is 'activist/educational art' simply the replacement of art by education/activism? Would that simply be the loss of 'expert' art and 'aesthetics', or would it be the loss of art altogether? Would it matter either way? How do specific art forms and practices relate to the Left in Aotearoa: whakairo, Dada, land art, folk arts, craft, taonga pūoro, architecture, design, video art, storytelling. . .take your pick. How does art relate to its audience and/or community? (15, p. 17)
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		• The story of Manu Wahine (See figure) starts with technological conversion of nikau into manu. Traditional Maori societies encouraged women to pursue kite making, predominantly with nikau, and then fostered their expertise in an array of social inter-actions – this association was so strong that the kites have primarily been called Manu Wahine. Often such skill acquisitions were fostered in women because in social requirements needing 'patience and skill' that was their domain. ... Manu Wahine could be designated into a variety of purposes. Such kites made with an array of tails (See figure), would be flown as Manu Wheke, in games called te wi o te wheke. (36, p. 27) • Instantiations of mātauranga Māori are diverse, nuanced and localised to particular whānau, hapū (sub tribe, wider extended family) and iwi (tribe), within a particular historical social and generational context, dynamically infused with surrounding cultural influence. (37, p. 88) • In this article, we explore mātauranga Māori among contemporary Māori in everyday domestic settings. We focus on the domain of child rearing and reproduction, and explicitly explore practices of whanaungatanga (relationships, connection, and practices among a family collective) embedded in whānau (extended family) contexts. This allows us to prioritise women's voices and cultural knowledge. Since early colonial contact, dominant culture has tended to view and represent Māori men as the natural experts in cultural matters (Mikaere, 2010; Simmonds, 2011; L. Smith, 2013). As we will demonstrate, for both men and women, practices of whanaungatanga are vital and live, but reproduction and child rearing are arenas where women's voices feature particularly strong. (37, p. 88) Within whanaungatanga, a primary relationship between (birth) mother and child was often significant (Cargo, 2016), but whāngai (to raise another child as your own) by whānau who were not the birth parents was also a relatively common practice (Mikaere, 1994). The term whāngai translates to 'nourish', 'feed', 'enrich', culturally, emotionally, spiritually, and physically (Moorfield, 2013). Differing from Anglo-European notions of adoption, these care arrangements were not necessarily permanent, nor were they stigmatised. Instead, the child remained part of the wider whānau. The whāngai process strengthened bonds between relations within a whānau (C. Smith, 2012), relieving stressed relations, and assisting relations who were unable to conceive children (C. & P. Jacobs, personal communication, 11th April 2011; Mikaere, 1994; C. Smith, 2012). (37, p. 89) • Teaching her children about engaging with diverse people was seen as important to this mother of two, preparing her children for their future adult lives. (37, p. 91) • [Donna Flavell (2018) showing diverse interests]: Wow, so what a year it has been. The thematic approach has been based around the 160th anniversary of Kiingitanga and the plethora of events that have been held to recognise and celebrate the institution – the photos on the opposite page are a selection from both the Kiingitanga Charity Gala, which raised a significant amount of puutea in support for the NZ Cancer Society and Waikato Women's Refuge, and the ground-breaking exhibition Te Pahi o Matariki held at the Auckland War Memorial Museum. ... There have been a number of significant highlights across the organisation. In the claims space, we have signed oati with Ngaati Paoa, Ngaati Maniapoto, Ngaati Te Wehi and Ngaati Mahuta and have consolidated our relationships with Ngaati Whaatua and Tauranga Moana Iwi among others. ... Our Whai Rawa team launched the Waikato Region Maaori Economic Action Plan and Agenda earlier this year. This report provides an opportunity for Waikato-Tainui and local Maaori businesses to set the agenda for local Maaori economic development. Our small Housing team has joined with TGH in our Te
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		Kaarearea housing development. It is a modest pilot that will give 50 whaanau the chance to live in their own homes. Interest in the development from our people has been extremely high, and I am excited by the opportunities and insights it will provide now and into the future. (41, p. 9) • [Ngaa Rauuira Puumanawhiti on wahine and tane]: Our history shows us that all great Polynesian heroes thrive when they seek out and are nurtured by the wise counsel of indigenous women. They achieved the great feats for which we now venerate and glorify them in story and in song, their deeds recorded in the collective memory of our people. ... These women knew innately and inherently what their people required in order to grow, and this too can be reflected in their nurturing leadership style, once again captured in the oral literature of our people. By the turn of the 19th century and with the colonial project in Aotearoa in full force, they held the space while our men were away during the World Wars, and many, including one prominent Kiingitanga leader, resisted conscription altogether. They fought alongside their men in the Land Wars at Rangiriri, at Pukehinahina and at Ooraakau – as soldiers and as strategists. In their old age, they marched for the land, their words “not one more acre”. In their youth, they took to the steps of Parliament a petition to recognise te reo Maaori as an official language of Aotearoa. They stood up to the engineering students at Auckland University and reoccupied the whenua at Bastion Point and at the Raglan Golf Course. They crossed the floor of Parliament over the proposed foreshore and seabed legislation, and in so doing, they drew their lines in the sand and this country was transformed. We now have more Maaori women in professional occupations than we have ever had in our entire history of being in the modern labour force. Everybody has an aunty they know who works at Te Puni Kookiri, the Ministry of Education or some other government agency. ... Waahia te tuungaroa o te whare, Make way, let the Maaori women leaders come forth! (41, p. 20) • of Rachel Petero- Rachel also gravitated towards other influential Maaori women role models of the time like the late Te Arikinui Dame Te Aatairangikaahu and her own grandmother Mere Nutana Taka. These early impressions and appreciation for strong Maaori women were early indicators for what she would come to create later in life. ... Rachel launched the programme in 2015 with her first client, Māori Women's Development Inc., and she has never looked back. It aims to achieve this by connecting indigenous women to the power and techniques of coaching in business, in leadership and in communities through a cultural lens alongside an internationally recognised coaching framework. ... “... there is a way to connect with the talents inside you and smash through those limiting beliefs about what we can and can't do.” (41, p. 28) • [About school & education at Turakina]: Being an old girl speaks for itself, too. There have been times where strangers have questioned my Māoritanga. Questioned if I know anything about kapa haka. Or tikanga. Or even reo. Then, when they find out I was head girl at Turakina, they're like: “Oh okay.” There's a credibility that goes with these kura. It's well deserved, too. It's been earned. So, yes, it would be tragic for our Māori girls if the option of attending a school like Turakina was to be taken away. If Turakina closes down, it will deny so many young wahine their chance to be shaped into tuturu wahine toa. It's a kohanga. It's a nest — one specifically designed for Māori wahine. And it's one with a history — a legacy — of strengthening and empowering us. And we need that shaping. ... As well as that, these girls were extremely clever and beautiful performers. As juniors we'd watch them go out into
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		the public to represent us. We were seeing newspaper articles about them. We were hearing about how well they were doing academically. We had nothing but Māori wahine role models. There weren't any other cultures in there. And we were thinking: We could be just like them. We were looking at our own. At ourselves. And our principal was absolutely determined that all of us would succeed. There wasn't any room for failure. ... But, when I got to Turakina — and back when I was born — I was a taonga. I was a little mana wahine in training expected to go out into the world and to lead. And, by the time I walked out of Turakina, I owned my Māoritanga and I owned my wahinetanga. ... I have no doubt that we can save Turakina. We're a strong force. A really strong force of Māori wahine, moulded into wahine toa — prepared for challenges in life just like this. We all love our kura, and when you love something, you do whatever it takes to keep it. (43, no pg no) • Linked to Ihimaera's "The auntie's story: We will therefore link Auntie Pat's story to the Māori concept of time, which focuses on the intertwining, rather than the chronological order of past, present, and future. The spiral is used to visualise an understanding of time strongly opposed to Western conceptions of temporal order that isolates past, present and future into separate entities. By contrast, the Māori concept of spiral time incorporates an understanding stressed by Witi Ihimaera himself in his speech New Zealand dreams, Pacific destinies addressed to an audience at the National Library's Auditorium on 2nd November 2005. Referring to John Rangihau's concept of Te Taura Tangata, the great Rope of Man, Ihimaera alludes to the interrelated nature of human beings and states: 'Te torino haere whakamua, whakamuri. At the same time as the spiral is going out, it is also going in'. Just like a spiral constantly repeats itself, the different levels of time spiral in and out of each other. Therefore, neither the past nor the ancestors may be relegated to a completed or 'past' point in time, but remain a constitutive part of the present and a powerful and enabling force in the future: 'The individual is shaped by the ancestors; each man or woman in turn, is responsible for the shaping of the people to come' (Dell Panny, 1998, p. 43). As a result, all three temporal levels of past, present and future, as distinguished from a Western cultural perspective, are highly intertwined with each other. (53, p. 59) • [Feminist paper at university]: It wasn't just Maori women who came to the paper, there were also Maori men who were attracted to the Maori content. (54, p. 294) • [The Te Ao Maaori world in Patricia's Grace's <i>Cousins</i>]: She notes a number of significant triple patterns and pinpoints the various ways in which they are signified through characterization: the three kete of knowledge - kete-uruuru-matua - peace, goodness and love, kete uruuru-rangi, karakia and ritual, and kete-uruuru-tau, warfare, agriculture and crafts, also described as Ritual, Occult and Secular knowledge, three orders of reality - Te Taha Tinana (the physical plane), Te Taha Hinengara (the psychic plane) and Te Taha Wairua (the spiritual plane), the three tiers of the universe - Te Korekore, the potential world, Te Po, the world of becoming and Te Ao Marama, the world of Being - and these tiers as indicative of time past, present and future. At times Bates associates particular elements of the pattern of three with a specific character, yet it is a vital aspect of the novel that the portrayal recognizes some interchangeability between the characters, as well as between the dead and the living - the signification of character is represented in terms of specific aspects of time and place, represented in Māori terms (68, p. 72-3) • If you think that I [Kathy Irwin] only have myself to blame for trying to be a cross between superwoman and Einstein, please, pause for a moment. In professional terms this was the
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		mid 1980s. I was one of two Maori women academics in that university, put up as a role model and mentor whether I wanted to be or not to Maori and women students. The pressure on women to be seen as serious academics was tremendous. We were still over-represented in the junior ranks of the university staff; the status of Maori and women academics nationally was low. The scene was set for me to feel that I had no choice but to soldier on for the good of the people. (69, p. 63) Maori women were an important part of these [educational/teaching] communities and of other resistance initiatives to Pakeha domination. The significance of their involvement has been silenced not just by most Pakeha histories but by many Maori oral histories as well. Maori schools were established in these and other communities without government assistance, and Maori women were known to have been involved in schooling as pupils and as teaching assistants from the time when mission schools were first established. We can therefore only assume that Maori women were also involved in non-mission and non-government schools, for we know little of their contribution. (73, p. 42)
	Wāhine Identity, Self-Determination, Resistance, and Reclaiming within Māori and Pākehā Contexts	- Artists such as Ngai te Rangi, Ngā Tūwhiwhia tā moko practitioner and multi - media artist Julie Paama Pengelly (Smith, 2007) as well as Moriori, Ngāti Mutunga tā moko artist Christine Harvey, along with Henriata Nicholas of Te Arawa, painter and graphic designer and tā moko artist are the pioneers of reclaiming the right of females to practice tā moko. Harvey states when she first started out in her practice that “one major challenge was definitely not being taken seriously by the men and being left out or ignored”. (Te Awēkotuku, Nikora, Rua & Karapu, 2007, p. 110). (4, p. 43) - The use of photography in the research is intentional and purposeful and part of the herstorical movement towards diverse representations of ourselves. For the wāhine who have been part of the research, the use of a camera has been meaningful and layered in rich narratives of places, people, resources, art and spanning time. This was in some ways unintentional in its depth but has melded completely with the wider wāhine Kā Tahu persistent call to be heard. (10, p. 12) “I think it was almost out of desperation. You could pick the people who were having shared experiences. You could see the shared experience and the shared suffering. You're not going to be drawn to people who have no ability to empathise to your situation because they're not able to comprehend your situation. (13, p. 111-2) - In terms of mana wahine then, a matauranga Māori view would incorporate a distinctly Māori worldview or paradigm of Māori culture and experiences of women. The uniqueness of such a position, however, would recognise an equally valid and dichotomous relationship with mana tane. (18, p. 22-23) - The mana (integrity and authority) of wahine Māori has fared particularly poorly through the Euro and Androcentric precepts of what Scheurich and Young (1997) maintain constitutes the real (epistemology), the true (axiology), and the good (ontological disputational contours of right and wrong) in science. We have been subjected to the unchecked desires to be known, to be discovered and have been positioned as other – a central tenet of Western research in the social sciences. (18, p. 23) [from The “rules of practice” (Foucault, 1982) for the objectification of subjects, according to Said (1978, 1993), are based on the constitutive role of the observer (18, p. 24)

		• In 1988 I received the offer of a truly defining career opportunity. That was as senior counsel assisting Judge Silvia Cartwright in her role as the newly established Commission of Inquiry into Cervical Cancer Treatment at National Women's Hospital. Silvia was at that stage a Family Court Judge. My exposure to her principled approach to work, and to life in general, at that pivotal stage of my career, was both beneficial and an enjoyable experience. The Inquiry did not turn out to be the "short, sharp" exercise that it was initially announced to be: it took 18 months and was at many times a gruelling and emotional ordeal for all concerned, given the horrendous nature of the subject matter and the appalling tragedies that had occurred and were still in the process of occurring. But we soldiered on through and the result was (I hope) a good outcome for women's health for the future, and for informed consent for patients. (19, no pg no) • While the increasingly large numbers of women practising law in the ranks is a statistic in itself, there is a distorting effect in the perception those numbers give. The situation has still not translated numerically into, for instance, senior partnerships in major law firms. An obvious reason, but not justification for that, is that women have to make decisions about lifestyle and family. These are powerful influences on the career paths of women in the law or in any field of endeavour. And it is those very decisions, which women make, in the greater interests of society, that should and could be much better accommodated by the legal profession – and they must be if we are to achieve a truly balanced and representative legal fraternity. The civilising balance that the equal involvement of men and women in society's affairs brings, does render it perplexing that equality is still not the case in the law, and that even today the scales are tipped towards the male of the legal species. We must keep working at finding the solution and we must constantly remind ourselves of the balancing perspective that women bring to justice and to the law. (19, no pg no) • Standing at the stern of the canoe conveys an immediate impression of the concepts of strength, leadership and courage. The title of this session, Mana Wāhine – the importance of women in the legal profession – carries its own inspiring image of a modern day Māori Portia, standing strong, leading from the front, navigating the path ahead – a veritable legal warrior. If we can imagine her with scales of justice in one hand and the sword of justice in the other, she becomes immediately a perfect symbol of justice, equality and progress. (19, no pg no) • Aroha Yates-Smith was eager to dispel the negative emphasis on women's roles in earlier, settler orientated versions of the purakau /mythologies and focused instead on the positive dimensions of their function in Maori life in the past, present, and future. Yates-Smith writes, "Women are conduits between the physical and spiritual world, at birth delivering the body [...] and with death, releasing it into Te Po to join the multitudes of ancestors again. (24, p. 120) • This article emerges from a wider research project about Māori mothers and grandmothers as key cultural revitalisers. As the women wove feathered Māori cloaks, they discussed how their experiences of growing up and "being Māori" now inform the aspirations they have for their children and grandchildren to "live as Māori". This discourse was popularised by renowned Māori scholar Mason Durie (2001) as a way to describe Māori-held aspirations to live well, fulfilled, holistically balanced lives with access to the Māori world including language, culture, community, resources, and land as well as active participation at a global level. (25, p. 79-80) • Some of the women spoke about aspirations for their children and mokopuna to "walk in two worlds", a common rhetoric, most famously articulated by Māori politician Tā Apirana Ngata
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		in the early to the mid-20th century. His often recited proverb encouraged Māori to take hold of the values, beliefs, and knowledge of both Māori and Pākehā cultures in order to flourish in a fast changing world. (25, p. 84) • “The world to me is two lenses, everything to me is two lenses in terms of the Pākehā world, the modern world and bearing in mind the Māori world, but it is easy for me to say that. How are our tamariki able to perceive their world like that? They need to truly know their tribal connection so that they are able to stand proud and be able to walk in those two worlds.” (25, p. 84) • During the wānanga the women referred to cultural notions such as aroha (love, care, and compassion), koha (reciprocal gifting), manaaki tangata (care of people), manaaki whenua (care for the land) and rangatiratanga (self-determination) as Māori ontological terms vital to their wellbeing that they actively seek to pass on to their children. (25, p. 84) • For example, as there is no word in the Māori language for lesbian, Te Awēkotuku herself crafts a new term, ‘wāhine takatāpui,’ in order to describe herself as a Māori lesbian (with ‘takatāpui’ referring to a ‘close companion of the same sex’ (Bach, Luh, & Schult, 2011, p. 28)). (29, p. 8) • Shakespeare pop-up globe on Maori land: First and foremost, if we’re going to talk about ‘tradition’, the current site of the Pop-Up Globe in Aotearoa, a parking lot in the affluent suburb of Ellerslie in Auckland, is actually part of the traditional lands of Ngāti Whātua Orakei iwi (tribe). And if we’re going to talk about doing a ‘traditional’ or ‘historically accurate’ performance, it would probably be in a whare tapere (a pre-colonial house of entertainment in a Māori pa settlement) and be part of an inter-tribal hui (gathering). It would feature multi-faceted, multi-functional performances of dance and song and storytelling, which not only showcase the enormous skills of both male and female performers but also manage to honour tūpuna (ancestors), to narrate the history of whenua (place) and iwi, as a tool for seduction, a forum for anger and politics, a vessel to impart spiritual energy and an opportunity for excellent competition (and more). (31, p. 211-2) • Meri Ngaroto pled with her father and the other chiefs of her hapu for the lives of these manuhiri who were going to be slaughtered. She did so in a metaphorical way, which was also a very Maori way of doing such a thing. In doing so, this is one of these most famous and in my view overused whakatauaki, misunderstood quotations of famous Maori speeches if you like. She made the plea in this way: Hutia te rito o te harakeke Kei hea to komako e ko? Ki mai ki ahau He aha te mea nui o tea o? Maku e ki atu He tangata, he tangata, he tangata If you pluck out the centre shoot of the flax Where will the bellbird sing? If you ask me What is the most important thing in the world? I will reply It is people, it is people, it is people Her metaphor was one about the health and ecosystem of the flax bush as a metaphor for a healthy functioning Maori whanau, haph or iwi unit. The rito is the centre shoot that she refers to and it is where the bellbird, the komako sits and sings and is part of a healthy functioning ecosystem. She says if you take the child out of that flax bush where the child is the centre and the parents and grandparents are the shoots that wrap around and provide nurturing support, love, awhi and tautoko to that child, the whole ecosystem falls apart. What she is saying is that if you kill these people then you will kill not only the living people amongst them, but also their ability to procreate, and the people that they are connected to will be affected. So, when she says the most important thing is people, it's not people in the Western sense of individual human beings. She means the most important thing is whakapapa. (32, p. 22)
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		• The wearing of moko kauae is a bold statement of identity and colonial resistance. In the late 1800s, when women were fighting for their right to vote, Māori women joined the Women's Christian Temperance Union. In doing so, they had to relinquish their right to wear moko kauae (Pihama, 2021). The moko kauae is a symbol reserved for Māori women that connects to Māori genealogy, which determines the natural right to be worn. ... The significance of moko lies in more than its design. When each line is inked on the skin, an invisible line emerges. The visible and unseen lines are the unification of the body and soul, the world of light and the world of spirit (Winitana, 2011). Moko has a history that dates to when Māori lived in two worlds, the spiritual and the physical, and could freely travel between both (Mead, 2003). In the 21st century, there is a resurgence of wāhine wearing moko kauae. This is their journey and it contributes to reinforcing te mana o te wāhine in contemporary society (33, p. 71) • When women are called noa, it does not mean that they have no intrinsic tapu of their own, but that they are free from restriction, especially when it comes to dealing with other tapu ... The same tapu and mana to whakanoa, to make situations noa, is called upon when particular women, sometimes ariki, sometimes first-born, sometimes virgins, are asked to be the first to step into a new meeting house. They are asked to do this in order to make noa, by the power of their apu, any destructive powers. It is not a contradiction therefore to speak of women as noa and tapu. (39, p. 120) • The 13 wāhine who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi were acknowledged clearly, philosophically and metaphorical in the works that were displayed at Takapuna Library February 3rd - 20th 2017 as part of Libraries recognising the significance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 2017. It was important to host Mana Wāhine as Māori women ground our mana wāhine to Papatuanuku the earth mother and her mauri which goes back to the beginning of time.(45, p. 15) • The third objective of this paper was to explore, from a relational perspective, the impact of various identities on the experiences of Māori women in sport leadership. In terms of ethnocultural identity, all of the participants self-identified as Māori. As a result, Māori values and practices such as kotahitanga (unity), whanaungatanga (kinship), manaakitanga (support), wairua (spirituality), tikanga (values), tangata (people), hauora (well-being), iwi (tribes) and mana (status) were incorporated into their everyday activities as managers/leaders. In organizations that were community-focused or catered predominantly to Māori stakeholders, these values and practices were explicitly encouraged as part of organizational culture (e.g., noho marae [workshops], karakia [prayer], waiata [song], kapa haka [performing arts]). In Pākehā organizations, however, incorporating Māori values and practices was less common. (47, p. 340) • In 1987, the then President of the Maori Women's Welfare League, Georgina Kirby, took up the issue of women's participation in the programme. The Past Presidents and current President of the League formed a Women's Development fund and began receiving and distributing funds to Maori women to establish or expand a business. Of the total \$70 million provided to the MANA programme from 1987 to 1992, MWDF has received \$1.3 million. 100% of the women's businesses funded in 1987 and 1988 continue to survive, and some are also expanding. (48, no pg no) • I was learning to stand strong in my feminist and Kai Tahu identity. Knowing my past and my genealogy led to my empowerment. I felt more freedom from the unknown floating feeling, now that I was anchored by tupuna. He mana te matauraka. The framework provided by
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		intersectional feminism helped me to examine three personal identity markers: Māori, wāhine and kowhaea. (51, p. 11) • [National Black Women's Conference 1980]: In September 1980, Evans and Awatere played key roles in bringing together eighty Black women at a National Black Women's Conference to discuss ideas for revolutionary change. Young Maori women who attended brought perspectives developed from experiences in antiracist, Maori civil rights or Maori land rights movements. They were active on feminist issues—equal pay, abortion, contraception, child care and health issues, especially smoking and alcohol consumption (Awatere March 1980: 13). (52, p. 261) • [Workers' Communist League (League) leadership of HART]: Maori women forged alliances with the Workers' Communist League (League) leadership of HART who were also at the forefront of the anti-tour protest movement.[South African rugby team to New Zealand between July and September of 1981] (52, p. 262) • By 1983, the Maori People's Liberation Movement of Aotearoa claimed that most young Maori activists had taken up the demand for Maori sovereignty. And in 1985, Maori unemployed rights activists in the national unemployed and beneficiaries' movement demanded the Treaty of Waitangi be honored, liberation from oppression, and Maori sovereignty (Report 1986). (52, p. 264) • In naming who we are, we demonstrate that our identities are not frozen in the European/British "pre-contact romanticized state"(Sunseri, 2011, p. 157). We are mindful that some people try to site us all within a constructed notion of "authentic" Indigenous woman-hood—whether Māori (McIntosh, 2001;Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999; Sutton Beets 2000)or Indigenous Australian (Fredericks, 2003;Huggins, 1994; Moreton-Robinson, 2000). In doing this, they ignore the contemporary reality that who we are now as women is shaped by the colonial, political and socio-historical contexts of us and our peoples. Restricted understand-ings of Indigenous women do not assist us or our nations, and do not embrace the fluidity needed for the situations we find ourselves in today (Sunseri, 2011). (56, p. 78) • Kwaymullina explains that "we are [a] living, breathing, thinking physical manifestation of our land—a thread in the pattern of creation" (Kwaymullina, 2008,p. 9). Indigenous Australian women have no history of migratory travel from somewhere else. Our history is that we became human in our Country. (56, p. 810) • Madeleine begins to highlight the complexity between how she sees herself, when she wants to identify herself, and how she is 'seen' or identified by others. While she wanted to 'choose' her colleague 'knew' she was Maori and identified her to others as such. Madeleine realizes she is not the sole author of her own subjectivity. In other words, she may not identify as Maori in her institutional statistics but she has been 'identified' (Bhabha, 1994; Butler, 1997; Fuss, 1995). Furthermore, Madeleine is concerned about what identifying, or being identified, as a 'Maori woman scientist' might mean to the institution (57, p. 109) • For example, some of the women in the thesis call themselves 'Maori women' while another sees herself as a "Pakeha with Maori ancestry". Furthermore, identities can change over time, in different contexts or even if you can be identified as being 'Maori' through 'markings'. Such combinations and family circumstances can be important in identity construction. Differences in naming can only be as a result of the corporeal and cultural 'hybridity' that exists in the construction of contemporary colonial subjectivities in Aotearoa New Zealand. ... Marie suggests that she is 'pre-judged' through having the visual markers of being a 'Maori woman'
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		and that this interferes with her identification as a 'scientist'. She notes that her male colleagues do not suffer the same form of alienation. Furthermore, she proposes that even when people cannot 'see her' that her Maori surname is enough to give people the idea that she is not the person to contact. (57, p. 113) • [Roles post colonisation]: I want to place emphasis on the roles that women have played (or in some instances been prevented from playing), not necessarily in ... high profile public ways, but in behind the scenes organisation, support, manaaki and advocacy. The women in question are all firmly embedded in either whanau, hapu or iwi settings - or indeed all of the above, that well encompass the males in their lives. They are a fluid, organic group located across a range of professional, academic, artisan and, latterly, activist contexts; during the course of the struggle they have come together as they have been able depending on a raft of realities including time, energy, specific strengths and strategies and, not least, sheer economics. These women are nurses, teachers, lawyers, writers, poets, artists, community workers, scientists, planners, curators and historians, local body politicians (and hopefully come the next election maybe national politicians) and, of course, academics. Just as importantly, if not more importantly they are mothers, daughters, grandmothers, great grandmothers, sisters, wives, aunts, nieces and cousins. In this capacity they are connected through whakapapa across the generations. In their career roles these women may be regarded as interlocutors for the testimonies of their whanau, hapu, iwi, community; as community members themselves however, they all hold dual, if not multiple roles and positions in relation to the political act of advocacy and testimonial presentation: we've seen that in situations of extreme danger the people who take the greatest risks are often women. They are capable of total selflessness, total courage. When the time comes to make a revolution, women are there in the front lines.... but afterwards of course when it is time to divide up the power, they are inevitably left on the sidelines. (58, p. 119-120) • Ruwhiu (1999) recognizes the integral role that Māori women play in resisting colonialism through carrying on traditional practices and ways of their tūpuna (ancestors). Indigenous women in particular are in a unique position to offer solutions, given their influence in the whānau (family) and as whare matauranga (repositories of knowledge) (Ruwhiu, 1999). (63, p. 148) • A juxtaposition of these two examples will illustrate the strategies of Maori nationalism. The continuing tradition of burying a baby's placenta represents Maori ways as timeless and unchanging, whereas the Treaty of Waitangi suggests just the opposite-their adaptability to new ways of constructing identity. Both plays are necessary to the bid for Maori nationalism. Oppositional nationalism, then, is a braiding of the unchanging and the changing, the predictable and the political. (66, p. 57) • In our work with Māori women we need to recognize that they, like any other community of women, are not a homogeneous group. A number of factors influence Māori women's development: tribal affiliation, social class, sexual preference, knowledge of traditional Māori tikanga, knowledge of the Māori language, rural or urban location, identification on the political spectrum from radical to traditional, place in the family, the level of formal schooling and educational attainments to name but a few. These factors must be taken into account when our women's stories are being researched, and they must be accepted without judgement. There is still destructive debate taking place in some quarters over who are 'real' and, heaven forbid, 'acceptable' Māori women. (74, p. 68)
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		• As a younger Maori woman I have been educated to respect age even when I think my elders are wrong. As a woman from another tribe I have to maintain my tribal mana but respect the tribal mana of the other woman. As a woman whose tribes are from outside the area I am a visitor and have a separate status from those who belong in the area regardless of how long I have lived there. This would be the case even if I had married into the tribe.⁷ With my restricted ability in Maori language my ability to negotiate many of the cultural issues was limited. As a younger Maori woman I was in the position of having more seniority and pay than an older Maori woman, a woman who in the Maori world had the same status as my whaea or mother. All of these differences between us needed to be recognized and worked through (76, p. 95) • Within tikanga Māori (Māori culture), Māori women hold unique roles in the protection of mauri (life force), tapu (sacredness) and whakapapa (genealogy). As a Māori woman I am empowered to state that our cultural essence and survival demand opposition to genetic engineering (GE) and biotechnology. While yet struggling to rescue traditional lands, waters and culture from desecration by colonisation, the assumption of the kaitiaki cloak requires we employ the wisdom of our ancient lores to protect the greatest and creative whole of all - the genome. (Hutchings, 2001: 9) (83, p. 28) • My challenge to you is to make sure that you are reflecting the values that you know to be important. Be more awesome, so those around you can feel safe enough to be who they are meant to be. Be brave enough to be uncomfortable. Be brave enough to fight for sexual and gender diversity education in your children's and grandchildren's schools. Be brave enough to love your whole child, and your whole self. We know we aren't going to fully realise tino rangatiratanga unless Pākehā get a bit uncomfortable and give up some power. It's the same with sexual diversity. (87, p. 145)
	Wāhine Connection to the Land and Kaitiakitanga	• Māori knowing depends on maintaining our bodily connections to the whenua, to our natural environments that prompt and make manifest our embodied knowing. (4, p. 59) • The knowledge systems embedded in the principles of kaitiakitanga 68 are informed by Māori knowledge systems and by practicing them we learn how to sustain our cultural selves and our whenua (4, p. 60) • A history of relationships between mana wahine and ecological consciousness in Aotearoa New Zealand have run parallel for some time. Environmentalism had "a tinge of nationalism as well as moralism" (Belich 530) and became a political issue, force, and a main focus of the Values Party in 1972 (531). The loss of Greenpeace's anti-nuclear protest ship Rainbow Warrior in Auckland Harbour in 1985 in an act of sabotage by French secret agents and the lack of international support in dealing with the incident caused widespread resentment in Aotearoa New Zealand. (24, p. 112) • The Maori women interviewed expressed a connection with the natural environment that is holistic, living and breathing. Many defined two relationships with Papatilanuku, one as her child and one as Papatilanuku herself. (39, p. 22) • Through gardens and small farms, the women are raising awareness within their whānau and community around sustainable agriculture and healthy living. People and communities are more involved in growing their own food through volunteering, or they come and pick their food themselves for a small koha. In all cases, food is being made more widely available to all while encouraging people to get in touch with where their food comes from. The gardens

		or farms enhance food security and contribute to the local economy. Key to such community-based solutions to food insecurity is community control over locally grown food and defining food systems on their own terms. (63, p. 151) • For the older generation of women, Hanui and Ellen, growing food is what they have always known. They were brought up in a time where they lived off the land, rurally, where their family farmed for their livelihood. Their world, though changing due to the impacts of colonization, is true to the Māori way of living. This is important for many reasons, one being that the elders serve as role models for the younger generation (63, p. 151) • First and foremost it's [GM] about my responsibilities as a kaitiaki for my whanau, my hapū and my iwi and those are responsibilities I take seriously. The role of kaitiakitanga is inextricably linked to whakapapa, and basically that role ultimately determines what I do in my life and what I do in relation to my children and future generations. So for me, GM represents a threat to all those things that are important to me as Māori because it has the capacity to basically undermine all the things that are important to me as Māori. (83, p. 31) • I've got this image of us being tied to Papatūānuku, we're part of the earth, how we perceive ourselves here and part of our traditions. I have this image of being part of her, that we stand on her in the sense of being part of her and so we see ourselves being tied to a bigger universe. (83, p. 32) • The term 'hine wairoto' represents 'te wai o roto i te wahine' (literally 'the water/liquid within the woman'), thereby investing the 'Hine' in the young girl whose femaleness is in its infancy; she is at the rudimentary stage of becoming a wahine, a woman. The noble, ariki qualities passed on through the generations to the child are recognised when she is addressed as 'ehine kahurangi ariki' and 'e hine ariki rangi'. Her connection with the natural environment is secured with these words of welcome and finally her name is spoken, Hinerauwharangi. As the child grows, the singing of tribal songs instils a sense of history and identity in the mind and the very psyche of the young person. Close relatives would massage the child from infancy through to puberty - yet another way in which the physical and spiritual dimensions are nurtured. (86, p. 78)
	Wāhine Perspectives on Intersectional Oppression within Māori Contexts	• Donna Awatere (1984, 45) made the important point that "the oppression of women does not exist in a vacuum: economic and racial privileges cannot be separate from sexual power". The results of these intersecting oppressions are particularly devastating for Māori women (Hutchings 2002; Pihama 2001; Tuhiwai Smith 1992, 1999).⁹ Almost without exception, geographic scholarship on Māori women's embodied experiences of space and place remains virtually invisible.¹⁰ (3, p. 3) • Māori women's knowledges have been defined as "other" and are virtually invisible. The mana wahine of Māori mythology and wairua has been marginalised and pacified by colonial masculinist ideologies. Ignoring Māori women's knowledges in mythology, tikanga and wairua discourses is not a harmless omission rather it contains a political imperative that maintains the hegemony of colonialism and patriarchy. (3, p. 4) • I knew that Maori women lived out lives shaped by violence, knowledge that has haunted me since before I was born. (5, p. 76) • In examining Māori-friendly and Māori-centred approaches to addressing Māori women in institutional contexts, we recognise that there are those within the inner sanctums of research

		fraternities that have also questioned the arbitrary constraints of traditional approaches to the advancement of knowledge and truth claims. (18, p. 23) • The predominant portion of my work was criminal and I soon found myself in the then Supreme Court defending gang members. At one time I was defending the Black Power, the Mongrel Mob and the Head Hunters, although not all in the same trial as you will understand. Overall, I was to spend upwards of 12 or so years doing such work and it gave me some great experiences. It also gave me real insight into humanity at all levels and I think a perspective on society and a sense of what is, and is not, important in this transitory life of ours. (19, no pg no) • The women in this research recognise that they are both a product of, and participants in, a colonised existence that is overlaid with socio political and historical complexity. Despite this, they refuse to sit back, passively hoping that their children might live as Māori; instead, they are active, and activist, in their choices to live well, to reclaim, restore, and self determine ways of living as Māori for themselves and future generations. (25, p. 87) • In Aotearoa/New Zealand, for example, a Pākehā woman, no matter what degree of empathy she invests in the process, can never know what it is to be a Māori girl. And for Māori girls, it is likely that the consciousness of being Māori in a white, colonised world comes before the consciousness of being a kōtiro in a patriarchal world. Intersectionality cannot entirely bridge this gap of phenomenological understanding, but it can orient our attention to differences in how women's bodies are perceived and positioned in space. This pertains to Māori and Pākehā women's historical positioning in Aotearoa/New Zealand. (29, p. 6) • A mana wahine agenda for science provides guidelines and establishes a science framework that positions mana wahine as a living dynamic knowledge and analysis. It is not driven by profit rather it is centred on valuing diversity in people, knowledge and life forms over profit. It recognises the oppressing and dominant role that western profit-driven science has played and works towards a science based around emancipation and a holistic and interconnected world. (34, p. 23) • This article highlights the importance of Mihi Bassett's story coming to light. Her case gives rise to important questions about the way we treat some of the "most vulnerable and disadvantaged citizens" in our society—wāhine Māori.⁴ While the Minister and the Department's response to her case was positive, in that the proposed changes were, and are, necessary, they must also be understood in the historical and contemporary context of the New Zealand corrections system. (46, p. 47) • On the other hand, the second camp argues that the Minister's directions and Corrections' actions in the short to medium term are positive steps to improving the care of Māori women, but they could go much further and implement a "Mana Wāhine" approach. A Mana Wāhine approach is one that is grounded in Kaupapa Māori, and places wāhine Māori, and the mana and primary concerns of wāhine Māori, at its centre. ... Ultimately, this article explains why legislation, policies and practices relating to wāhine in the criminal justice and corrections systems need to be informed by Mana Wāhine theory, in order to better recognise and address the complex needs and realities of wāhine in New Zealand prisons today. (46, p. 48) • Corrections staff would request the women to relocate "peacefully" from their cell.¹⁵ If they refused, staff would undertake a "cell extraction". This involved hoses pumping "Cell Buster" pepper-spray gas under the cell door from a fire extinguisher-like canister, allowing up to six officers in full body armour to enter and forcibly remove the woman once she was
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		incapacitated.¹⁶ The women experienced “an intense burning sensation” and “struggled to breathe”, sometimes forcing them to place their heads in the toilet bowl to get air.¹⁷ Mihi suffered four such cell extractions during her time in the Prison Management Unit.¹⁸ (46, p. 50) • What set Mihi's case apart was that her lawyer argued that Mihi's mistreatment at ARWCF should be taken into account as personal mitigating factors. Judge McNaughton was prepared to accept that, given the conditions in which Mihi was serving her sentence, “what motivated this arson was a protest rather than any intention to cause massive property damage or injure other inmates or staff”.³⁵ However, in order to determine whether her treatment warranted a further discount, or a concurrent (as opposed to a cumulative) sentence, his Honour invited further evidence about the treatment at the prison.³⁶ (46, p. 52) • Before handing down the sentence, Judge McNaughton spoke to the pain and mamae⁵⁰ of the prison environment becoming a place of further punishment and abuse for the wāhine, and what that means at a societal level:⁵¹ The measure of a civilised society is how it treats its most vulnerable and disadvantaged citizens, and we judges know from experience that Māori women prisoners are amongst our most vulnerable and disadvantaged and damaged citizens, particularly those women who have grown up in a gang environment as you and Karma did. (46, p. 54) • There are three women's prisons operating in New Zealand today: Arohata Women's Prison, in Tawa, Wellington (Arohata); the Christchurch Women's Prison (CWP); and ARWCF, in Wiri, Manukau, where Mihi Bassett was held at the time of her offending. (46, p. 57) • It explained that in addition to the high prevalence of PTSD among women in prison generally, Māori women also suffered historical and intergenerational trauma;⁷⁶ that 70 per cent of Māori women in prison had literacy and numeracy levels lower than NCEA level 1 (compared to 60 per cent for all women in prison);⁷⁷ and that Corrections needed to be “culturally responsive to meet women's needs”.⁷ (46, p. 59) • Today, Māori women are significantly overrepresented in the prison population and are the subject of disproportionately harsh treatment—such as the punitive use of segregation and pepper spray—and stories like Mihi Bassett's are just “a feature of an outdated colonial system”. (46, p. 83) • There is a popularly held and often internalised belief that Māori are ‘naturally’ gifted in physical pursuits (Hokowhitu, 2003b). Assumptions about Māori giftedness in sport appear to be supported by the latest 2007/2008 Active NZ Survey (SPARC, 2008a), where participation in organized sport and recreation events is higher among Māori (44.2%) than the total population (36.9%). A higher percentage of Māori are also members of clubs/centres (37.7%) and receive instruction for sport/ recreation (45.1%) compared to the overall population (34.9% and 39.9%). Information on Māori involvement in organized sport and sport-related initiatives has come predominantly from descriptive surveys and programme reviews conducted by the Māori Women's Welfare League (Murchie, 1984), the Hillary Commission for Sport and Recreation (Hillary Commission, 1998; Reid, 1992; Rewi, 1992), later replaced by Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC, 2001), and the Ministry of Māori Development (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1993, 1995a, 1995b). Many of these surveys and reviews are merely functional and operational in their approach, and thus remain uncritical of the role of sport in race and ethnic relations. In addition, there are no national statistics quantifying Māori involvement in sport management or governance. (47, p. 333)
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		• The impact of gambling on women is a serious matter in New Zealand and if you look at the pattern of Māori women and smoking there is a similar pattern to Māori women and gambling. Māori women used to have the highest prevalence of smoking in the world and this was reflected in our lung cancer rates (Robinson & Harris, 2007). We now see the effects of the increasing use of pokie machines by Māori women; rising crime committed by wahine Māori, even from older women who are grandmothers and now the rapid growth of Māori women and imprisonment (Abbott & McKenna, 2000). ... I too have been considering this question while recognising that that addictions are often related to pohara wairuatanga, that is, spiritual poverty. Addictions, from my analyses of interviews with problem gamblers relate to personal trauma, boredom or looking for excitement. From my research related to gambling as an emerging public health issue for Māori, I have found that we all have the potential to develop addictions if we feel we live unhappy lives. (55, p. 47) • As a result the subject position of 'Maori woman scientist' is not available to them and the women are forced to construct their identity from 'fragments'. (57, p. 110) • Although Pacific men are more likely to drink than Pacific women, alcohol consumption overall amongst Pacific nations tends to be lower than that of other westernized countries (Cagney & Alliston, 2009, p. 4.6). This has led some researchers to suggest that the lower number of Pacific drinkers is partly due to cultural factors such as the influence of the church, as well as the lack of alcohol in Pacific nations until contact with European settlers (Huakau et al., 2005 cited in Cagney & Alliston, 2009, p. 4.7). Cagney and Alliston (2009) also note that in a contemporary context, alcohol for Pacific Peoples signifies the modern, sophisticated, 'good life', with urbanization facilitating heavier alcohol consumption. (62, p. 102) • In a recent meta-analysis of New Zealand survey data between 1995 and 2011, Māori and Pacific females aged 16–64 were found to consume more per drinking occasion than non-Māori/Pacific females (Huckle, Yeh, Lin, & Jensen, 2013). However, fewer Pacific females consumed alcohol in 2011 than either Māori or the general population females. Although when they did drink, Pacific females consumed more on a typical occasion than Māori and non-Māori drinkers. Māori females' prevalence of drinking increased over the period 2000–2011 among the younger age group (16–24) only, with no increases in the frequency of drinking occasions nor the amount consumed per occasion within this age group. The data for Pacific females also reveal some interesting trends; frequency of drinking occasions showed no change between 1995 and 2011, the typical quantity consumed per occasion remained stable for all female Pacific age groups between 2003 and 2011, with no statistically significant change in the proportion of female Pacific drinkers consuming 5+ drinks at least weekly (Huckle et al., 2013). The data show, perhaps surprisingly, that young female Māori and Pacific drinking patterns have remained stable over the last decade, although these groups do drink more per typical occasion than non-Māori/Pacific females. (62, p. 104) • For young Pacific women in particular, a determined drunkenness which calls upon them to behave as if they are free and liberated (individualized) subjects, sits in tension with a strong sense of family and community, church and tradition, where notions of femininity are highly conservative and 'respectable'. For young Māori and Pacific women situated within a 'dual cultural context' (Bayley & Hurcombe, 2010, p. 13), their experiences of alcohol consumption develop within a contradictory framework in terms of both gender and ethnicity, further complicated by cultural practices. On the one hand, Māori and Pacific cultures encourage alcohol consumption in terms of gifting and being a good host, while on the other alcohol
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		consumption is discouraged, especially for young women. Young women's experiences of alcohol may therefore be intensified by cultural factors but they can also be mitigated by cultural factors. For Pacific young women, in particular, the idea of 'carrying your family name with you' (Suaalii-Sauni et al., 2012, p. 7) was a powerful influence on their practices most notably at cultural events and festivals. (62, p. 113) • It is an established fact that Māori women are socio-economically worse off on a range of measures than women of other ethnicities.¹ Māori women are particularly disadvantaged in employment, even relative to Māori men. For example, young Māori women under 25 have an unemployment rate of 23.6 per cent. (64, p. 321) • To sum up, while individual experiences vary, the evidence above suggests that a Māori woman in New Zealand stands a greater chance of encountering discrimination in accessing paid work on a range of grounds flowing from intersecting factors: on the grounds of family responsibility, as a woman and as an individual of Māori ethnicity. This discrimination may be a result of individual unconscious bias or overt discrimination. This is not simply attributable to individuals as it is tied to systemic disadvantage stemming from historical factors. Discrimination and inequitable access to paid work translate to low earnings and related socio economic disadvantage. One unfortunate consequence of this is that it brings more Māori women into contact with the welfare system. In June 2013, 43.3 percent of those receiving Sole Parent Support were Māori women.³⁶ (64, p. 327) • It is not enough to understand that Maori women are at the bottom of the social heap. Understanding has not and does not prevent violence, sexual abuse or other forms of oppression which are occurring within whanau. The victim in violent relationships has ultimately been the whanau or the whole extended family unit. These units have frequently been torn apart by the actions of individuals who live within them. The individual, however, is not the central unit. It is the whanau which bears the long-term shame and suffers the indignities of public knowledge. (73, p. 46) • Most Māori children probably feel pretty safe talking to their parents about racism that they see or hear, and asking for help understanding or dealing with it. However, almost all queer children are born to heterosexual parents, who have no idea what it's like to grow up queer in a homophobic society, and who don't know that their children will be queer. The parents of queer children may have no idea how to protect them from the messages they will get, or even that they need to. The parents may themselves be homophobic. (87, p. 140) • The question of whether heterosexuality is more tika than other ways of loving or relating or having sex with one other seems ridiculous to me. I can't imagine a kaupapa-based argument that justifies marginalising people based on who they are attracted to. (87, p. 141) • Because we assume that every child will grow up to be heterosexual, we don't bother to protect them from hate or carelessness. We let them see sexual and gender diversity being mocked or compared to paedophilia, or hear their queer whanaunga being described as disgusting, as if this has no effect. Tolerance actually allows intolerance to flourish. (87, p. 143)
Theme 7: Wāhine Equality with Males -	Historical Equality and Complementary	• The roles of men and women, while distinct, were not mutually exclusive, nor were there thought to be particular hierarchies between men and women (Jahnke 1997). This is evidenced by the lack of gendered pronouns in the Māori language, 'ia' meaning 'he' or 'she' and 'tōna/tana' translated as 'his' or 'hers'. Further, words such as rangatira, atua, ariki and

Historical Roles and Contemporary Struggles	Roles in Māori Society	tohunga are not gender specific (although have often been co-opted to refer to Māori men) (Pihama 2001). (2, p. 55) • Cosmology, genealogy, myths, language usage, customary sayings, practices and comparative indigenous perspectives are all referenced to support the argument that Maori culture, at least in theory, advocated complementary and interdependent roles for men and women. (24, p. 109) • Mikaere links this tapu to the broader power and position of women in society,` explaining that women had many important social and spiritual ritual roles in traditional Maori society as a result of their tapu and mana. This meant that women were a powerful force in society, such that it is "indisputable that their female presence makes the difference between life and death". (25, p. 23) • If the first part of my thesis is that the position of wahine Maori in te ao Maori was significant and equal, different but equal, to that of tane Maori, there is plenty of evidence that tells us that this was the case. If we start right back with wahine Maori in creation stories, and the starting point of a duotheistic, a two god creation story, with the primordial parents of tangata Maori, and of te ao marama, the world of light and living in which we live, being Ranginui and Papatuanuku, the Sky Father and Earth Mother. The importance of the balance between male and female tracing right back from human whakapapa to that relationship. The first human being created by one of their children, the atua Tane Mahuta, was a female, Hineahuone. The first piece of evidence about that normative ideal of gender balance is evident in the Maori cosmogeny and creation stories. (32, p. 12-3) • Women in traditional societies were not restricted in their roles or their leadership aspirations. Many attained Wahine- Ariki status, designating them as tribal leaders and tohunga, with the ability to create spiritual tapu and noa realms as desired. Women could therefore set aside nikau plantations for their arts and deem that locale tapu (sacred). The areas would be identified with tall stone monuments called Tokatoka (36, p. 28) • The cosmological narratives offer some insights into the nature of gender relations in customary Maori society and reveal how these relations were embedded in cultural values, attitudes and practices. The position, status and role of women as powerful, autonomous, independent beings and as bearers of knowledge are recurring themes. These themes are reinforced in tribal histories of whakapapa, waiata, whakatauki and korero tawhito transmitted through the generations by both men and women. This perspective provides a basis upon which to examine the lives and experiences of Maori women today. The way they experience their lives, how they see themselves, how they understand themselves in relation to different groups of women and men, and how they seek solutions to problems arising from their diverse realities within the dualistic world views of te ao Maori and te ao Pakeha. The cosmological themes that are identified in tribal histories may still be applicable to Maori women working and living in contemporary society. Constructions of women and men in customary Maori society, were grounded in a system of tribal practices, beliefs, attitudes and values derived from cosmological genealogies and narratives that codified and defined the origins of the world, basic elements of human culture and behaviour, the rituals of encounter and the relationships between human beings and nature (Walker, 1990:19-23). Analysis of the Genesis traditions links the centrality of land to the physical, spiritual and material well-being of Maori; the specific relationship of women and land and the position, status and
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		role of women in society derived from that relationship (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988:158-9. Jenkins, 1992:39). (38, p. 28) • The high regard with which women were held in society is exemplified by the non-sexist nature of the Maori language. It is significant that there are no demeaning terms for 'woman'. Kinship terms denote a persons status or endearment. For example, a wife or husband, is known by the phrase taku hoa rangatira, 'my executive partner'. Pronouns like 'he/she' and 'his/her' are non-gendered terms, ia and tana/ti5na. The term tuahine refers to a revered relationship extended by men to their sisters or female cousins (Kupenga et al, 1990: 10). Today this term is used as a mark of respect accorded to women by men of the same generation who are not necessarily linked by kinship ties. After marriage women retained their independence, identity and social power. They kept their own name and all their inherited rights to land and property (Makareti, 1986:80. Pere, 1988: 9) which gave them economic power. "With the exception of slaves (male and female), the women were never regarded as chattels or possessions" (Pere, 1988: 9). Indeed, power relations between women and men emphasised principles of complementarity and interdependence that were necessary for survival. Survival included the means to procreate. (38, p. 28-9) • A Maori woman had autonomy which gave her personal freedom to move within the boundaries of tribal custom that applied to men as well. It gave her the freedom to maintain her own identity and to exercise control of her own body. It has already been mentioned that women kept their own name after marriage (Makareti, 1986:80) many choosing to remain with their husbands within their own hapu. All matters to do with menstruation and childbirth were controlled by women under the benevolent care of Hine-te-iwaiwa (Ibid:119. Pere, 1982:13). (38, p. 32) • The partnership between tangata and whenua was premised on the collective responsibility of the descendants, men and women. As guardians and custodians their task was to work to protect the land against exploitation in return for the shared benefits of the material, physical and economic resources within clearly defined boundaries delineated by natural and topographical features. (38, p. 32) • Within this context tribal rights to land and the identity of a people were established. Women were not excluded from rights to land because whakapapa and not gender is the governing factor. Mana whenua could also be inherited through women thus establishing their access to economic power (Mahuika, 1977). (38, p. 32) • The greatest neglect by mainstream broadcasting over the years has been the lack of coverage given to the role Maori women have played at both the practical and political levels in almost all programmes that have been successful. There are good reasons why Maori women play such an important role, but they are not often remarked on. There are also reasons why the media expects and assumes that men speak for Maori communities but they are not so good. The focus on men is due to the laziness of the media in relation to actually looking at the leadership structures of Maori communities. A few of the people who have become prominent in Maori affairs have backgrounds that journalists simply will not talk about, of personal violence and violation particularly directed at Maori women (48, no pg no) • Traditional Māori leadership was either inherited through genealogical links or ascribed based on the display of outstanding personal qualities and achievements or ability. Leadership was not at all gender orientated. This is particularly so in Ngāti Porou (East Coast tribe in the North Island) where women are traditionally known to assume key leadership roles in the iwi.
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		For example; there are 58 marae (traditional Māori complexes where particular rituals occur including rituals of encounter) within the Ngāti Porou tribal boundary; all but two of these are named after women, reflecting the dominance of women in the tribe. (50, p. 5) • Yet this film [Whale Rider] has failed to recognise the importance of women in Ngāti Porou. The few examples of female leaders of Ngāti Porou discussed previously are only a small sample of this tribe's tradition of acknowledging the status of women. This tradition has always been prevalent from traditional society through to contemporary Māori society. It is well known amongst all Māori iwi that Ngāti Porou is the most pro-female iwi of them all. The film contradicts the histories and traditions of this iwi that it is based on. (50, p. 6) • [Whale Rider:] In Māori society, the relationship between a grandparent and grandchild is described as being sacrosanct. It is about tiaki (protection), aroha and manaaki. The primary role of grandparents in the whānau was to raise, protect and teach their grandchildren. Parents ensured the physical well-being of the child while the grandparents provided spiritual, mental, educational and emotional sustenance for the mokopuna. The concept of whānau is represented in the fan shaped dimensions of the harakeke (flax bush or phormiumtenax). Koro Paka toward his newly born granddaughter is best understood in a cultural context as not one of rejection because he dismissed the female in favour of the male; rather it was one of protection and love for his granddaughter. (50, p. 7) • People are considered the most important objects in the Māori world and the survival and continued procreation of the whānau rests on the protection of women and their whare tangata. Exposing women to tapu areas puts them, and future generations, at risk. Kanga (curses) were used when whānau, hapū, or iwi allowed their women to tread in these sacred areas. One such area is the marae ātea (the courtyard in front of the main house on the marae). The marae ātea is recognised as being the domain of Tūmataunga, the God of warfare and people. The female role in this context is assigned to the karanga (call), which in traditional society was executed by a kuia (elderly woman) because she had more often than not finished her child-bearing days. This role was not given to young women for fear that kanga would be placed on their whare tangata, leaving them barren, thus extinguishing a genealogical line in the whānau. (50, p. 8) • The marae ātea is recognised as being the domain of Tūmataunga, the God of warfare and people. The female role in this context is assigned to the karanga (call), which in traditional society was executed by a kuia (elderly woman) because she had more often than not finished her child-bearing days. This role was not given to young women for fear that kanga would be placed on their whare tangata, leaving them barren, thus extinguishing a genealogical line in the whānau. This traditional cultural practice was distorted in the film, as Paikea was invited by her grandmother to perform the karanga. This is simply inconceivable in Māori society, for her grandmother was exposing her to the risk of kanga. (50, p. 8) • There are numerous accounts of the teina acquiring the mantle of rangatira for their ability to lead. Māori culture was not fixed in its position that only the tuakana can claim their inherited rights. Leadership fell to those who had the right characteristics to be leaders, regardless of age and gender. One such example of a teina assuming a leadership role is the first character introduced in this article, Māui-tikitiki-a-Taranga. Māui was the pōtiki (last born) of five brothers, yet through his many achievements demonstrated and acquired the position of leader within his whānau. (50, p. 9)
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		• Lilly, [character in "The auntie"s story] however, acknowledges the fact that takatāpui [same sex relationships] already existed in pre-colonial times and that homosexual orientations were not introduced to New Zealand by European settlers. (53, p. 62) • The relationships between male and female, life and death, night and day originate from a Maori cosmological context that is not organised so distinctively. These pairs are juxtaposed in Maori cosmology suggesting something akin to 'yin-yang' interdependency rather than an opposition. This interdependency is reflected in some Maori feminists' views of the relationship between Maori men and women (59, p. 305) • Some women have argued that our traditional roles can best be described as complementary to the role of males. If this is the case, then we are involved in a struggle to establish equilibrium or balance with the male elements. It is a struggle because our spirituality is dynamic - it waxes and wanes, ebbs and flows, and transforms itself. In order to achieve states of complementarity, the female elements have to be active: they have to neutralise;they have to procreate; and at times they have to destroy.Other women have argued that there was never such a notion as complementary roles.Their contention is that males have asserted a position of dominance against which women have had to struggle. This interpretation may account for the variation in tribal conditions,with some women perhaps having been able to wrest greater autonomy from males and redefine roles and relationships and traditions (73, p. 46-7) • As with other elements of protocol, the kawa that relates to women during pōwhiri on the marae ātea varies between tribes. In most tribes women do not whaikōrero on the maraeātea. But, this is not the case for all tribes. Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Kahungunu are two tribal areas in which some women can and do whaikōrero. The explanation for the differing tikanga pertaining to whaikōrero and the role of women lies deep in the history of each tribe. Research into tribal differences in kawa is necessary if we are to make an educated analysis of this issue. (74, p. 77) • The traditional Maori view was that violence towards your wife was an affront to her and her whanau, to be punished and compensated accordingly. These values held sway even into this century. In Ruatoki in the 1920s there was an instance of a wife who was beaten by her husband. She returned to her own people to complain of what had happened. They came as a group to Ruatoki and asked for the husband to be given over to them to be dealt with. The people at Ruatoki, who were whanau to the husband, couldn't give him up because of the familial responsibility that they owed to him. In the end the children of the marriage were given to the woman and her whanau and compensation of 5000 pounds was paid, an absolutely huge sum for a tiny community in those days. The man who had caused all the trouble was then dealt with by the Ruatoki community and required to repay them as best he might.³¹This incident implies a world view and values quite different to those of the current dominant group in society (and the current legal system). In pre-colonial Maori society, aman's home was not his castle. The community intervened to prevent and punish violence against one's partner in a very straightforward way. Different social dynamics operated to those that now operate in society in general, including the Maori community. That changes a direct result of colonisation. (79, 178) • The roles of men and women in traditional Māori society can be understood only in the context of the Māori world view, which acknowledged the natural order of the universe, the interrelationship or whanaungatanga of all living things to one another and to the
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		environment, and the overarching principle of balance. Both men and women were essential parts in the collective whole, both formed part of the whakapapa that linked Māori people back to the beginning of the world, and women in particular played a key role in linking the past with the present and the future. The very survival of the whole was absolutely dependent upon everyone who made it up, and therefore each and every person within the group had his or her own intrinsic value. They were all a part of the collective; it was therefore a collective responsibility to see that their respective roles were valued and protected. Female strength formed part of the core of Māori existence, and was sourced in the power of female sexual and reproductive functions. This emerged clearly in the cosmogonic accounts, the potency of female sexuality being implicit in the womb symbolism of Te Kore and Te Pō and in the birth of Papatūānuku and Ranginui's children into the world of light, Te Ao Mārama. (80, p. 6) • She points out that Māori women were not regarded as chattels or possessions, that they retained their own names upon marriage, that their children were free to identify with the kinship group of either or both parents, that they dressed in similar garments to the men, and that conception was not associated with sin or childbearing with punishment and suffering but that these were uplifting and a normal part of life.¹⁴ In line with the centrality of female sexuality to Māori existence, Māori women celebrated their femaleness with confidence, both expecting and exercising sexual autonomy. (81, p. 8) • Pere also points out that assault on a woman, be it sexual assault or otherwise, was regarded as extremely serious and could result in death or, almost as bad, in being declared "dead" by the community and ignored from then on.¹⁵ Instances of abuse against women and children were regarded as whānau concerns and action would inevitably be taken against the perpetrator. (81, p. 8) • Traditionally, therefore, the whānau was a woman's primary source of support. Her "marriage" did not entail a transferral of property from her father to her spouse. She remained a part of the whānau. Even if she went to live with her husband's whānau, she remained a part of her whānau, to whom her in-laws were responsible for her well-being. They were to ensure that she was well-treated and to support her. In cases where misconduct was shown, divorce was relatively simple so long as the correct procedures were followed. Divorce carried no stigma, and any issues as to custody and ongoing support of children were sorted out within the whānau context. (81, p. 8-9) • The absence of distinction between private and public domains in the context of family arrangements protected and affirmed women. Kuni Jenkins describes the interaction of a couple and their children with the rest of the whānau in the following terms: In her cultural role the Māori woman was part of a community. The home unit was part of the whole kāinga. Grandmothers, aunts and other females and male elders were responsible for rearing the children of the kainga. The natural parents were not the sole care-givers ... The routines of the whānau were such that couples could not be isolated to lead independent lifestyles. Their communal living required constant contact and interaction with other members of the tribe in a concerted effort to keep the affairs of the group buoyant and operational.¹⁶ (81, p. 9) • As valued members of their whānau, women were affirmed and supported throughout their lives. The sharing of work amongst the whānau enabled women of child-bearing years to develop their strengths and expertise in a range of areas and to fulfil leadership roles. (81, p. 9)
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		• Though the role of ruahine ⁹ may have altered (some of her tasks taken over by Christian ministers, or doctors and midwives) on the marae, kuia and some younger women are still placed in the role of ruahine and perform ritual functions including karanga and waiata. Women continue to compose waiata to commemorate certain events and to express their emotions. The role of manaaki tāngata (hospitality) is maintained by women extending hospitality to visitors, some taking part in the formal kawa (ritual) process of welcoming the manuhiri, and others involving themselves in the preparation of food. The entertainment of visitors is an art at which women excel. In the meeting house the whāriki (finely woven mats) are laid out in accordance with age-old custom and the bedding is made ready for the people. If the occasion is a tangi then the tūpāpaku (deceased) is surrounded by women, and tended with great care; this particular function links women with te whare aituā. The old craft of weaving whāriki and cloaks has survived with many women learning to weave, and so examples of these taonga (precious items) are still to be found in wharehui (meeting houses) today. (84, p. 52) • The children of nobility, as future leaders of the tribal group, were generally treated particularly well, as it was believed that they would ensure the survival of their people. In traditional times, chiefly, rangatira women were accorded due respect and special attention was paid to their nutritional needs and comfort and to their spiritual wellbeing. The kuia, older women, would give wise counsel to the younger generations, particularly when the younger women were unwell, or moving through the various stages of the life cycle, as in this case, giving birth to a child.⁶ Such counsel was provided within all sectors of Māori society. (86, p. 77) • Women surrounded the body of the deceased, and were the chief mourners at a tangi. The group of mourners approaching the body would usually be led by the women of the party, with the men following.⁹ The foundation for this positioning in the group was that women were regarded as the puna roimata, the spring of compassion, or quite literally, fount of tears. Their spiritual connection with Papatuanuku and Hinenuitepo also meant that they were able to liaise closely with the spiritual realm through karanga, when the women would raise their voices in a high-pitched tone, calling to the dead. The high frequency of sound was said to be heard by the spirits. On a more practical level, the stirring wail prompted the physical release of the iwi's grief. By virtue of the fact, too, that women housed the whare tangata, and were connected cosmogonically with te whare aituā (through Hinenuitepo and ultimately Papa), they were destined to play these particular roles in the tangi process. In considering the modern context, my observation is that Māori women continue to maintain many of their grandmothers' roles in everyday life: in the home, on the marae, as well as in places of employment and recreation. The fundamental role of woman remains as creator and mother, thus fulfilling the generative function previously carried out by Papa, Hineteiwaiwa, Hinerauwharangi and the many other goddesses. Women are still regarded as te whare tangata. Though the role of ruahine may have altered (some of her tasks taken over by Christian ministers, or doctors and midwives), on the marae, kuia and some younger women are still placed in the role of ruahine and perform ritual functions including karanga and waiata. (86, p. 79) • I begin with the words of an ancient haka that some say was the first ever composed (Karetu, 1993, p. 15). It is attributed to our beloved atua wahine, Hineteiwaiwa, who with a war party of up to 40 women performed it to rout out of a crowd the murderer Kae, marking him for death. (87, p. 124) According to Pere, menstruating women were free to enter any of the
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		houses and, whilst they bled, the men would cook special meals for them. Another woman, raised by learned kuia, commented on the same, remarking that in her tribal area menstruating women would go to the whare kōhanga, the birthing house, to rest. Men were free to come and go from this space and it was their duty to prepare food for the women. Hinewirangi Kohu also stated that menstruating women in some tribal areas retired to the whare kōhanga in the past, to rest and to learn. According to Kohu, this space was a whare wānanga, a learning house of women where matrilineal knowledge traditions were handed down the generations (Kohu, personal communication, July 16, 2010). Similarly, Te Wai Hohaia stated that in Taranaki the women would retire to a space that could be considered the original women's whare wānanga. Because workload eased off throughout menstruation, it was considered a good time for in-depth wānanga, kōrero, learning, teaching, resting and nurturing. Karakia, whakapapa and waiata were absorbed in these spaces, as during this time "you are at your best for those things, in tune with the natural elements" (Hohaia, personal communication, August 18, 2010). (87, 128) • Whilst there are tribal variations, there is consistency in the claim that our tīpuna whāea (ancestresses) were regarded as being in a sacred state when menstruating. This relinquished them from their daily chores and community responsibilities. Pere explains that so-called menstrual "prohibitions" were a time when women could rest. Menstruating women did not enter the gardens to perform work, set traps, or gather kaimoana (seafood) because menstruation was a time of rest and nurturance that was supported by the whānau. In a society motivated by working toward the wellbeing of the collective, menstruation must have provided a welcome reprieve from the daily demands of community living. (87, p. 129) • Rangimarie Rose Pere reminds us, in her recollections of childhood, that her elders set the example of men and women respecting and supporting each other, and working alongside one another. She considers her Māori ancestresses, prior to the impact of Christianity, to have been extremely liberated in comparison to her English ancestresses. She also points out that Māori women were not regarded as chattels or possessions, that they retained their own names upon marriage, and that their children were free to identify with the kinship group of either or both parents. Additionally, she states, that they dressed in similar garments to the men, and that conception was not associated with sin or childbearing with punishment and suffering. Rather, those aspects were seen as uplifting and a regular part of life (Pere, 1987). Makereti Papakura (1938) supports Pere's recollections in her own, where she states that upon marriage both men and women retained their original names and that each child had their own name as well - not taking on the name of either of their parents. (92, p. 183-4) • The point I am emphasising here is that there are varying ways in which roles and relationships are negotiated, and the assertion by Māori women is that we are connected in multiple and powerful ways, all of which are embodied within us and within our understanding of Mana Wahine. Clear ways of understanding these relationships lie within the cultural frameworks of whakapapa and whānaungatanga. This means that any analysis that is grounded upon Mana Wahine needs to be grounded upon these fundamental cultural templates. (93, p. 194) • To acknowledge the many ways in which Māori talk about various stages of life is to recognise the complex ways that our people have always viewed roles and relationships. The terms kōtiro, hine, tamawahine, tuakana, teina, tamāhine, tuahine, wahine, whaea, ruahine, kuia, kaumatua all relate to differing stages of life and to the various relationships that exist (Nepe,
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		1991). Some relate specifically to female essences. Others relate to the inter-relationships between people within whānau. Similarly, there are a range of terms that relate to various stages for Māori men; tamatāne, tāne, tūngāne, tuakana, teina, matua, koroua, koroheke, kaumatua. Again, these are just some examples there are many more that define relationships for Māori. Equally some are related specifically to various stages of life and others to roles and relationships. The point I am making here is that there is not, as we are often presented with, a simplistic dualistic or oppositional relationship between Māori women and Māori men but there are varying ways in which roles and relationships are negotiated. (93, p. 195) • If the first part of my thesis is that the position of wahine Maori in te ao Maori was significant and equal, different but equal, to that of tane Maori, there is plenty of evidence that tells us that this was the case. If we start right back with wahine Maori in creation stories, and the starting point of a duotheistic, a two god creation story, with the primordial parents of tangata Maori, and of te ao marama, the world of light and living in which we live, being Ranginui and Papatuanuku, the Sky Father and Earth Mother. The importance of the balance between male and female tracing right back from human whakapapa to that relationship. The first human being created by one of their children, the atua Tane Mahuta, was a female, Hineahuone. The first piece of evidence about that normative ideal of gender balance is evident in the Maori cosmogeny and creation stories (32, p. 11-12) • The core identity of women, not only in te ao Maori but in the female gender worldwide and across cultures, is this concept of nga whare tangata: the houses of humanity. All human beings come from a whare tangata, come from a woman. The role and status of women as mothers, as nurturers, as carers, and of kuia or older menopausal women as repositories of knowledge. (32, p. 13) • The balance within tikanga was evident in the speaking roles ascribed to women. You're probably well aware, particularly from the annual raruraru or conflict on the Waitangi treaty grounds, of the divvying up of roles on the marae between men and women. (32, p. 13) • within pre-contact te ao Maori, the legal status of wahine Maori was very clear. There was equal citizenship to the extent that a person's mana allowed for it. There were, for want of a better equivalent term, slave people with little to no mana and little to no property, legal status, rights within the community, but the qualifying mea or thing was not their gender, but their mana. Generally speaking, women had the right to equal citizenship and legal personality, they could hold positions of political and tribal power and influence, they could contract, own land, gift or bequeath property, they had sexual and bodily autonomy, they could have multiple partners. There was not necessarily any idea that you would stay with one partner for life. You could marry for love, you could marry for alliance, and as is often the case in communities or societies based upon stratification by class, you could have a tomo or taumau, an arranged marriage by alliance for political purposes. Equally parties could separate. Upon marriage women maintained their family or whanau tribal names, their own identity and separate property. That is because the most significant aspect of te ao Maori is whakapapa. If you do not whakapapa or have a genealogical link to a place or a piece of property, then you had no rights to it. Marrying someone does not merge your property portfolios or your access to particular rights and responsibilities. The primacy of whakapapa as a means of determining legal entitlement was maintained upon marriage or coupling in traditional te ao Maori. This is really important in terms of protecting the rights and status of wahine Maori, because the
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		whanau remained your primary source of support. There was no severing of ties upon marriage. This is really significant for those of you who are family lawyers or particularly engaged in, whether you are talking about family violence, intimate partner violence, or relationship property. That's really important to remember, that the whanau as a form of support and protection was always there within te ao Maori. (32, p. 14) At a very basic level, this idea of te ira wahine (the female gender) and te ira tane (the male gender) with differing roles and responsibilities, but equally respected and contributing to the collective whole and wellbeing of whanau, hapu and iwi Maori. That was the position in pre-colonial Maori society. (32, p. 113)
	Mythological and Divine Roles	- A number of eloquent addresses drawing on the mātauranga of te ao tūroa were given. The quality of this evidence was exemplary in highlighting the balance between the feminine and masculine divine. Tangaroa still embraces Papatūānuku. Ranginui still embraces Papatūānuku. The foreshore is the space where one can clearly witness the movement and exchange of energies, and the preparation, bustling and adaptation made by the divine influences of the gods as they perpetually seek to express the inherent universal balance and harmony, one with another, within the ever-changing reality of the physical world. It is the open space, the courtyard on which the voices of all the divine influences of the gods are heard, seen, felt and sensed. As the tide comes in so Tangaroa stands to deliver his speech, and Hinewainui and Hinemoana move forward with cries of welcome and support, as they gently massage Papatūānuku. As the tide recedes it is Papatūānuku, and Tāne, and Hinewao, and Rakahore, and Hinetūākirikiri, and Hineone, and others who reach out to take hold of the life essence of the courtyard, and allow their individual and collective influences to be expressed and felt by all present. Each one of them has their own story, and each one of them has something to say. According to some, during the creation of the world, the gods began to fight, one with another, and Tangaroa and Tāne continue to quarrel. The physical manifestation of their dispute may be seen on the foreshore. (14, no pg no) - What would have taken place had Wairaka not swam out to the Mataatua Waka? Or if she had swam out and followed the custom of her people and not paddled the Waka? She and the Waka would have been lost to the ocean. She opted to step out of the role defined for her when she cried "Kia Whakatāne au I ahau!" We have not heard anyone question whether Wairaka was an "authentic" Māori woman. Wairaka responded to her circumstances in the contemporary times in which she was physically alive—the time of the "radical relocation of whole communi-ties from Hawaii to Aotearoa" (Wikitera, 2011, p. 1). Wairaka's spirit interplays with the physical and that which is place today. It is demonstrated in the "Law of Place" (Graham, 2006, p. 6). (56, p. 83) - As the human manifestation of the female elements, women have been engaged in a monumental and historic-mythological spiritual struggle, a struggle marked by significant events: the wrenching apart of Papatuanuku from Ranginui; the turning over of Papatuanuku So that her sights and thoughts would look forever downwards; the creation of Hine Ahu One; the transformation of Hine Titama into Hine Nui Te Po; the deeds of Maui against his grandmothers. This spiritual struggle continues to be fought in our role as mediators of tapu. Women have the power to make things noa, to intervene in the states of tapu-ness. This power tends to be conceptualised as an indication of the passive role of women, but the freedom that is contained within this role suggests that it is extremely active and dynamic. The

		power to make things noa contains within it the power over day-to-day life, over food and over commerce. (73, p. 46-7) • Horoirangi, Papatuanuku, Hineteiwaiwa, Hinenuitepo and the many other Māori goddesses all continue to guide us through the trials and tribulations of this life. Collectively the atua wahine, these goddesses, our ancestors, form a constellation symbolising 'Hine', connecting humanity with the land and the source of life, connecting the newborn child with Nature, and the dying person, through her or his ancestors, with the Universe. In this modern world, one might ask if focusing on women's roles as nurturers might restrict the consideration of women's wider roles in society. In traditional Māori society, women were never confined in this way; despite the fact that such whakatauki as, 'He puta taua ki te Tane, he whanau tamariki ki te wahine' refer to the roles of men as warriors and women as bearing children, the European concept of 'a woman's place is in the home' was foreign to our people as able-bodied men and women were needed to undertake the tribe's work, which often entailed moving around the countryside. Women's roles were diverse - some women were noted leaders, politicians, strategists in battle, warriors, medical practitioners, composers.¹⁰ Today, Māori women are actively involved in a diversity of occupations, but the value of manaakitanga, which is exemplified through consideration of others and the extension of hospitality to visitors, is a value of Māori society, maintained by women and men alike. Men's roles complement women's - at a marae gathering, men and women work together in the kitchen, while others perform appropriate rituals on the marae ātea and in the wharenui. (86, p. 81)
	Challenges and Resistance Arising from Inequities, Colonisation, and Cultural Oppression	• The interconnectedness of racist and sexist oppressions was brought to the fore, by Māori women, and they called for gender relations to be addressed within Māori communities (Szasy 1993). The sexism of society, both Māori and non-Māori, was firmly on the agenda of Māori women at this time. In 1994 a group of Māori women filed a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal. The claim argued that mana tāne (power and authority afforded to men) had been affirmed and protected (to an extent) by political dealings with the government (Irwin 1993). Mana wahine, however, had not. (2, p. 10) • The mana wahine claim highlights the guarantees for equal participation promised under the Te Tiriti o Waitangi for all Māori, including Māori women, 13 of whom signed the original treaty (Mikaere 2003). Te Tiriti o Waitangi is, and must, be a central tenet of any mana wahine research. A mana wahine analysis, therefore, is also an analysis of treaty rights. It is telling that, some years later, this claim is yet to be heard. (2, p. 11) • Māori Women's Suffrage was not universally supported within Māori ranks. An alliance with the Women's Christian Temperance Union was required in order to get the vote for Māori women through. Māori women joined the Union in droves and were required to subscribe to the rules and regulations of the Union in return for the Union's support. The rules were an assortment of pious demands based on the Union's Eurocentric view of women and families, but the highest price extracted for their support was that Māori women should revoke the tradition of ta moko. I can think of no more fitting manner in which to celebrate suffrage than to begin again the tradition of ta moko. (48, no pg no) • The roles of the female entities were generally downplayed, marginalised, or in many instances, completely omitted from historical records. Yet, by looking at the material available, one can ascertain that the feminine did indeed hold an important and powerful position throughout Māori history (Yates-Smith, 1998, p. 122). (84, p. 50)

		• I did feel a deep sense of solidarity in taking part, alongside the wider community, in peaceful marches onto the land and symbolic occupation of the site. Most particularly, I felt proud to walk alongside my son and those strong women from the hapu who, in the early days of the ill-conceived prison proposal, had stood up to the corrupt 'government chiefs' and alerted the rest of the people to their underhanded dealings with the Crown. It is perhaps just as well that subsequently our children deliberately organised for me and my husband to be many hundreds of miles away when the Crown's bully boys handcuffed not only the young people, the rangatahi but, shamefully, our aged and infirm elders, our kuia and kaumatua, subsequently throwing them in jail for trying to defend their land from the earth moving machines and the bulldozers. (58, p. 135-6) • Within the context of a growing Maori nationalism accompanied by the conscious formation of Maoritanga and Tikanga Maori (Maori knowledge), Maori women were natural leaders. Not only did they maintain racial/ethnic boundaries, they also transmitted Maori culture while participating in their nation's economic and political struggles. (66, p. 62) • The reclaiming of traditional cultural practices and the deconstruction of those which have changed since the arrival of the Pākehā are important sources of learning. The role and status of women is one of the major areas in which this work is necessary, and it needs to be undertaken from a Māori feminist perspective. Māoriwomen's analyses of the role and status of Māori women in pre-European Māori society,⁹differ markedly from those undertaken by Pākehā male anthropologists¹⁰ and the Pākehāwomen whose reconstructionist work is based on theirs.¹¹ (74, p. 71) • The role of the state in domesticating Maori women was also supported by the churches. Christian teachings stressed the importance of such notions as 'marriage', 'home', 'motherhood' and 'work'. Sexuality was, of course, confined to marriage. From what has been reconstructed of pre-Pakeha Maori society, we know that these notions were defined in quite different ways: individual mothers were not solely responsible for childcare; home did not need twenty-four-hour labour to keep clean; motherhood was probably important only as a developmental stage, and at the time of the birth itself; and work was communally focused. This does not deny that women had specific roles within Maori social organisation. Rather, the colonial state needed to redefine these existing roles in order to construct particular forms of economic units which would contribute to the growth of a new colony. (73, p. 47) • The roles of the female entities were generally downplayed, marginalised, or in many instances, completely omitted from historical records. Yet, by looking at the material available, one can ascertain that the feminine did indeed hold an important and powerful position throughout Māori history (Yates-Smith, 1998, p. 122) (85, p. 51)
	Contemporary Identity and Perspective	• A handful of Māori women, such as Donna Awatere, Kathy Irwin, Ngahua Te Awekotuku, Rangimarie Rose Pere, Linda Smith, and Mira Szasy continued to assert that the experiences of Māori women were different to those of Māori men, Pākehā women and Pākehā men. These wāhine have brought to bear the fact that colonialism is experienced differently for Māori women, a central premise of this thesis. (2, p. 10) • Dame Loweel Goddard comment on gender differences: Who we are is fundamentally important to what we bring to our respective roles and thus my descent from my tipuna of Kahungunu, Te Aitanga a Māhaki and Tūhoe, and the guidance and love I have received from

		the people of Ngāti Porou is important to me. It is a part of who I am. It helps to shape my perspective on the world and my sense of justice. So, too, does the fact that I am a woman shape my perspective on the world and my sense of justice. Men and women are different and those differences are to be celebrated. (19, no pg no) • [In Patricia Grace's Wahine Toa book] Women's roles and their relationship to place are situated in terms of their significance in the wider community. (24, p. 121) • The balance within tikanga was evident in the speaking roles ascribed to women. You're probably well aware, particularly from the annual raruraru or conflict on the Waitangi treaty grounds, of the divvying up of roles on the marae between men and women. Many would say that part of that is post-colonial practice, of women not speaking on the marae, but even in the most conservative of iwi, women play a role in terms of kaikorero, men as kaikorero-formal speakers, speech markers-and then women again. There's this constant to and fro, so that often the last word is given to a woman, a kaiwaiata. (32, p. 13-4) • Deconstruction of the notion of individualism and the idea of individual rights holders. We've seen this for example in the very recent Pou Matakana judicial review claim by John Tamihere and the Whanau Ora Commissioning Agencies around the Maori data request in respect of the vaccine rollout. That is a pitch for collectivism over individual data. It's about the centring of gender and race in our discourse, not one over the other. (32, p. 19) • Maori women hold unique roles in the protection of mauri (life force), tapu (sacredness) and whakapapa (genealogy) (34, p. 19) • The principles of male and female are essential for procreation. The complementarity of these principles in the evolutionary process is founded on the idea that one cannot exist without the other. They are interdependent and complementary. Each principle is complementary to the other and necessary for the creation of the principle of human life, the ira tangata. The theme of complementarity is again reinforced in the sequence that explains how the ira tangata was procured and the first human, a woman, was created (Best, 1973:16. Buck, 1977:449-451. Walker, 1990: 14)) (38, p. 30) • The land is likened to a woman who sustains her young with milk from her breast. The use of such a simile emphasises the view that woman and land were considered fundamental to life. The benefits for humankind were contingent upon the homology between the welfare of women and that of the land. Women and land were analogous to the well-being of humankind. The position, role and status of women were clearly defined in relation to the importance and value of land as reinforced in the following (38, p. 28) ... whakatauki. He wahine, he whenua ka ngaro ai te tangata. The literal translation of this proverb is often interpreted as meaning 'by women and land men are lost' (TeAwekotuku, 1991:45. Binney and Champion, 1986:26). The inherent ambiguity and metaphor that characterises Maori language allows for a more expansive interpretation. Rose Pere, for example, emphasises the notion that since women and land carry the same nurturing role, without them humanity is lost (1982: 17). The word for land is whenua, the personification of the body of Papatuanuku provider of nourishment and sustenance. Whenua is also the term used for placenta, the lining of the womb during pregnancy through which the foetus is nourished. The whenua of the new-born is ceremoniously linked to Papatuanukunuku when it is buried in a special place thus affirming a child's genealogical nexus with the land- whenua as tangata whenua (Pere, 1982: 17. 1990:2). Furthermore, Pere's definition of the word tangata as meaning humanity emphasises a non gendered translation. The reference then is not that men are lost on
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		account of women but that women and land hold status are of equal importance and value. Attitudes to women were based on this assumption. (38, p. 28) • In Irwin's (1995, p. 12) opinion Writing, painting, singing about our worlds is a critical part of Maori women's survival kit!'. (59, p. 308) ... • Irwin's views can be related to the art and life of Robyn Kahukiwa. Kahukiwa combines both artistic and political endeavour in her art and this practice coincides with family demands.(59, p. 309) • Māori women are retaining traditions and the ways of their tīpuna. The act of gardening represented a chance to return to the land and the ways of the ancestors, including taking care of the environment and reviving traditions, such as traditional foods, rongoā, and tikanga. Māra kai were grown by their parents, their families and their ancestors. The importance of tīpuna cannot be ignored in Māori culture. (63, p. 151) • The women see themselves as caretakers of the land. In two of the four cases where the gardens are located on their tribal lands (Hanui and Lisa), it is the land of their ancestors, which entails the responsibility to protect and look after the land and natural resources for future generations to inherent in a good state and not to exploit it. (63, p. 152) • See, ownership is not a concept that we [Indigenous Peoples] even understand. We're not owners of land, none of us are. We have ahika. Ahika (keeping the home fires burning) means we have kaitiakitanga to that area and our job is to maintain, sustain, protect what's there, but we don't own it. See, that concept was really, actually quite different, owning property, property that actually belongs to someone. We just care for a patch of land. And all we are doing is succeeding it to the next generation who will take it over, but we don't own it and we never will. Indigenous Peoples around the world do think like that, but that's another value that has been lost. It's our job just to protect it [the land], maintain it, look after it, leave it in a better state than what we received it, and then ensure that it's passed on to the next generation with the knowledge that they need to be able to do the same job. That's rangatiratanga (self determination), that's what it is to me in a nut shell. (63, p. 152) • The results of the study generated a rich understanding of what māra kai and food sovereignty means to Māori women who are defining community food systems, exemplifying ideas and practices that ensure cultural sustainability and continuance of knowledge regarding the importance of sustainable, natural food production. At the same time, they are promoting good health and reconnecting with the land and Papatūānuku. ... The research also provides insight into how Māori women are promoting agro-ecological farming practices as practiced traditionally and by their ancestors. These women are strong role models and through bringing back the ways of old are developing new models of sustainable living, part of what Dann (2012) refers to as a "home/ community gardening renaissance that's possibly bigger than one happening among non-Māori" (p. 48). ... This emphasizes the important role that these women play within the whānau and community, as well as the broader Indigenous rights, women's rights and environmental and food sovereignty movements. (63, p. 153) • [Cousins novel:] The novel explores Māori women's roles as intermediaries between Pākehā and Maori communities, a role they had performed since contact and one that is foregrounded in the description of Makareta's marriage. Although she has not behaved in the way the elders of the community expect her to, she has conducted herself as leader and guardian of Maori people by showing initiative and adjusting to the modern world. When wairua, the spirits of the
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		elders, return for Makareta when she is dying, this suggests that her behaviour has ultimately been accepted as tika, correct even though she has broken some of the old patterns of behaviour. (68, p. 86) • If it took me some time to recognise the more esoteric reasons why I wanted to be an academic, it didn't take me long to discover the practical ones. The pay rates for men and women were the same, though men would probably be appointed higher on the various scales than women; (69, p. 60) • Several women academics that I know have chosen not to become mothers because it is so difficult to combine parenthood and an academic career. I know no male academics who have made that choice for those reasons. (69, p. 63) • The life experiences of Māori women and men are not the same. Māori women's health, education, family structure and support, employment and unemployment statistics are significantly different from Māori men. Our women earn less, are left alone to raise children, take subjects at school which prepare them for the lowest paid, least secure sectors of the labour market, and have health problems which lead the world in negative indices in some areas such as smoking and related health problems.³ The issue of life styles and opportunities for Māori women and girls is a serious one and demands our specific concern. People should not feel the need to discuss the plight of Māori always in general terms, without highlighting the specific needs and concerns of our women and girls. (74, p. 68) • The search for knowledge in such contexts becomes very problematic, at times openly dangerous to one's physical, cultural, and spiritual health. I will never forget the moment when, at a Māori women's hui, organized as part of the 1982 Women's Studies Association Conference and held on a marae in Palmerston North, a young Māori woman stood and asked the Māori males present (who included one of the most revered male kaumātua in the district at the time) to leave.¹⁴ Her position was based on the notion that women should meet in women's only groups, and that men, if present, should know to leave, and be asked to do so if they don't know. The reply given included the statement that the men would not leave, and that she had no right to ask them to do so. We were told in no uncertain terms that we were on their marae, that they were the tangata whenua, guardians of the mauri of the wharenui, and that most of the women at the hui were manuhiri. Kawa pertaining to the roles of tangata whenua and manuhiri at hui on marae was briefly outlined. A short while later, we were informed that the kaumātua had another meeting to attend and that the men had to leave. The role of caring for the house, initially carried out by a male kaumātua, was then handed to a young local woman. (74, p. 74) • Maori women have multiple roles not just as women who may be teachers, mothers, partners, daughters and grandmothers, but also as women who are descendents of tribal ancestries, women who may also be expert weavers, healers, kaikaranga (callers), kaiwaiata (singers), women who may be the only member of their community or family with skills to negotiate with the police, the doctor, the nurse or the school principal, women who may also be major caregivers of their children, their nieces and nephews, their grandchildren and other peoples' children. The following case-study provides one example of how these multiple roles, tensions and struggles are played out in a particular context. (76, p. 93) • Who I am is also inextricably located within my roles and relationships with others, including my father and grandfathers, my brothers, my sons, my husband. I am wahine Maori, I am mokopuna, I am tamahine, tuakana, teina, whaea, hoa wahine. And I look forward (though
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		hopefully not in this century) to being karani. We draw our descent from both male and female ancestors, through the way they connected to and from each other. Through their words my tupuna whaea often confronted and reflected upon these many relationships they had with men (78, p. 111) • The revival of te reo, our indigenous language, has culminated in a Māori renaissance and new Māori initiatives in education, the church, and in government departments, thereby impacting on society in general. Māori have revived the craft of weaving, the art of tā moko (traditional markings which Europeans termed 'tattoo'), and the use of traditional musical instruments. Māori medical practices are commonly used as an alternative to western medicine. The ancient custom of returning the placenta to Papatūānuku on the birth of a child has been revived.¹⁰ The return of such traditions coincides with the call for further knowledge about the feminine. (84, p.53) • Mana Wāhine as a theoretical framework asserts that Māori women must be recognized in many roles that are ours, and that includes our leadership, rangatira positions. Mana Wāhine is an assertion of our intrinsic mana as descendants of our ancestors, as holders and maintainers of knowledge. An underlying tenet of Mana Wāhine is that Māori women have always had critical roles in Māori society. With this as a fundamental understanding is not presented in day to day-to-day, common-sense discourse about Māori women, and most importantly, whose interests are served in the denial of such an understanding. (85, p. 72) • As the child grows, the singing of tribal songs instils a sense of history and identity in the mind and the very psyche of the young person. Close relatives would massage the child from infancy through to puberty - yet another way in which the physical and spiritual dimensions are nurtured. Today, Māori children brought up with a strong affiliation to things Māori continue to be influenced by aspects of the oral tradition and customs of yesteryear. Through karakia and the careful tuition of experts, such qualities found in the ancestor Hineteiwaiwa, for instance, were fostered in young girls that they might become strong, capable women, able to extend hospitality to others (by providing food and entertainment for them), to raise children, weave fine garments and mats, participate in for a of a social, political and educational nature, and to draw on the leadership qualities inherited from their ancestors. The gifts of the ruahine (wise woman), knowledge of karakia and healing, were given to those seen to have a propensity for these roles. (86, p. 78) • The energy and success of Māori women is evident in every sector of society. They have been a driving force behind Māori educational and health initiatives, the revival of our indigenous language and the education of our children through Kohanga Reo (pre-school language nests) and immersion primary and secondary schools. The Māori Women's Welfare League and the Women's Health League have made significant contributions to our society during the past 50 years. In the area of health, many Māori women have revived Māori medical practices as an alternative to western medicine. In many instances, traditional karakia and the woman's karanga (call) feature in welcoming the child into the world. The ancient custom of returning the placenta to Papatuanuku (the whenua or earth) on the birth of a child is now widely maintained; where possible the placenta (also termed whenua) is taken to the family's tribal area. Why are our women such strong advocates for the retention of these values? I propose that, as a result of numerous generations being taught the importance of caring for our loved ones, tending to the needs of others and striving, sometimes struggling, to ensure that our young can aspire to successful futures, for the ultimate benefit of our
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		people and our environment, we possess what could be described as an innate sense of the necessity to nurture. (86, p. 79-80) • While indigenous theorists discuss the need to reclaim and revive traditional native motherhood ideologies, they also warn against the romanticizing of the situation. The evolution of our social and economic structures means that caution must be exercised when considering the place of traditional mothering ideologies in our society. "Taken uncritically, ideologies of Native mothering run the risk of heaping more responsibility on already overburdened mothers" (Anderson, 2007, p. 775). Patricia Hill Collins comments also: Yet, like all deep cultural themes, the theme of motherwork for physical survival contains contradictory elements. On the one hand, racial ethnic women's motherwork for individual and community survival has been essential. Without women's motherwork, communities would not survive, and by definition women of color themselves would not survive. On the other hand this work often extracts a high cost for large numbers of women. There is a loss of individual autonomy and there is submersion of individual growth for the benefit of the group. While this dimension of motherwork remains essential, the question of women doing more than their fair share of such work for individual and community development merits open debate. (Hill Collins, 2007, p. 315) (91, p. 168-9) • Mothers hold special significance within our iwi, our hapu and our whānau, as mothers, as leaders, as keepers/teachers of important knowledges and – most importantly – as carriers of the next generation. These maternal roles construct us within a most powerful positioning in Te Ao Māori, and yet these same roles are not so respected within the Western world. It is up to us as women, and as whānau, to reassert our traditional maternal standing within our communities. Such reassertion can take many forms and may range from the smallest of actions within our own families to larger actions in challenging existing state constructions. Our maternities are a key site of resistance for Māori communities and provide significant spaces of empowerment and transformation action. (91, p. 175)
Theme 8: Wāhine Bodies and Sexuality	General Knowledge: Wāhine Body Knowledge and Cultural Practices	• This is reflected by Longhurst (2005) in her description of bodies. Bodies are conundrums, paradoxes, riddles that are impossible to solve. They are deeply embedded in psychoanalytic, symbolic and social processes yet at the same time they are undoubtedly biological, material and "real". Bodies are an effect of discourse but they are also foundational. They are referential and material, natural and cultural, universal and unique. Everyone has a body (indeed, is a body) but bodies are differentiated through age, ethnicity, sex, sexuality, size, health and so on. Bodies exist in place; at the same time they are places (Longhurst 2005, 337 emphasizes in the original). In this description, bodies are discursively produced but are also material and real. By considering the corporeal in geography another debate becomes apparent and that is the binary of social construction and essentialism. This is a debate that is difficult to grapple with. The body is a site where the binary between constructionism and essentialism can and must be disrupted.... Longhurst (2008) notes pregnant bodies can only be understood and experienced within the context which they are located, yet, there is no denying the materiality of these bodies. (3, p. 29) • Black bodies, disabled bodies, and sexed and gendered bodies are constructed as „other“ to the body which is assumed „normal“; that is a white, heterosexual, able-bodied male body (Duncan 1996). Women's bodies disrupt the securing of bodily boundaries. Grosz (1994) notes women's bodies are conceptualised as incapable and prone to unpredictabilities.

		Longhurst (2001; 2005; 2008) expresses similar sentiment with a particular focus on maternal bodies. She argues that these bodies and research on them “threaten to spill, soil and mess up, clean, hard and masculinist geography” (Longhurst 2001, 25). (3, p. 30) • Body knowledge: The title Woven Memory refers to the liminal spaces kairaranga and kaiwhatu⁴¹ can experience of connecting back to the tūpuna through an age-old practice of working through hands, mind and body. This chapter focuses on the experience of thinking through the hands to encourage body knowledge to arise through the hands as they create, as they make. (4, p. 25) • Many were so compelling that I printed or requested copies; they were more than merely illustrations of the kinds of dynamics I was encountering in written texts, the images represented the embeddedness of ideological constructions of Maori women, and, at the same time, provided insight into the social, cultural, and historical conditions within which the ideological constructions underpinning the images, and the images themselves, were produced. (5, p. 76) • Description of painted woman - Frederic Shoberl, (1775-1853): The image is said to depict, “A young Maori girl, bare-breasted, with an elaborate hairstyle, a flower in her left hand. She is wearing plaited flax ear adornments, with a stone or shell suspended from them, and has a feather in her hair.”³ (5, p. 78) • Perspectives on painting: The existence of the image Girl of New Zealand (1793) is a record of the privileges that allowed the movement of particular individuals across the globe, and of an inheritance ethos that facilitated the preservation of certain personal collections.(5, p. 81) • Another painting: Jean Piron,A young female savage, of New Zealand (1800). Fabricated painting of Girl of New Zealand: if we return to our first Girl of New Zealand image (Figure 2), we can ask not only how does this image come into existence and how did it survive, but also what is it an image of? If we accept the archivist's assertion (and historical records) that state no Maori women visited the Recherche, and that the artist altered Piron's original image for Shoberl's volume, I feel compelled to ask: What did the engraver add (and remove) in order to transform an adolescent boy into a girl and why? Perhaps the most obvious addition are the breasts. A ubiquitous marker of feminine gender, their symbolic value may range from maternal to erotic (or both). The subject of the portrait is certainly naked, with her exposed breasts as an invocation of gender and also of her racial status as savage, unclothed, uncivilized. At the same time, the addition of breasts has changed her posture, from the slouch of a muscular adolescent boy to the upright carriage of a well-behaved girl—she no longer has a back, but she has acquired a torso and belly button. Apart from commenting that both the subjects in Figure 3 have their hair in topknots, there is no assessment of the hair style until Shoberl's version, which is described (most likely by an archivist) as “elaborate.” Hair, as a reflection of femininity, has a long history, and when the first etching was made, European styles for upper-class women were slowly shifting from the heavily wrought constructions of the court to a bourgeois Victorian ideal of demure hygiene. At the same time, global travelers were seeking confirmation of Rousseauesque notions of a noble primitivism independent of the corruption they perceived in European society, of a savage living in a pure state of Nature. The Girl's hair appears longer, softer and less unruly than the boy's, perhaps performing the dual function of constructing her as both a noble savage and as a domesticated native girl. (5, p. 81)
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		• The title of the image Woman of New Zealand, Drawn from Nature illustrates a powerful ideological mechanism utilized in the colonial process, the articulation of naturalization.... In the descriptive text accompanying the Woman in New Zealand image, the subject is clearly recreated as a body that is an iteration of the markers that make it possible to discern her as gendered and racialized. By being represented as without a name and only as an example of her country's women, she is classified as a specimen. In her native garments, themselves markers of the presence of a racialized subject, she is recreated by her masterly painter and by her narrator as a record of ugliness (establishing beauty as a measure appropriate for her), as sexually compliant, possibly enthusiastic, upon receipt of the "gift" of payment. Language, another marker of race, is blamed for the misunderstanding" about what is expected of her, but so is her imagined prior experience with English sailors. She is infantilized, lampooned as unfamiliar with both the true purpose (5, p. 85) • Wikitoria August (2004, 2005) has also discussed the disruption of intergenerational knowledge transmission in relation to Māori women's embodied performances. A number of her research participants knew of and partook in tikanga surrounding the body, such as not cutting hair and nails at night, and not gathering food while menstruating or pregnant. The reasons behind these tikanga, however, were unknown to them. She states that often more convenient routes are taken by women at the expense of tikanga, or tikanga is enacted in hybrid and sometimes contradictory ways.(9, p. 17) • The fragmentation of mana wahine knowledges surrounding birth, and subsequently of whānau, began with the deeply held assumption by colonisers that hospital birth was safer and 'cleaner' than Māori ways of birthing. The move from home to hospital, however, did not support this belief. Māori maternal mortality by the 1960s had risen to be three times that of non-Māori. The supposed safety of the hospital space had failed to reduce inequalities. Discourses questioning the hygiene and safety practices surrounding Māori birthing were thus replaced by discourses of blame and questions about the moral capabilities of Māori mothers and whānau (Donley, 1986). (9, p. 21) • General biological: M. Durie (1997), in advancing a Māori-centred approach, explicitly argues that biological survival alone will not ensure our cultural presence. ... Whereas one hundred years ago the main problem facing Māori was one of biological survival, the challenge today is to survive as Māori, to retain a Māori identity, while still being able to participate fully in society, and in the communities of the world. Although the 1996 census has confirmed that any probability of genocide is remote - at 579,714 the Māori population has never been more numerous - there is some justified concern that mere survival will achieve little if it is not linked to a secure identity, and a Māori centred approach to development, and a wider access than currently exists to the range of disciplines necessary for advancement in today's world. (p. 1) (18, p. 20) • However, we also argued that the use of Māori cultural artefacts, cultural values and the presence of Māori bodies (in advertising), rather than being illustrative of inclusion, provide exemplars of coopted bodies, voices and cultural icons called to the discursive and material service of an ever increasing imperial regime. (18, p. 25) • The significance of the whare tangata[womb] is rooted in the creation of the world and in the overriding tapu [sacredness] of whakapapa . . . the inherent tapu of each Maori person is sourced in their connection, through whakapapa, to " the rest of humanity, to the atua [Gods] and to the environment. (Mikaere 2017, p. 41) (22, p. 2)
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		• Karlene recounts six generations of her whakapapa with the [genetic] disorder, which is carried through her maternal line. She then shared a story of how the disorder came to be in her whakapapa. It is said that a long time ago a "woman was stolen" by Karlene's iwi (tribe) from another iwi. In retaliation, the other iwi had placed a 'curse' on the woman so that if she birthed sons, they would die, and therefore, discontinue her whakapapa. (22, p. 6) • In the Māori world women are recognised as te whare tāngata, or the house of humanity (Kahukiwa & Grace, 1991; Pere, 2014.). As women, our tangible and intangible bodies house, grow, birth, and nourish all of humanity. As women - as the house of humanity - we have been invested with particular rongo (senses; Ti Hauora o Te Aroha, personal communication, 2010). These senses enable us to fulfil the function of nourishing and caring for humanity when within and without our physical bodies. (23, p. 94) • With one foot in Te Ao Marama and one in Te Po, through our bodies and voices women can facilitate the flow of source vibrations into and through the world of people and light. (23, p. 94) • Māori Cloaks and Our Maternal Bodies The terminology of Māori cloaks is richly embedded with maternal language, including aspects of childbirth (Henare, 2005). For example, whenua, the many hundreds of warp threads that make up the body of a cloak, is an abbreviation of the word whenua meaning both placenta and land; the former is the essential element that sustains the child within the mother's womb while the latter continues to nurture the child once born (Maihi, 2011). Another example, aho or vertical warp threads, is the same term for line, genealogy, and umbilical cord (Williams, 1997). Understood as vital connectors to the past and the future, aho act as "tangible and substantive links between ancestors or tipuna and their living descendants" (Henare, 2005, p. 121). Finally, the term for cloak (kākahu or kahu) is the Māori name for the amniotic sac or foetal membrane that envelops the unborn child (Henare, 2005; Mac Aulay & Te Waru Rewiri, 1996). Historically, kākahu or woven textiles surrounded children from the moment they entered the world. Best (1929) recounts examples of kākahu being laid between the legs of the birthing mother to receive the child while more finely woven pieces were used to wrap the newborn child to present her to her people. (25, p. 81) • As Leonie Pihama et al suggest, "sexual violence within Maori understandings is an absolute violation of the mana of the person and the collective mana of whanau, hapu and iwi." The rejection of sexual or physical abuse of women is embedded within purakau (oral traditions) and, as Pihama highlights, can be understood as connected to the mana and tapu of wahine, which is intrinsically connected to her whakapapa and her constituting ability, and therefore the mana of all generations connected to her; past, present and future. (26, p. 34-5) • For Ahmed, we notice such 'silencing structures' because of the bodies we have. As she puts it, 'becoming feminist puts us in touch with a world through alienation from a world' (p. 43). This alienation is achieved through walls, which can leave women bruised, sore, cold, hungry – and locked out. (29, p. 8) • Participants did not feel upset, excluded or marginalized because their tipuna were always around them, and just because they were not physically present did not mean that they were no longer there, or thinking of them. Participants respected the tikanga surrounding their bodies and cultural spaces and did not feel uncomfortable or resentful about it. (39, 122) • The menstruating body, the female body that sheds blood, is inscribed by various different discourses. The body is both an actor and the acted upon. It is inscribed differently in different
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		places. The first notion relating to menstruation and restriction from urupa and food-gathering sites expressed by participants, is that during the menstrual cycle, the Maori female body is tapu. Kiri, when asked why women are tapu during menstruation, states: [I]n terms of when they have their period because they are bleeding, they are spilling blood, they're deemed tapu and so um, having a woman so exposed like a woman's mauri, woman's, I want to say, soul, but it's not right, mana, everything, a woman is so exposed ... when they are so tapu like that. (39, p. 119) • Fat Indigenous female bodies, fat Māori women are subject to multiple forms of discrimination and intersecting oppressions. The ways in which these power systems present (fat) Māori women as un(deserving), (un)well and (un)(re)liable perpetuate how (in)access is enabled for some groups and not others. Biopower and biopolitics perpetuate these systems by inscribing bodies with re-presentations and expectations that are racialised, sexualised and body sizeist, and anything outside these expectations is labelled as deviant. There are movements such as body positivity that attempt to address some of the mechanisms that assign worthiness to fat people in society, however, often these approaches are limited by desirability and ethnicity/race. Recognising Indigenous sovereignty at the body level is one way in which to resist systemic oppression and bodily discrimination. (42, p. 214-5) • The fat female body, and I would argue, fat female Indigenous body, has become increasingly (over)surveilled, and medicalisation and moral panic have pathologised fatness (Murray, 2016). Murray discusses the ways in which fat women are routinely positioned as less than women, less than human and not having essence as they are unable to access their 'true' selves. The medicalisation and (under)/(over)surveillance of fat women's bodies position fat women as a 'source of suffering for others' (Murray, 2016: 2), as being fat is seen as a moral failure and a threat to the expected aesthetics of women within society and subsequently fatness and fat women are treated as such (Murray, 2016), arguably through hegemonic racism and sexism as well as fatism. (42, p. 218) • This continued denial and lack of recognition, like the ways in which racism, sexism and fatism operate, can be personally mediated and internalised, and is illustrated within body positivity movements. From a Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wāhine viewpoint, body sovereignty can be understood at individual, collective and systemic levels. In terms of individual-level acceptance and enactment of our body sovereignty, body sovereignty is inherently political, and centres informed consent and agency (Le Grice, 2017) and therefore requires an element of criticality, particularly in relation to our personal praxis (Kumagai and Lypson, 2009) as individuals and how we perpetuate, or do not perpetuate systems of oppression, as seen within some body positivity movements. (42, p. 224) • Exotic dancing remains an occupation that holds a double-edged status for women. While young women may describe their achievement in embodying representations of 'sexiness' as 'empowering' (Tolman 2012), being an exotic dancer is still regarded as 'deviant', subjugated and 'other' (Silcock 2014), inviting scorn as 'over sexed' behaviour, a step into a pornographic world. (44, p. 371) • Having the opportunity to embody a feeling of sensuality and sexuality through dance, as I had observed my mother do as a young girl, worked as a way to re-script sexuality, from something someone 'does to you' to something 'you do', creating an active, agentic and mobilising script. What was 'freeing' about this was the experience of not having my sexuality derivatised (Cahill 2011) by some one else's desire – it was my desire, and the way I
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		imagined being desired, that shaped this process. Reinscribing an engaged sexuality, this experience showed someone could consider me as 'desirable', prior to having something sexual done to me. It taught me that I could be sexual and expect men to respect my physical and emotional boundaries, even while positioning me under their gaze, and that this could elicit admiration. (44, p. 372) • Dancing continued: My enjoyment of this may be informed by a historical context in which Māori women were observed by colonial settlers to be 'exoticised' and 'other', and Māori women were considered to be 'savage' (Hutchings 2002), primitive beings, who were highly sexual, promiscuous and erotic (Te Awakotuku 1991). Such representations linger today and inform discourses of promiscuity that come to imbue representations of Māori sexuality, reproductive health (Reid 2004) and responsibility in reproductive decision-making or mothering (Le Grice 2014). (44, p. 372) • While previous literary analyses of Witi Ihimaera's <i>The uncle's story</i> (2005 [2000]) have predominantly focused on the novel's male, homosexual protagonists, Sam and Michael⁹, this article intends to put centre stage the minor, but nonetheless innovative and highly diverse, female characters of Auntie Pat, Roimata and Amiria (and to a lesser extent Florence and Lilly). These Māori women characters demonstrate a range of possible identity combinations such as lesbianism and 'classical' heterosexuality, Māori, Pākehā, and even global environments. Further, their highly individual 'intersecting identities' lead them along very different, but highly interconnected paths across various generations, spiralling in and out of the past and the present¹⁰, their own Māori culture, indigenous and non-indigenous, local and global contexts, as well as a variety of culturally-specific homosexual and heterosexual life-worlds. Incessantly struggling against the supposedly traditional Māori gender and sexual conceptions of their respective times, these Māori women characters present innovative blueprints for the future of their whānau and tribe. (53, p. 58) • Dr Hinemoa Elders' work looks at Māori ways of understanding "injury", particularly in light of the fact that Māori regard the head as "tapu" and that there are wairua impacts, as well as physical (Elder, 2012). (61, p. 277) • Bosies connected to land: The connection people have to land and to people (whakapapa—genealogy) is important for maintaining good health (Mark & Lyons, 2010, p. 1762). The Māori word for land also means placenta; whenua as placenta sustains life—the connection between the fetus and the placenta is through the umbilical cord—a sort of metaphor for whenua as the land sustains us through our food produced (Mead, 2003, p. 269).(63, p. 148) • Despite this social shift in thinking, tension remains, with change varying regionally (more so in urban areas as opposed to rural) and tribally. At a domestic level many Māori women are being abused by men; idealistic as it may seem, one of the aims of my research is to assist in providing information to victims and their families to aid their healing and rebuild their self-esteem. (84, p. 55) • We give children messages about sexuality and gender in many ways. Teaching them to be ashamed, controlling how they behave as girls and boys, talking about heterosexuality as if it is the only normal option as opposed to just a common way of being, laughing at people who are different - none of this will make us heterosexual. All it does is make us scared of who we might be. It makes us all police our own behaviour. For those of us who can't be straight, it
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		may teach us to hate ourselves, and make us scared to show ourselves to you. We may become secretive and isolated. It is an attack on our mana and our wairua. (87, p. 138) • it is ironic that we took so much care to ensure that we did the right thing with her whenua, and yet when it came to her pito [belly button], we were so irreverent. Now when I think of it I am abhorred. But we have to accept it - this is the way things are for Māori brought up, and living in, a mainstream world. We have become so colonised in our thinking, lost so much of our mātauranga Māori that we easily revert back to Pākehā thinking - without thinking. Ka tangi au (I cry). (Diary entry, January 2009) (89, p. 151) • The notion within te ira wahine, of women as powerful sexual beings, with inherent tapu. (32, p. 13)
	Cultural and Spiritual Concepts of Menstruation, Reproduction, Maternity and Abortion	• Patricia Grace, through Missy, captures the physicality, her big stomach, the uncomfortable feeling between her legs, and the undeniable pain, of labour and birth. Her body, however, does not simply exist in a vacuum. Rather, it is culturally and spatially bound and in this instance, Missy's embodied experience is mediated through her location as a young Māori woman birthing at hospital in post-World War II Aotearoa New Zealand. 6 Her body, like those of the women involved as participants in this research, is inextricable from the discursive, spiritual and material spaces of maternity in Aotearoa. (2, p. 2) • Reconceptualising maternities through a mana wahine lens challenges existing discourses that continue to 'Other' Māori women's knowledges, bodies and the discursive, material, symbolic and spiritual spaces of birth. (2, p. 13) • Until relatively recently mana wahine maternities has been largely represented and enacted in 'non-academic' ways: in the creative arts; flax roots political activism; iwi, hapū and marae based projects; and in the lived and embodied struggles and triumphs of Māori women and whānau. Many women like Patricia Grace (1992), Robyn Kahukiwa and Robin Potiki (1999), Merata Mita (1993), and Dana Rotberg (2013), to name a few, have dedicated their works to tracing what pregnancy, birth and mothering may have been like for Māori women throughout history. (2, p. 13) • mana wahine maternities. This chapter confronts the silence and reveals the complex ways in which it is lived (negotiated, embodied, experienced, resisted and transformed) in women's experiences of birth today. (2, p. 17) • cultural and spiritual concepts that women draw upon to make sense of their experiences of maternity in contemporary Aotearoa. Within cosmological and historical accounts are powerful and potent ways to reconfigure understandings of the maternal body. (2, p. 18) • By conceptualising maternal bodies as whare tangata (womb/house of humanity) it is possible to transform how women are understood and treated during birth. (2, p. 18) • Assigning what to do with wahine bodies: the imposition of Christian ideologies pertaining to the maternal body and institutional and legislative changes forcing women to birth in hospitals, have all served to cloak Māori women and whānau from mana wahine knowledges pertaining to birth. (2, p. 21) • Māori wards were established in maternity units to ensure that Māori women remained separate from Pākehā women, whilst at the same time subjecting them to the 'colonial gaze' during birth. (2, p. 33)

		• Ngahuia Murphy (2011) explores pre-colonial understandings of menstruation. She discusses the power and potency with which menstruating bodies were conceived in Māori society. Kirsten Gabel (2013) examines traditional philosophies of Māori motherhood, arguing that within our traditions, philosophies and ideologies exists a powerful space of resistance and tino rangatiratanga for Māori whānau. Kelly Lambert (2006) (re)reads the poetry of Roma Potiki through a mana wahine lens and in doing so reveals another layer of richness in her work. Tairawhiti Turner (2007) explores the role of mana wahine in the development of Te Whare Rokioki Māori Women's Refuge Centre. She argues that expressions of mana wahine in this context were evident in the contestations of power and authority by Māori women working in the centres. Mei Winitana (2008) engages mana wahine to examine the diaspora of Māori women living in Australia. She examines some of the challenges and compromises to tikanga that Māori women living abroad face in their lived realities. (2, p. 46) • The maternal body further challenges notions of fixed and stable bodies and subjectivities. Feminist philosopher, Iris Marion-Young (2005) contends pregnant bodies disrupt boundaries and that the borders of the body are unstable. (2, p. 60) • Wikitoria August (2004) explores the role of Māori women's embodied tikanga in contemporary Aotearoa, arguing that colonisation has served to reframe tikanga pertaining to pregnancy and menstruation in a negative fashion. She promotes a Māori perspective that constructs Māori women's bodily tikanga as powerful, sacred and life-giving. (2, p. 61) • Māori women's maternal bodies are intimately tied to Papatūānuku in ways that challenge the oppositional distinctions between mind/body and biology/social inscription. (3, p. 5) • Over the course of the following three decades Māori birthing became almost completely institutionalised, so that by 1967, 95% of Māori births occurred in the space of the hospital. The marginalisation of mana wahine existed in a very material sense, forcing many Māori women to birth in foreign spaces. (9, p. 21) • The topic of discussion was teenage pregnancy. A few of the women had expressed their disdain towards young solo mothers because, in their view, childbearing should be reserved for those who were 'respectably' married. Others preferred that their daughters pursue education and a career before settling down to have a family. The kuia, however, disrupted their discourse. To her, having children was about preserving and sustaining whakapapa, hence why she encouraged her grand-children to reproduce, and to start early. It was a rite of passage that the kuia not only expected, but welcomed and embraced. Her position highlights the important, but often overlooked, significance of cultural values for understanding Indigenous fertility. (22, p. 1) • The Maori fertility transition was described as one of the most rapid shifts of its time. Beginning in 1966, Maori fertility underwent a significant decline that eventually saw it converge to a level similar to that of Pakehā by the late 1970s (Pool 1991). Although this transition has been framed as an inevitable 'convergence' to Pakehā fertility, the timing and mechanisms facilitating the change were very different (see Pool 1991; Pool et al. 2007). Following a pattern similar to the Western European transition, the Pakehā fertility transition occurred around a century earlier, and was stimulated by delayed marriage. In contrast, the Maori fertility transition was achieved by the universal uptake of effective contraception i.e., the 'pill'. Even in a contemporary context, where society favours and facilitates low fertility and smaller families, important differences persist. Since the 1980s, Maori fertility has remained fairly stable, hovering mostly above the theoretical population replacement level of 2.1 births
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		per woman, whereas Pakehā birth rates have predominantly mirrored levels – similar to other economically advanced nations experiencing long-term sub-replacement fertility. Most notably, research has shown that Maori women bear children earlier, and over a longer period of time (Jackson et al. 1994; Johnstone et al. 2001; Didham and Boddington 2011; Stats New Zealand 2017). (22, p. 3) • A review of the demographic literature on Maori fertility reveals very little attention – given to Maori understandings of fertility or Maori worldviews. The problem is partly – explained by the fact that most of the studies have been conducted by non-Maori men. (22, p. 3) • The topic of fertility stimulated a keen interest amongst the wahine, shown by their desire and willingness to talk about the topic openly and freely. Karlene (age 38) provides insight as to why fertility is popular by alluding to how it is intrinsically linked to Papatuanuku, and its connection to and continuation of all things: We have such a hardcore2thing around birthing. Birthing is amazing too because it is really related to the environment and the way the world operates and that continuation of things and whenua-ki-te-wheua3 and all those things, like we come from her and we go back to her and all those things. Fertility is really interesting for that stuff. (22, p. 5) • Because if your whanau aren't people to korero [talk] about everything and share – everything, then of course if you were to get hapu [pregnant] at a young age you – would be so scared to even tell your parents, that you would then possibly make the decision of having an abortion or not going through with actually telling people, or perceptions of what they might say. Whereas a whanau that korero together and does a lot of things together, you will get them coming out and saying things a lot more easier, especially in those hard situations. (22, p. 5-6) • Kaiora has also taught her sons about the mana (power/status/authority) of wahine and reproduction, and again emphasises the importance of replenishing their hapu and iwi: So for me it was about them being comfortable that this was something natural, and that this is why us as wahine are built the way that we are built, to be able to have babies and to be able to nurture and look after these babies and to replenish our hapu [sub-tribe] and our iwi [tribe] to keep it going. (22, p. 6) • Having children was always on the cards for Taniko, which is partly linked to her beliefs around life purpose and the inherent – potential of womanhood: I want to know or feel what it is like to be a mother. I think that is one of the greatest callings on the earth, is to be a mother. (22, p. 7) • Wahine bodies that cannot conceive: 'Whangai' is a Māori customary practice, similar to adoption – and/or fostering, where a child/children are raised by someone other than their birth parents, who is usually a relative (Keane 2011, p. 1). There are various reasons for the practice of whangai, one of which is to 'gift' children to couples who cannot have children – (see Keane 2011), and therefore to help preserve whakapapa (Glover et al. 2008). (22, p. 7) • And, to have my own blood—you know. To be blood of my blood. To be able to have a really intrinsic close connection with another human being is kind of what I'd love to experience. And I believe it comes from birth. Having your own. (22, p. 7) • Janice (age 67) emphatically states: "Because they didn't believe in not trying to have [children]!" She was referring to her parents and their generation. Janice came from a big whanau of at least 16. Her mother had lost a few, and there were quite a few whangai kids, – a customary practice of adoption and fostering. Back in those days, it was the 'norm' to have
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		big families. Janice shares how she asked her mum one time, “How come you had so many kids?” Her mother’s response was: “I don’t know, I got pregnant and that was it”. (22, p. 8) • Reproduction not only meant replenishing the whanau but also keeping the “family name going” (Kaiora, age 45). In her study of Maori names, Joeliee Seed-Pihama (2017) states: “Ingoa tangata (personal names) are an expression of te reo Maori (Maori language), Maori identity, and tino rangatiratanga (self-determination)” (Seed-Pihama 2017, p. i). (22, p. 8) • “Here we see whakapapa being closely tied to reproductive ability, appearing in fact as the thing that was to be reproduced—made obvious in the one statement, ‘your child is your whakapapa’” (Glover and Rousseau 2007, p. 122). Similarly, a collection of Māori experiences of fertility and infertility in He Kakano (Hiroti 2011) highlighted the contribution of whakapapa to nurturing Maori society: “For many, the yearning to contribute to the whakapapa of whānau, of hapū and of iwi is paramount. Nothing is more important than nurturing, to have the opportunity to share aroha, knowledge and whakapapa with uri [descendants]” (Hiroti 2011, p. iii). (22, p. 12) • Connecting, or in some cases re-connecting, to their tribal land and its people was discussed by the women as a vital element of their wellbeing. Māori connection to the land is reinforced in a number of ways, such as burying a new born’s afterbirth in their tribal land. (25, p. 85) • The demographic history of Māori tells us why reproduction has been important for their survival. Ian Pool’s (1991) work in Te Iwi Maori refers to the “Decades of Despair, 1840–1901” where survival of the Maori population “hung in balance” (Pool 1991, p. 61) primarily because of high mortality. However, slowly but surely, from the 1920s, and especially after World War II, the population recovered brought about by high fertility, and decreasing mortality rates. As of 30 June 2021, the Maori population in Aotearoa NZ is estimated at 875,300, comprising 17 percent of the national population (Stats New Zealand 2021). (22, p. 14) • Maori are less likely to seek a termination [abortion] than Pakeha, indicating some disinclination for the practice (Dickson, Sporle, Rimene, & Paul, 2000). (35, p. 145) • Abortion as a socio-culturally situated practice - Indigenous and migrant perspectives are nuanced differently in alignment with other dominant understandings of abortion. (35, p. 146) • Traditional and contemporary Maori reproductive practices and perspectives on abortion - Maori have a rich traditional source of values, theories and patterns of practice pertaining to reproduction that continue to support childbearing and valuing children in contemporary times. Reproduction continues to be a revered and celebrated process, interwoven with biological, ecological, spiritual and social domains of understanding (Le Grice & Braun, 2016). (35, p. 146) • Dominant representations of traditional Maori patterns of practice associated with reproduction indicate disapproval of abortion. Some suggest that abortion disrupts the wairua created during conception (Turia, 2007). Through abortion, the wairua are diverted to reside with the ancestors (Rimene, Hassan, & Broughton, 1998; Turia, 2004) in spiritual domains (T. Smith, 2012), and do not get the opportunity to reside in the world of light, and experience life. Maori women who live in rural communities among networks of extended family (whanau), where theories and practices have been resistant to colonial change, reportedly have difficulty relating to the decision to seek abortion (Manihera & Turnbull, 1990). Some refer to their obligations to ancestry and interconnected duty of care for the life force that is embedded within the whanau collective (see Turia, 2007). (35, p. 146)
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		• Historical accounts of Maori practices of abortion tell a more complex story that did not completely condemn abortion. Abortion was not linguistically distinguished from miscarriage (T. Smith, 2012). In some accounts, the cause of miscarriage or stillbirth was attributed to the baby who was thought to not be ready for this world (Reynolds, 2012). Women, however, also tried to end pregnancies. (35, p. 146) • Some accounts of abortion practice prior to colonisation suggest that there were known and accepted methods for causing a loss of conception through actions that exerted pressure to the abdomen (Palmer, 2002; T. Smith, 2012). Drinking tea made from boiling roots of the flax plant was a known practice that could cause a loss of conception (Tangohau, 2003), but infanticide and maternal suicide also occurred in response to unwanted pregnancy (Palmer, 2002). (35, p. 146-7) • It is important to reflexively situate the engagement of the lead author, Jade, with the subject, as a Maori woman and Mana Wahine researcher. I am multiply situated in relation to it. I have never had a medical abortion, though I went through a miscarriage as a teenager. I confided in my nan (grandmother) and was reassured by her advice to not blame myself as my body was just not developed enough to carry a baby. I grew up in a context where whangai was practiced – as is common among Maori. My nan raised one of her siblings' children, and one of her niece's children, as her own (my aunty and uncle). I have also supported friends through the termination of pregnancies when they have not been ready to have a baby, and through decisions to retain a pregnancy and raise a child. (35, p. 148) • Evidenced in this participant's apparent reluctance to use the term "abortion" – the use of "that" instead – and her sharp intake of breath after referring to it, talking about abortion was difficult. This expression suggests discomfort or disapproval about the prospect of abortion, and abortion is perceived negatively by many contemporary Maori, who view it as a disruption to the wairua and source of new life (Hiroti, 2011; Manihera & Turnbull, 1990; Rimene et al., 1998; Turia, 2004, 2007). (35, p. 151) • We have engaged a Mana Wahine methodology to explore the diversity (Pihama, 2001) and socio-cultural variability of Maori perspectives on abortion, the first in- depth exploration of this phenomenon. ... Evident in the themes are distinctive overlapping strands, moments of harmony and contention, beyond a "pro-life" or "pro-choice" conceptual divide, or clear division between Maori and non-Maori understandings of abortion. (35, p. 156) • This woman described how she reworked the traditional but still contemporary Maori practice of whenua ki te whenua to apply it also after an abortion. The practice was something she believed could be utilised at any stage of abortion, including where there may only be a small amount of tissue wrapped in a cloth bag. Situating abortion within this tradition and practice framework enabled women (and their whanau) an opportunity to make meaning of an abortion in relation to Maori theories, ideologies and related patterns of practice. The practice of whenua ki te whenua maintains a connection with the whenua (land), ancestors and spiritual realm (Mead, 2003) consistent with a viewpoint that considers social, spiritual and ecological elements integral to human life (Jahnke, 2002; P. Porter, personal communication, 16 December 2010; Tate, 2010). (35, p. 157) • Relational processes are at the heart of whanaungatanga and directly inform the context of childrearing. Te reo Māori, for instance, offers whānau as a homonym for birth, hapū as a homonym for pregnancy and iwi as a homonym for bones, thus metaphorically stitching together reproduction with terms for kinship networks (Mead, 2003).(37, p. 88)
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		• This participant, who herself experienced infertility and adopted a child, spoke positively of her experience growing up in the context of many siblings who formed close friendship bonds; these strong whānau relationships brought about strength and resilience. (37, p. 91) • The fact that women were also considered tapu negates commonly held views that only men were tapu. For example, women were considered highly tapu during menstruation and pregnancy. Menstrual blood was considered 'the flow of ancestral blood' and critical in the development of a future ancestor (Pere, 1982:22). Therefore, as Pere contends, the notion of women as 'unclean' or 'contaminated' during menstruation is completely incongruous with Maori thought (ibid) (38, p. 31) • The reason why this woman was outside the urupa was because she was menstruating or pregnant. This paper examines Maori women's bodies – their materiality and spirituality. I explore the ways in which Maori women's bodies are inscribed by cultural practices and spaces. Bodily rituals discussed include restrictions from cultural spaces when women are hapU or menstruating. The reasons why Maori women are restricted from spaces are examined to reveal the various discourses that surround restriction or exclusion. I question western know ledges and offer a Maori perspective on Maori women's hapU and menstruating bodies. (39, p. 117) • I argue that Maori women's restriction from certain spaces (during menstruation and pregnancy) can be read not as exclusion, subordination, inability and/or disability but as marking their sacredness and importance. I argue this point by deconstructing binaries commonly associated with the body. Binaries represent a dualistic way of thinking where elements are separated into opposing categories that have distinct boundaries or divisions (see Grosz 1989: xvi). (39, p. 118) • The second notion associated with menstruation, shared by the participants, is that having your mate means that you have not produced anything, there is no life coming from you. Sally states: And therefore if you have got your mate ...basically you haven't produced anything, so it's died [sic] and it's something to cry over really that there[s] no life coming from that. (39, p. 120) • Berys Heuer (1972: 11) describes women's clothing and resting places as unclean because of the 'spiritual powers of the menstrual flow'. It is hard to determine where these views of women and menstrual blood as unclean originated. It is possible that other or original meanings were lost through interpretations. Ani Mikaere (1999b: 41) argues that the changing of our mythology to cast women as powerless, evil and unclean is introduced because of its consistency with the bible. (39, p. 120) • Breaking this tapu is seen as a contamination between life and death, and a potential danger to yourself, your baby and possibly others. To enter food-gathering sites to collect food during menstruation is also seen as tapu because you in turn, would make that food tapu. Food-gathering sites are described as noa spaces. Food is noa and is often used to remove tapu. (39, p. 121) • Once again, participants explain tapu in relation to life and death. The food that you are collecting is alive and life sustaining, whereby menstruation is the signification of no life. To enter into a 'food basket' while in a state of tapu would make that space tapu, and again create an imbalance. Descriptions from participants of what would happen if this tapu did occur varied between people falling sick if they ate the food, food in the garden not growing
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		or dying, and seafood moving to other areas of the coast. No participants discussed restriction from food-gathering sites during pregnancy. (39, p. 121) • This feeling of 'specialness' or 'coolness' was only equated to Maori environments where pregnancy is open and celebrated. (39, 121) • Participants' feelings towards restriction from cultural spaces during menstruation or pregnancy vary from western perspectives towards exclusion and marginalization. Instead of feeling restricted from particular spaces, participants felt there was a 'respect' for particular spaces, and also a respect for their bodies, and for tikanga. Participants respected the cultural spaces organized by higher forces of power such as tapu. One participant said to me 'nothing overrides tikanga', and that has always stayed with me because it showed a high respect for herself and for others. (39, p. 122) • Another kuia whose name is indelibly etched upon our identity through her waiata is Erenora who, in the patere "Poia atu taku poi", celebrated her female sexuality as one of the foundation-stones of her mana.⁴⁶ Erenora's high rank and beauty meant that she was greatly sought after by many men. She became attached to a Tūwharetoa man named Te Maraku, a liaison to which his sister, Puhīwahine, objected. Puhīwahine accused Erenora of being arrogant and adulterous. She was particularly critical of Erenora for entering into the relationship with Te Maraku only a short time after having given birth to a child, alleging that she had not disposed of her child's afterbirth before taking another man. Erenora responded with the patere in which, through the figurative journey of her twirling poi, she travels the length of the country establishing her whakapapa links with various chiefly descent lines. At one point, Erenora directly confronts the allegations concerning her not having disposed of her child's afterbirth: Ka rawe rā māua ko taku tara ki te hāpai ewe ki nga whenua . . . See how well my womanhood and I bear the afterbirth throughout the land... Far from denying her sexual prowess, Erenora celebrates it. Through the language she employs her sexual organs are personified; they become her companions as she makes her journey. Erenora sources her mana, not just in her whakapapa, but also in the power of her female sexual being. (81, p. 13) • This is particularly relevant to the subject of menstruation. What was once regarded as a symbol of female power has now come to be regarded as a symbol of female inferiority due to the misinterpretations of some colonial ethnographers and historians. (87, p. 125) • Menstrual blood was seen as carrying ancestors and descendants. Shedding this blood in food spaces, like gardens, was considered culturally inappropriate because of the risk of consumption, relegating the ancestors and descendants to food. The thought is anathema to Māori. Parallels of this kind of thinking can be found in practices that observe the careful storage of whakapapa charts and karakia. You would not place such materials on a food table or kitchen bench. Some restrictions, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku points out, are simply commonsense. For example, the prohibition on women entering the sea to gather food, Te Awekotuku suggests, is sensible. She recounts the story of her friend whose blood attracted the interest of a giant stingray: "It's not because you're dirty, it's because you smell tasty!" Similarly, Te Awekotuku points out that in former times a woman's kope (a pad made out of kohukohu—sphagnum moss) was held in place by a tukaretu (thin woven string belt) or a maro kopua (woven triangular apron). These may not have been as reliable as modern inventions. "There is a risk when you weave, particularly whāriki, your legs are all over the
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		place and one splash of blood could ruin months of work" (Te Awekotuku, personal communication, June 18, 2010). (87, 129) • Other ethnographic recordings contradict these restrictions. The claim that a man must resist the sleeping and sitting places of menstruating women "lest he lose his clairvoyant powers" is an interesting contradiction to the accounts of the employment of menstrual blood and female genitalia in rituals to attract the benevolence of atua and restore clairvoyance, courage, and vitality. According to Best, if a man lost his "powers of sight", if he angered the gods and they deserted him, in order to regain their favour and protection, he would lay down and a woman from a leading family would step over him. Correspondingly, men who lost their nerve in battle anointed themselves with menstrual blood to restore the favour of the gods and their courage respectively (Best: 1941, Pere, personal communication, July 10, 2010). (87, p. 130) • Our tīpuna regarded menstruation as a sacred and ancient river, carrying ancestors and descendents and connecting us to our atua. Menstruation was a time of rest and nurturance in honor of the continuity of life. Tikanga surrounding menstruation bonded the genders through a mutual understanding and respect. It also bound the generations through ceremonies of reverence and celebration. (87, p. 131) • Creating the space and time for wāhine, and for whānau, to share their experiences, to share tikanga and kōrero tuku iho pertaining to birth, is crucial and this necessarily requires the support of tāne, whānau, the state and our communities. (89, p. 152) • Importantly, our tikanga affirms the sanctity of the Māori maternal body; our traditions view the maternal body as a source of eternal power and recognise a cyclical system of rebirth and renewal through te awa atua – menstruation, and the tapu and sacredness accorded to the maternal body during pregnancy and birth. The respect accorded to the Māori maternal body is not just of practical significance but rather reflected a recognition of the profound spiritual significance of the female body in traversing the spiritual boundaries and in bringing life into the world from Te Pō (the realm of darkness) to te ao mārama (the realm of light). (91, p. 170) • [Linked to breast feeding]: This spiritual foundation of our maternities is also reflected further in our physical everyday traditions and in particular in the esteem with which mothers were held in society as bearers of the next generation. Key terms denote further the significance of the maternal figure in Māori society such as whare tangata, whenua, atua, hapu, and whānau; terms of significance in the Māori world that are inexplicitly intertwined with the prestige and sanctity of the maternal. (91, p. 170)
	Wāhine Bodies' Connection to Pūrākau	• The third strand reconfigures embodied and spatial conceptualisations of Papatūānuku. Māori women's maternal bodies are intimately tied to Papatūānuku in a way that challenges the oppositional distinctions between mind/body and biology/social inscription. Māori women's maternal bodies (and the representation of them in te reo Māori) are constructed by, and in turn, construct Papatūānuku. Furthermore, women's spatial relationship to tūrangawaewae, home space and wider environmental concerns demonstrates the co-constitution of subjectivities, bodies and space/place. (3, p. iv) • The materiality of maternal bodies can be understood through specific cultural and spiritual contexts as intimately connected to the whenua and to spiritual concepts of tapu and noa. Māori women's maternal bodies, and the representation of them in te reo Māori, are constructed by and in turn construct Papatūānuku. These maternal bodies demand a re-conceptualisation of the binary between biology and social inscription. I argue that Māori

		women's spatial relationship to tūrangawaewae, home space and wider environmental concerns provides an important platform from which to examine the co-constitution of subjectivities, bodies and space/place. The spatial imaginary of home is intimately tied to Māori women's understandings and sense of connectedness to Papatūānuku. Environmental responsibilities and practices point to the materiality of Papa's body and the reciprocal relationship of constitution between places and people. (3, p. 6) • The all-female performance drew its inspiration from the story of Te Ao-kapurangi, a woman who, in the early nineteenth century, rescued her people of Te Arawa from fugitives and established a permanent peace. The dance depicted themes of femininity, fluidity, and strength by integrating contemporary dance tropes with Māori motifs. Woven baskets, imagery of native birds, wiri hand movements, and pūkana facial expressions reinforced the integration of Māori culture into the performance. Mana wahine portrayed the dancers' bodies as places of activism and of storytelling, depicting the strength of Te Ao-kapurangi alongside her femininity. (12, p. 71-2) • Hine-Nui-Te-Pō does not mean the Goddess of Death or the Big Goddess of Death. The essence of her name cannot be fully articulated in English; however, I would like to draw emphasis to the word Nui. Nui in relation to Hine-Nui Te-Pō is often translated as big or great, however, this translation fails to consider the true vastness of who Hine-Nui-Te-Pō is. It can also be understood as one of the ways in which fatism as a system, like that of sexism and racism, seeks to re-present, re-name and re-shape Māori women. Nui has connotations of being large, being plentiful, being great and abundant, superior and great as well as vast and important. In this sense, Hine-Nui Te-Pō is not only abundant in her mana and her essence, but also, I believe in her size. And this size is one of the ways in which her body sovereignty is continually disregarded or actively omitted from conversations. ... The history of Māui entering Hine-Nui-Te-Pō shows how Māui died because he entered Hine-Nui-Te-Pō without consent, and I suggest that in fact, Māui's death was an act of body sovereignty for Hine-Nui-Te-Pō.(42, p. 215) • It is here, in the story of Māui's death that the potency of the female sexual organs becomes most explicit of all. The passage through which each of us passes to enter Te Ao Mārama is the same passage through which each of us must pass on our inevitable journey back to Te Po. (79, p. 7) • The practice of returning the placenta to Papatūānuku - kia whakahoki te whenua ki te whenua - is perhaps the most evidenced tikanga that is being reclaimed by whānau. (89, p. 152) • Ūkaipō is a most significant and profound concept consistently reflected in these stories. Literally referring to "the night-feeding breast", Ūkaipō is reflective of a person's everlasting connection with the maternal (both in the physical and spiritual realm); a person will always be drawn back and return to the 'night-feeding breast' of the mother. In life this occurs in a physical manner with the relationship between mother and child, and in death this also occurs with the return to Papatūānuku, the eternal mother from whom all humankind originates. (91, p. 169)
	Colonial Impact on Wāhine Bodies	• In the 1937 Inquiry it was noted that practitioners had "difficulty isolating them [Māori patients] from white patients". For example, it had been reported to the Committee that some Pākehā women would prefer to travel from Tokomaru Bay to Gisborne, some 90km away, so as to

		have a single room rather than share the local unit with Māori (Committee of Inquiry 1937). (2, p. 33) • In 1913, Truby King the 'founding father' of Plunket stressed that the role of the Royal New Zealand Society for the Health and Wellbeing of Women and Children, which in 1925 became Plunket, was to 'inculcate' the responsibilities of maternity with particular concern to advocating and promoting breastfeeding (Bryder 2001). Leonie Pihama (2001) argues, however, that for King the connection between childbearing and the growth of the colonial empire served to marginalise Māori women. Lynda Bryder (2001, 66) reinforces this argument with reference to the 1917 slogans of the Plunket 'Save the babies' campaign. (2, p. 34) • At times, this means that intersectional approaches to body positivity are excluded from the movement and those who experience multiple forms of oppression actively omitted, or further de-visualised from this 'revolutionary' movement (Sastre, 2014). The mis-appropriation of body positivity by white women (often 'thin[ner] and meeting conventional beauty standards) (Cwynar-Horta, 2016) has led to the lack of complex analyses of (bio)power structures that restrict access for women – specifically of multiple identities – from being a part of this movement and potentially having access to body positivity. Body positivity also reinforces the notions that the onus for acceptance of fat people, especially women, lies with fat people/women themselves. This 'love yourself' and 'accept yourself' narrative perpetuates the invisibilisation of (perpetrators of) inequitable power structures and oppressive systems that restrict and assign access to bodily acceptance, acknowledgement and value. (42, p. 221) • The marginalisation of te reo Māori has a direct impact on maternal bodies and women's reproductive processes, as well as wider Māori society. (2, p. 49) • of a chair and realism—indicative, perhaps, of her savage state. Although the writer concludes with her "just sitting in a chair, with nothing to do," the purpose of the chair was determined for her by the others who surrounded her in the cabin: the painter, writer, or perhaps even one of the "savages." These images are no mere records or empty projections of imperialist desires onto the bodies of actual Māori women. They were not a message to Māori women nor even Māori men, but to a European audience, summoning for them a type within a series of types, whose status as native and as woman were part of the operation of power and violence as a legitimized power-in-action.¹⁹ Louis Althusser's notion of interpellation is useful in understanding images as discourse and, therefore, as mechanisms of power (5, p. 86) • Professor Te Awekotuku, along with Rosanna Raymond, discussed the erasure of Māori and Pasifika sexuality using examples of relics and art in the Auckland Museum whose sexual parts were literally cut off. (12, p. 72) • The ideological dichotomisation of male and female, hierarchical division within society based on ethnicity, and individualism has meant that Māori women have been (re)defined, (re)fashioned, (re)named and (re)organised into a colonial social order that atrophies who and what Māori women represent (Waitere-Ang, 1998). The result is that at times Māori women See for example, G. Smith (1997); L. Smith, (1992, 1999); Johnston (1998); Johnston and Pihama (1994, 1995); Waitere-Ang (1998). must (re)mind Māori men, as much as non-Māori men and women, about who they are and from whom they descend. Many Māori women – writers, film makers, academics and artists – are located within the position of 'talking back',
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		‘filming back’, ‘writing back’ and ‘painting back’ (Irwin, 1992; Jenkins, 1992; Mead, 1996; Mita, 1993; Pihama, 1995; Te Awakotuku, 1991) in order to (re)assert their authority through (re)uniting the status of Māori women as complementary and equal to that of Māori men, a position that was corrupted by colonisation (Johnston & Pihama, 1995). This becomes particularly important when non-Māori have vested in themselves the power to (re)define the position and function of Māori women in both Pākehā and Māori contexts, and when many Māori men accept such (re)interpretations uncritically. (18, p. 25-26) • It was through colonisation and the Christian retelling of Māori mythological narratives, Mikaere argues, that the female body was repositioned as a source of sin and corruption, shattering mana wāhine and throwing out of balance whanau structures. The womb symbols of Te Kore and Te Pō, which formerly represented the origins of life, were replaced by a male, monotheist, all-supreme god, Io, and his son, Tāne, with Hine-ahu-one, the first Māori woman, demoted to a passive, receptive role (Mikaere, 1999). (29, p. 7) • Newly colonised Māori women were expected to live in separate spheres and divorce themselves from the political concerns of the community. Instead of a symbiotic existence, Māori women and children became barely involved in a new ‘men’s world’. Perhaps the most traumatic aspect of the colonial project was that Māori women’s bodies were rendered dirty, reproduction was coupled with embarrassment, and fertility with immorality. Mikaere writes that ‘the colonizers took away Māori women’s power by taking away knowledge about their bodies, their identities as women, their mana wahine’.²² This government-sanctioned ‘taming’ of the bodies of wāhine Māori would have adverse effects on their representation. The pre-colonial Māori female form was captured in Western art as archival fetishisation. Having tamed her, white men then became obsessed with capturing her ‘untamed’ qualities in art and performance – a reverse Pygmalion.^(31, p. 219) • Foucault (1976) argues that biopolitics revolves around processes of surveillance of, for example, births, deaths, reproduction and fertility, which can become biopolitical mechanisms of control. Biopolitics revolves around populations as political, biological problems inherently linked to and stratified by power. Through power, biopolitics is disciplinary and regulatory in its operationalisation, bodies are represented and hyper-medicalised as undisciplined if they are not conforming to their inscribed expectations, which are often sexualised and racialised (Foucault, 1976; Murray, 2016) and fatist also. (42, p. 219) • Neoliberal discourses of ‘choice’, ‘agency’ and ‘empowerment’ coalesce with sexualised femininities in a consumer culture, with some women represented as happily sexualised subjects of their own identification. This is not accessible to all, as women who do not fit within constructions of conventional attractiveness or have access to a disposable income to augment their body to do so are excluded from these subject positions (Evans, Riley, and Shankar 2010).^(44, p. 371) • Sexual violence: However, a long legacy of colonising demands imposed limiting representations of Māori men and women, occluding representations that arise from our own cultural context, to the extent that many Māori accept men’s dominance over women as an inherent part of our culture (Le Grice 2014; Mikaere 2010). (44, p. 375) • Desirable ‘exoticism’ may be tied to historical meanings of Māori ‘savagery’ that sharpen the negative judgements imposed upon exotic dancers’ value and ability to be responsible in other circumstances and contexts. (44, p. 377)
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		• A range of colonial mechanisms operated to marginalise Maori women on the basis of their race and gender. Maori women were viewed as 'savages' and 'sexual objects', in situations that were often misinterpreted by Pakeha people. ... According to Salmond, Banks "greatly enjoyed his love affairs in Tahiti" and so may have assumed that sex would be available in Aotearoa. Such an assumption could be read into the reference of Maori women as flirtatious (coquettes, skittish and akin to 'unbroke fillies'), all of which hold strong sexual reference. Furthermore, Banks defines the actions of Maori women in line with his own cultural assumptions, and his own sexual fascinations, and therefore fails to take into account cultural intricacies of greeting processes, in particular the Hongi. ... A second example highlighted by Anne Salmond refers to an encounter between Maori women and Surville's French crew: ...The women now approached the sailors 'making all tDonna Flavell (2018) he gestures that are not made especially not in public, going as far as drawing aside the bird skin that covers their nakedness and showing everything they have.' This behaviour was interpreted by the French as 'lasciviousness', but under the circumstances of extreme hostility it was more likely to have been the whakapohane, an expression of intense derision and contempt.(13) (60, no pg no) • Validating the thrust of assimilation and social control was the assertion of the social ordering of races, which was expressed in statements such as the following made by early medical observer Arthur Thompson: It was ascertained by weighing the quantity of millet seeds the skull contained and by measurements with tapes and compasses that New Zealanders [Maori] heads are smaller than the heads of Englishmen, consequently the New Zealander [Maori] are inferior in mental capacity. This comparative smallness of the brain is produced by neglecting to exercise the higher faculties of the mind, for as muscles shrink from want of use it is only natural that generations of mental indolence should lessen the size of the brains.(14) (60, no pg no) • For many years, there had been fascination with theories concerning the different mental capacities of men and women. The 'cranium theory' which had set out to prove that women's brains were smaller, lighter and less convoluted than men's were now [1880s] out of date. More fashionable were the gynaecological theories which dwelt on the dangers of upsetting bodily functions in adolescence.(15) There existed then two different rationales for the use and legitimisation of cranium measuring techniques. One espoused the inferiority of Maori people, on the basis of race and racial characteristics, and this then served as justification for acts of cultural genocide and land confiscation. The second espoused the inferiority of women, on the basis of sex, this serving as justification for the denial of access to a range of spheres. Hence, for Maori women, the overall impact was a denial of crucial cultural aspects and a redefinition of their roles within Maori society. (60, no pg no) • Re: Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI): Previous work with Māori men and women who are released from prison shows that there are significant health issues for them that impact their life chances and their health before prison, during incarceration and post-release. Department of Corrections state that of the approximate 20,000 men and women that are imprisoned each year 61% will have mental health problems which includes drug and alcohol addictions. Of those approximately 3000 are considered 'at risk' (Stuff, Feb 2017). (61, p. 277) • What the available literature shows is that Māori (Indigenous people of Aotearoa) and Pacific people who experience fertility issues are generally less likely than Pākehā (European settler New Zealanders) to seek fertility clinic assistance (Foaese 2017; Glover 2008; Reynolds and
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		Smith 2012; Righarts et al. 2021). In this article, we examine why this may be the case by presenting interview data from Māori and Pacific cisgender women for whom a key barrier blocking access to fertility services is the use of clinical criteria, which include a Body Mass Index (BMI) cutoff of 32 kg/m2. • BMI: What the available literature shows is that Māori (Indigenous people of Aotearoa) and Pacific people who experience fertility issues are generally less likely than Pākehā (European settler New Zealanders) to seek fertility clinic assistance (Foaese 2017; Glover 2008; Reynolds and Smith 2012; Righarts et al. 2021). In this article, we examine why this may be the case by presenting interview data from Māori and Pacific cisgender women for whom a key barrier blocking access to fertility services is the use of clinical criteria, which include a Body Mass Index (BMI) cutoff of 32 kg/m2. (65, p. 339) • BMI: As follows, we adopt Dotson's reading of epistemic injustice to explain why some of our study participants (as do we, the authors) experience difficulties and resistance to accepting dominant westernized attitudes around BMI criteria and weight loss as a pathway to fertility treatment access (65, p. 340) • BMI: This phenomenon disproportionately affects Māori and Pacific women (see Parker, Pausé, and Le Grice 2019), because although 30% of the adult population in Aotearoa have a BMI over 30 kg/m2, 15% of Māori and Pacific people have a BMI over 35 kg/m2, two- to four-fold higher than the Pākehā population (Tremellen, Wilkinson, and Savulescu 2017). In Aotearoa, Farquhar and Gillett (2006) uncritically state that having a BMI over 32 kg/m2 is a major contributor to infertility and complications in pregnancy, as well as a major risk factor for poor health outcomes and increased healthcare costs. However, aside from evidence disputing the use of BMI as a determinant of health (Bacon and Aphramor 2011), Tremellen et al. (2017, 571) point out that "there is limited evidence showing that mandating weight loss prior to IVF results in improvements in [fertility] treatment outcomes." In fact, these authors go on to say that IVF success rates for "obese" women are superior to women in their 40s who can access private fertility treatment. (65, p. 340) • It is public knowledge in Aotearoa that Pacific peoples have higher body fat, bone mass, and muscle mass than New Zealand Europeans (Frayon et al. 2018). This perception is negatively reinforced by media accounts fat shaming Māori and Pacific persons and experience of clinical encounters with health professionals who regularly conflate poor health with large body size (Warbrick, Came, and Dickson 2019). In our study, participants disclosed that in fertility clinics they would often feel "overweight" or "obese," based on images of "skinny people" in pamphlets, posters, and other fertility resources, but that members of their family and community would perceive them as skinny. (65, p. 344-5) • Malu was frustrated and upset when she was told she would struggle to successfully undergo fertility treatment, yet someone larger than herself could become pregnant without assistance. (65, p. 345) • Awhina commented on her GP's failure to give her a bona fide infertility diagnosis, which was critical for access to public funding. She resented the implication that losing weight was both the cause and solution to her infertility (65, p. 346) • In 2010 I embarked upon research examining the stories, ceremonies, practices and attitudes regarding menstruation in the pre-colonial Māori world. I had grown increasingly suspicious of references to menstruation as some filthy women's sickness. How could menstruation be considered "paru", I wondered, by a culture that referred to women, as the "whare
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		tangata'—"house of humanity"? If Māori women's reproductive bodies were a source of uncleanness and inferiority, why were there countless mōteatea that celebrated female sexuality in graphic detail? (87, p. 124) • Māori women's reproductive bodies, and menstruation in particular, have been demonized by language reminiscent of the Witch-hunts of Britain and Europe. This language has continued into recent "authoritative" texts, creating oppressive dialogues about the inferiority of Māori women and girls. (87, p. 125) • Like all indigenous peoples who are living through colonisation, Māori now have high rates of suicide as well as high-risk and anti-social behaviours. This is the effect of the trauma caused by the oppression of colonisation, it is an attack on our wairua. It leads to a whole bunch of outcomes that we all know and that I'm not going to go into - I think we can accept that colonisation is oppression, which is trauma. What I want to discuss now is the fact that, just as colonisation is very clearly oppression, so too is the repression of sexual diversity. Sexual repression = oppression = trauma What I'm calling sexual repression consists of acts and messages that say that sexual diversity is wrong - that anyone who isn't heterosexual is abnormal, deviant or immoral, and is somehow a threat to society, or to tikanga or family values, whatever those are. Clearly, that is about oppressing people, and it must therefore be an attack on their wairua. (88, p. 136-7) • To me, this seems parallel to how heterosexual ways of being have been privileged by the Crown, by churches and eventually by our own communities and whānau, while at the same time other ways of being have been suppressed. This has meant that many young queer people struggle with who they will be and what their future will look like, for exactly the same reasons that young Māori often struggle with these questions (and it is likely that this is particularly true of young people who are both queer and Māori). Because almost everywhere we turn, it is being drummed into us that we are different, and lesser, and wrong - and we are then blamed for the inevitable outcomes. (87, p. 138) • In a survey of New Zealand high school students, compared to students who identified as exclusively opposite-sex attracted, twice as many same-sex attracted students were afraid that someone would hurt or bother them at school, three times as many had stayed away from school because they were afraid someone would hurt or bother them, three times as many were bullied weekly at school, and 54 percent had been physically assaulted in the last 12 months (compared with 42 percent of exclusively opposite sex attracted students); of the same-sex attracted students who were bullied, one third were bullied because they were perceived to be gay (Rossen, Lucassen, Denny, Robinson, 2009, p. 26). (87, p. 139) • Whether we're talking about race or perceived sexuality or gender, when schools fail to challenge hatred of any sort, they give a clear message that it is okay, and that there is something wrong with the victims. Studies consistently show that these messages are associated with the physical, emotional and social harm that I've been talking about, the self hatred, the isolation and the suicide. (87, p. 139) • There is no doubt in my mind that calculated colonialism changed Māori birthing. But more than that, colonialism is lived (experienced, embodied, negotiated and resisted). It is living and extant, comprised of active, evolving, not-yet-complete, and ever present practices. It is a continuing endeavour that continues across myriad geographies (De Leuw & Hunt 2011). (89, p. 150)
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		Judgement about sexuality. Judgement about not being married that is represented in our laws of welfare. Media representation of women, Maori women in particular. Judgement of their choice of partner. In criminal law the law of omissions, of failure to protect children, in my view is in some way related to this imposition of this new moral order about appropriate female sexuality and behaviour. (32, p. 16)
Theme 9: Decolonising Frameworks and Approaches for Wāhine Empowerment	Mana Wāhine and Kaupapa Māori as Decolonising Approaches	- I use a mana wahine (Māori women's) framework to critique discourses that continue to marginalise and isolate Māori women and their whānau (family group) during their maternity experiences. Importantly, this research highlights the possibilities of reclaiming and reconfiguring mana wahine in both theory and practice. Mana wahine provides a much needed theoretical framework that enables Māori women to (re)define and (re)present our lived realities on our own terms. A qualitative mixed method approach of interviews, solicited diary writing and a marae based wānanga is employed to examine the lived experiences of birth for ten first time mothers, five midwives and a wānanga of 17 women and their whānau. (2, p. iv) - Indigenous approaches, Kaupapa Māori included, recognise the validity and uniqueness of indigenous experiences and the desire to make sense of those experiences for ourselves on our own terms (Battiste 2000; Smith 2012). (2, p. 41) - Flexibility is an important part of mana wahine methodology; therefore my research methodology was adapted to ensure the women felt comfortable in their participation. (3, p. 40) - On top of this many of us, as young mothers, were looking carefully at our conceptual frameworks and the pedagogies being employed in the schooling system. We were part of the vanguard of those who established Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa. We were on our own pathways of discovery to reclaim our Reo Rangatira and the language relating to the Treaty of Waitangi. We developed decolonisation processes on marae and in community halls and churches. (14, no pg no) - The wearing of moko kauae has survived colonialism through courageous wāhine Māori who continued to wear the mark of their female ancestors (Pihama, 2018). The efforts of Pākehā to oppress wāhine Māori identity in this sense has failed. To hold firm to Māori values, beliefs and culture is to decolonise (Smith, 1999). (33, p. 72) - Being yourself, no assimilation: 3 Either I could assimilate myself into the dominant culture (Pākehā and male) of the university, thereby being considered successful, or I could leave, a failure. For me, assimilation was not an acceptable option. I wanted to remain 'me, myself, I' (with thanks to Joan Armatrading): a Maori, feminist academic. To doso, I sought to uphold the counsel of Rangimarie Rose Pere: Kia maumahara ki tou manaake: Remember your absolute uniqueness.'14 (69, p. 59) - The identification of the person being spoken about is determined through our knowledge of the context. It is often the case that neither the person nor their gender is of relevance; rather, what is central is identifying that the work is done. This way of thinking about our roles in the world inspires decolonial thinking and practices. (93, p. 194) - What can we do as a post-colonial or decolonisation strategy to reify or lift or raise the position of wahine Maori; to improve their lives and to be Treaty compliant; to assist in addressing the breaches of equity and discrimination which are breaches of Article 3 of Te Tiriti o Waitangi; and what can we do to then use that as a platform to assist in goals of mana

		motuhake and tino rangatiratanga, self-determination of wahine Maori as guaranteed by Article 2 of Te Tiriti. (32, p. 10) • That claim [Wai2700] is based upon this breach of the inherent mana and iho, the connecting thread of wahine Maori, and it aims to examine the systemic discrimination, inequities and deprivation suffered by wahine Maori in the post-colonial context, and the effect that it has had upon the positioning of contemporary wahine Maori, not just contemporary but generations of Maori women-the negation of our mana motuhake and rangatiratanga, so leadership, self-determination, as well as status for all women. Obviously because it's a claim in the Waitangi Tribunal, the opposition if you like is the Crown, and it's about the breaches of the Treaty and how the Crown has facilitated this discrimination, and the consequential inequities and deprivation suffered by women in ways that are Treaty non-compliant. So that's the mana wahine claim.(32, p. 12) • Maori feminism then, mana wahine, is underpinned by Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the promises of tino rangatiratanga under Article 2, and equal citizenship in Article 3. It's about the promotion of mana, the power, authority and influence of women, and the recognition of tikanga and kaupapa Maori, in our laws, our legal processes and institutional structures. The recognition of different familial structures and obligations, our roles and responsibilities in relation to whenua, territory and resources, but also political decision making and power. (32, p. 19)
	Decolonising by Critiquing and Challenging Misrepresentation	• Understanding Maaori wahine differences is decolonising: On the diversity of wahine Māori realities Kathie Irwin (1992) writes: In our work with Māori women we need to recognize that they, like any other community of women, are not a homogenous group. A number of other factors influence Māori women's development: tribal affiliation, social class, sexual preference, knowledge of traditional Māori tikanga, knowledge of the Māori language, rural or urban location, identification on the political spectrum from radical to traditional, place in the family, the level of formal schooling and educational attainments to name but a few (p. 2). Our experiences of the world and how we see it are diverse and unique to each one of us (4, p. 40) • Naming the attitudes: The devaluing of Māori women's creativity diminishes the cultural power of reclamation, of autonomy and ultimately the deep cultural healing embodied within the practices of raranga and whatu. (4, p. 45) • This article rests on the understanding that 'an examination of the contours of Washday at the Pā is still instructive' (McDonald, 1988, p. 23). (6, p. 686) • Washday at the Pa: But this conclusion demands acceptance that because Washday was an accurate portrayal of Māori life, it was 'true' and therefore by definition of value as a school textbook for Social Studies. But this claim rests on the politically suspect assumption that 'Māori life' is a 'natural category' for social science study, which brings in the whole Kaupapa Māori critique of Eurocentric knowledge and research, as espoused by Linda Tuhiwai Smith in her seminal text Decolonizing methodologies (2012). There are two main problems with this reasoning used by Openshaw. First, Washday was intended as an engaging photo-essay reader for primary students, not as a sociology text, so the 'accuracy' of its portrayal was not important. Second, the text Westra wrote to accompany her photographs can hardly be said to rest on 'accurate' observations of her subjects. (6, p. 687) • Why decolonise: Pākehā misunderstanding of Māori thinking is also in keeping with the sociological rule that, in any society, members of powerful groups have the privilege of

		remaining ignorant (if they so choose) about disempowered groups, while the powerless have every reason to study the powerful (Graeber, 2012). Contemporary calls for more truthful versions of the national history of Aotearoa New Zealand to be taught in schools, and for national commemoration of the nineteenth-century Land Wars (Smallman, 2016) continue this contestation over national identity, which changes its terms over the years, as questions of Māori difference shift increasingly towards more symbolic realms, such as books and imagery. (6, p. 691) • Stewart's (bicultural) perspective of Washday at the Pa: Not only the photographs, but the people in the photographs, and the story of the book, are 'trapped like an insect in resin'—like an exhibit in the museum of Māori education history: a valuable, a taonga (treasure) for us to examine, study and learn from. This article has shone a wahine-centric view through the Washday story. It has given voice to the characters, a Māori woman and girl, in some of the most memorable Washday photographs. As does Washday itself, this article plays with the boundary and overlap between truth and fiction. (6, p. 692) • From this standpoint, decolonisation is not about fragmentation resulting from colonisation, but about unlearning, disengagement, and strengthening Māori at multiple levels. (9, p. 18) • Misrepresentation: Maori film critic and educator, Leonie Pihama (1994, p. 240) includes herself in a 'critical struggle [by Maori people] that is related to our images and the ways in which we are presented and re-presented by the dominant voice' (my emphasis). The 'critical struggle', that Pihama refers to, is against visual misrepresentation of Maori people and is part of a deconstructionist effort to uncover underlying assumptions upon which our epistemological positions are based... [that] necessitates a depth of analysis that reaches into questions which seek to unmask modernist metanarratives that validate the belief that eurocentric constructions. of history, and in particular of the histories of the colonised, present the 'one true' interpretation (pp. 241-2). Pihama's observation of a Maori 'critical' struggle can be used as a model to combat inaccurate or inadequate representations of Maori people. (59, p. 308) • Western model of identity politics determines Maori wahine identity: In this, activist Maori women take their cue from the feminist struggle and reinvent tradition, as do their Pakeha counterparts. Dominy thus offers a Western model of identity politics⁷ to explain the awakening of political awareness among Maori women. In this additive model, indigenous women in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, led by their Pakeha counterparts, discover their identity as oppressed women prior to their awareness of their identity as oppressed Maori women (66, p. 60)
	Decolonising Approaches for Naming	• "Maori and Pasifika are used to microaggressions. So, depending on the time of day or what you have going on, you really choose your battles on what to fight. Not having people around you that also feel those microaggressions is a huge barrier. I believe that as brown women in surgery, or even through medicine, we have been gaslit to a point where it erodes our self-confidence."(13, p. 111) • Imposter syndrome (the feeling of never being deserving or good enough) consistently emerged. Being consistently challenged as wahine Maori and Pasifika in the workplace often led to wahine experiencing deep insecurities of their own clinical competence. Additionally, the knowledge of the (not so) hidden curriculum meant that wahine felt compelled to work harder than any of their colleagues to gain the same level of respect:(13, p. 111)

		• Double standards - a higher level of morality was expected from Maori on government benefits, when impoverished, Maori are held to a stricter moral standard: But the dark side of this election was the story of Metiria Turei, the coleader of the Green Party. After a substantial political career, Metiria Turei resigned from the co-leader position amid a political and moral controversy after coming out in solidarity with people on government benefits: she admitted to lying when she was a young mother in order to receive higher social welfare payments. The vitriolic outpouring underscored that a greater standard of morality is required of Maori, and that when they are poor they must not only be deserving, but the most deserving of all. Despite Prime Minister Ardern's commitment to bringing in a government of 'kindness', a vocal unkindness is directed towards (ex) welfare recipients, refugees and people of colour. At the heart of this contradiction is the 'New Zealand experiment' (Kelsey 1997; Lerner 2000), which is largely responsible for transforming Aotearoa New Zealand from a welfare to a neoliberal state beginning in the 1980s. (20, p. 1183) • [Pakeha social worker decolonising]: For myself intersectionality in Aotearoa New Zealand means that as a Pakeha I have to explicitly take up a position to encompass anti-racist work (encompassing decolonisation) and I have to be prepared to be told that "you cannot take it with you" on a daily basis. More generally it means, for example, that I interrogate my work as a social worker, as a person, and as a parent, to ensure, as much as possible, that I am not trying to take something with me that does not belong to me. (21, p. 45) • [Pakeha decolonising intersectionality (race, gender, class, and sexuality)]: Mattsson (2014) argues that critical reflection on its own can lead to a sort of relativism when the specific oppressions and power structures unique to race, gender, class, and sexuality (and their interactions) are not carefully and specifically considered. However, Murphy and colleagues (2009) warn that, for social workers, this sort of reflection could be extremely challenging and notes that "the thought for any social worker that, however intentionally, he or she is part of the greater system of oppression is, at the very least, an uncomfortable one. This process of self-examination can be painful" (p. 46). (21, p. 46) • On 'out of sight' women: oHon. Helen Clark, Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Prime Minister of New Zealand from 1999 to 2008, stated in a speech in Auckland in September 2015: Gender inequality remains pervasive – yet societies clearly are the poorer if they fail to tap the full potential of half their population. Around the world, where women are 'out of sight out of mind' – disempowered and under-represented in decision-making circles – meeting their needs often doesn't get prioritized. (Clark, 2015) (35, p. 569) • Naming the oppression: As Awatere points out: "The oppression of women does not exist in a vacuum: economic and racial privileges cannot be separated from sexual power. (67, p. 163) • Naming is an important site of resistance for Māori women and as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) explains, it is one of the projects integral to remembering and reconnecting to our culture, to our ways of seeing and being: This involves the renaming of the landscape and the world around us using the original indigenous names. Naming of places and people with traditional names is an excellent way of remembering and storing our histories. Many children with traditional names literally have their histories stored in their names. Naming is also a way of remembering connections and relationships between people, communities, tribes and the physical environment. (p. 157) ... In understanding how colonisation has disconnected us
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		from our names and naming practices, it is pivotal that we unravel the impact of colonial institutions and ideologies because in doing so, we reveal the potential for re-connection and healing. This article is based on my doctoral research, which examined the importance of Māori personal names and naming practices for Māori through the lens of a Taranaki whānau. In this thesis, I argue that the whānau unit is a bastion of resistance, reclamation and resurgence for our personal names, which are expressions of our language, belonging and identity. After hearing, reading and critically analysing the kōrero ingoa (naming stories) of whānau participants (Seed-Pihama, 2017) it became apparent that the attempted erasure of our ingoa, as part of the colonial project, was a story that needed to be told to fill in some hidden or forgotten gaps in our present-day knowledge. (92, p. 179) • Naming the disruptions is decolonising: Linda Smith, on numerous occasions speaks of the disruption to Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) caused by colonialism (see Smith 1992, 1996, 2012). She explains:28 “one does not need to look far for signs of fragmentation” (Smith 1996, 5). Others describe this as interruption (Gabel 2013), disjuncture or disorder (Johnston and Waitere 2009; Pihama 2001). Indeed, to mana wahine maternities colonisation has been all of these things. Mana wahine maternities have been subject to attacks on a number of fronts, spiritual, spatial and physical, since early European contact, the effects of which are still being felt today (as demonstrated in Chapter Five). (2, p. 29)
	Decolonising Approaches for Wāhine Stories and Research	• It is also but one iteration of multiple, diverse and colourful stories that can serve to empower women in their experiences of birth. This research then offers another opening for what I hope will be an on-going dialogue about mana wahine maternities, mana wahine geographies and more broadly, mana wahine. (2, p. 18-19) • In a similar vein to Alice Walker [important for women today to reflect on the experiences of earlier African American women writers in order to understand their own.], this research is committed to searching for and (re)privileging the birth stories of Māori women - of our mothers, sisters, grandmothers, aunts, great grandmothers -stretching back to our atua wāhine. (2, p. 20) • For the most part these early ethnographic accounts presented atua wāhine, in cosmological narratives and mythology, as passive, distant, irrational, and polluting in opposition to male characters that were considered active, present, rational and powerful. Further, Christian missionaries were quick to label Māori women in mythology (and in reality) as wanton, immoral and undisciplined. For example, in an analysis of early 20th Century postcard depictions of Māori women, Sarah Hudson (2010) explains that many of these representations showed Māori women as sexually inviting or immoral. (2, p. 29) • Own tools: Personally, this was the call to both dismantle a house built on my whenua where once stood our kaik (villages) and shelters that held our wāhine Kāi Tahu truths and to use our abundant collection of Kāi Tahu tools to rebuild through our own pūrākau. (10, p. 5) • Revitalising the stories of Atua Wahine and Tuawahine are part of a process of decolonising and demystifying the construction of western constructs of the heroine. Pihama (1994) describes such acts as key components of a process that is inherently political, contesting archetypal representations of the Western heroine. The potential of such an approach is not only a decolonizing methodology (Smith, 1999) that seeks to influence the resurrecting of stories of Atua Wahine and Tuawahine; it provides an opportunity to regenerate cultural ways of knowing. This is part of the Tino Rangatiranga process. (16, p. 68)

		• Because of the numerous ways by which Māori and women were defined through colonisation, there have been a number of consequences. In the documentation of Māori 'history', for example, Māori women became invisible, written out of our own 'stories'. Those who recorded and rewrote the stories assumed the lead characters within Māori history to be only Māori men. The invisibilisation of Māori women was a direct consequence of the colonial process, and through schooling practices in particular, Māori history became Māori 'mythology' with Māori women portrayed in non-consequential unimportant roles (L. Smith, 1992). (18, p. 24) • Kaupapa Māori Research is one version of a decolonising methodology proven to be both effective and rich in research and reclaiming of Māori knowledge and rights (Bishop, 1998). (10, p. 5) • only a handful of studies seeking to understand 'female' and 'minority' experiences of surgical training have been published (Mocanu et al., 2020; Ulloa et al., 2018; Villanueva et al., 2021). However, studies specifically assessing the low rates of Indigenous recruitment into surgical training and their experiences of applying for surgical training have not been performed. Racism is an important determinant of health and an underlying cause of ethnic health inequities in Aotearoa, (13, p. 107)
	Decolonising Approaches for Health and Maternity	• The first considers the ways in which colonialism is lived and embodied in maternity experiences for many whānau. New formations of colonialism are evident in the silence that can surround the maternal body for women in this research. The second theme highlights how whakapapa (genealogy), wairua (spirituality), and whenua (land/placenta), can provide a powerful reconceptualisation of the maternal body that offers new possibilities for thinking about maternal embodiment, the spaces of birth (both material and discursive) and maternity policy and practice. Third, it is argued that many women and whānau occupy a number of in-between maternity spaces as a result of our colonised realities. As such, considerations of space from a mana wahine perspective can serve to destabilise the dualisms that dominate the spatial politics of birth in Aotearoa. Finally, this thesis posits that by reclaiming the collective and spiritual spaces of birth and afterbirth it is possible to transform and empower women and whānau in their maternity experiences. (2, p. iv) • reclaiming mana wahine maternities has the potential to transform women's birthing experiences by (re)asserting the tino rangatiratanga (self determination) of women, of their babies, and of their whānau, and thus the rangatiratanga of Māori communities, hapū (sub-tribe/sub-tribes) and iwi (tribe/tribes). (2, p. iv) • It is my hope that by applying a mana wahine perspective to Māori women's embodied, spiritual and spatial understandings of birth, I not only challenge the dominant hegemony that continue to 'Other' Māori women, but I also provide an important space where mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledges) pertaining to maternities can be centralised and validated. (2, p. 3) • It is argued that the collective spaces of birth and after birth can serve to empower women in their maternity experiences and thereby transform the spatial politics of maternities in Aotearoa New Zealand. (2, p. 5) • It is argued, that reclaiming mana wahine maternities can provide women and whānau with an empowering body of knowledge that destabilises dominant colonial and patriarchal knowledge. (2, p. 18)

		• I focus on key moments in the story of mana wahine maternities that serve to highlight the ways colonialism, specifically Christianity and the institutionalisation of birth, have systematically fragmented Māori women's spiritual, spatial and corporeal experiences of birth. The (mis)appropriation and (mis)representation of mana wahine maternal knowledges have impacted upon Māori women in specific ways. Early colonial ethnographers, usually male and white, 'researched' Māori traditions and spirituality. Their research endeavours were framed by imperial epistemologies of 'discovery' and Christian ideologies. They spoke to Māori men, reified male figures in Māori mythology and imposed their cultural mores and values on the knowledges, spirituality and bodies of Māori women (see Mikaere 2003, 2011; Smith 1992; Yates-Smith 1998). (2, p. 29) • At a national scale midwifery in Aotearoa must take into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.⁴⁰ In addition, He Korowai Oranga (the cloak of wellness) (2002) is the national Māori health strategy that promotes the delivery of health services that work towards improving the health and wellbeing of whānau. The overall aim of the strategy is whānau ora (whānau wellbeing). The strategy identifies a number of pathways to achieve this including increased provision of Māori models of health provision, increased Māori participation in the health sector, effective service provision and working across sectors. (2, p. 37) • Two of the most well-known models argue for the integration of the spiritual, physical, emotional and whānau. Te Whare Tapa Whā (a four sided house) is a model of Māori health developed by Mason Durie (1998) and utilised by a range of health providers. This model describes the four cornerstones of Māori health as te taha tinana (physical health), te taha wairua (spiritual health), te taha hinengaro (mental health), te taha whānau (family health). Another model put forward by Rose Pere (1991) is represented by a wheke (octopus) with the head of the octopus representing whānau and the tentacles various aspects of Māori health. Suffice to say, Māori health research is a growing discipline (for some examples of the diversity of Māori health research see Cram 2010; Durie 2007, 2011; Glover 2008; Penehira 2011). (2, p. 37) • Ngā Maia is a national collective of Māori midwives that work towards developing frameworks for midwifery practice that recognises a Māori worldview and provides for the needs of whānau. Te Hā Ora is a Kaupapa Māori based antenatal and parenting programme carried out in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. Midwifery PhD, Christine Kenney, has developed 'He Whakamāramatanga' which identifies key elements of a Māori research model for midwifery. (2, p. 38) • Taking the topic of abortion, this involves understanding prior work on Maori accounts and perspectives on abortion as misrepresented by (male) European scholars in ways that assume patriarchal gender relations, and negative and vengeful subject positions for women (e.g. Hunton, 1977). It involves reading the suggestion that abortion was widely practiced among Maori due to "savagery" (e.g. Hunton, 1977) and not practiced due to "superstition" (e.g. Gluckman, 1973, 1981), as narratives that align with wider national narratives of missionaries "saving" Maori through British colonisation and assumption of rule (Pool, 2015) and interpretations of Maori cultural deficits (Green, 2011). (35, p. 148-9) • Reclaiming indigenous traditions of pregnancy, birth, and mothering will enable our children to lead our resurgence as Indigenous peoples, to rise up and rebel against colonialism in all its forms, to dream independence, to dance to nationhood. (Leanne Simpson, 2006, p. 32) (91, p. 171)
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	Decolonising Approaches for Creative Practices	• The practices of raranga and raranga whatu not only transform the materials the kairaranga is using, but also the kairaranga themselves. These practices become self-affirming, culturally affirming and ultimately decolonizing. (4, p. 2) • contemporary creative Māori practice then is the on-going cultural reclamation of cultural identity. (4, p. 17) • Weaving: For me, as a wahine Māori, authenticity and empowerment is expressed in how we practice our art forms, representing from a Māori voice, through the taonga we create. Transformative action then is engaging in this deeply Māori art form creating representations that speak to the contemporary Māori feminine. (4, p. 36) • University of Auckland Art History course: We examine how women's roles within Indigenous communities were challenged and belittled with the introduction of gender hierarchies by European colonisers from the late eighteenth century. The course reinforces the resilience of mana wahine across Indigenous communities. (7, p. 189) • Kahukiwa's Wahine Toa paintings reflect Awatere's revisionism and also invite respect for female Maori deities and for Maori women. The incorporation of female deities into writing and art supports the idea of an innate strength in all Maori women. This incorporation is used strategically, in a political effort to raise the morale of Maori women and to lobby for recognition and respect for Maori women in New Zealand society: 'What it is all about is affirming the unlimited potential of Maori women. It is about affirming that as Maori women we hold all the knowledge that we need within us, and that no white government or white legal system - no one in fact but ourselves - will actually make any changes in our lives' (Awatere 1995, p. 38). (59, p. 307)
Theme 10: The Impact of Colonisation	Colonial Worldview and Governance	• ... the thesis seeks to address the broad historical context within which indigenous women were subjected to colonial constructs of legislation, paternalistic government policies and the mechanisms of a euro-western court system policy. It is against this backdrop that comparisons are drawn that take into account the historical relationships between Māori, First Nations, Aboriginal, and Native American women and their respective colonising governments which bear alarming similarities in terms of the subjugation of these populations of women through colonisation. (1. p. i) • It is argued that colonialism has attacked virtually every aspect of mana wahine knowledges. (2, p. 17) • Historically, our difference(s) has been defined for us [wahine], usually by non-Māori men but also by others, and has been defined predominantly in negative terms. (9, p. 12) • Audre Lorde (2018) said "you cannot dismantle the master's house with the master's tools" which I interpret as a call to the marginalised to find their/ our own tools (Lorde, 2018). (10, p. 5) • Justice Goddard; Judge Fox; and Precious Clark are all acknowledged women leaders in Te Ao Māori and Te Ture o Te Pākehā who have been strident in their pursuit of excellence as academics and practitioners of the craft of legal analysis. (14, no page no) • The Honourable Georgina Te Heuheu who was present at that inaugural meeting was one of the first acknowledged Māori woman lawyers to be admitted to the bar and was practicing in one of the few all Māori firms of the day Hingston Chadwick. Carolyn Bull was also present at the hui. She was later appointed a Human Rights Commissioner after our hui. Carolyn regaled us all with her achievements working as a criminal and family advocate attached to

		Ngā Hau e Whā marae in Christchurch. The late Darlene Henare, who was one of the few Māori woman corporate lawyers working with Air New Zealand, reminded us of the need to make gains at the corporate decision making tables. Her sister, now Judge Denise Henare, was developing her newly created law firm in Tāmaki Makaurau. I believe even at that time Justice Goddard was working in the Crown Solicitor's office and a young Māori woman lawyer, Sharon Opai, had joined Meredith Connell as one of the first Māori prosecutors. (14, no page no) Other women's rights activists like the late Dame Mira Szaszy and Dame Nganeko Minhinnick were taking matters to the Working Group on Indigenous Peoples within the United Nations system to highlight the duplicity of a government that protects the rights of foreign investors whilst undermining the way of life and rights of Māori. (14, no page no) • Cultural Imperialism (supported by British Common Law) also suggested that it was okay to control women. To take away their land and their children. To beat them. Domestic violence against women and children was intolerable in pre-colonial society. (31, p. 220) • Pakeha worldview: Early Pākehā ethnographers of Māori culture and society documented how they perceived the life and customs of the Indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand. However, like Caro, these writings are 'subconsciously filtered' through their own western world-view. • So, we have that early one or two generations of colonial contact where Maori women were assumed not to have legal personality. They couldn't contract, they couldn't sign the Treaty, they couldn't own property. (32, p. 16) • Starting with the Native Land Act, its long title, its very purpose is the destruction of collectivism, and along the way the position of Maori women, wahine Maori as landholders, as leaders of iwi hapu and whanau. The Land Act is really one of the first, probably foremost, means of the destruction of Maori women's place in our local tribal economies. Then we had the ten owner rules in the early days of the new land tenure system, which meant that only ten owners could be named upon the title deed. The reason for that is just because the piece of paper, the deed, could only fit ten names on it, and so those names became male names. Initially it was intended that those men were kaitiaki or trustees of the wider group but they very quickly under the legal order became absolute landholders, landholders not trustees for the greater good. We quickly see the economic destruction of the role of Maori women within Maori communities. (32, p. 16-17) • In education, the Native Schooling Act 1867 set up a racialised and gendered education system for wahine Maori that persisted for 100 years. I say it's racialised and gendered because the primary purpose was to set up an education system for Maori children, but within that system there were gendered pathways, so that Maori boys became fathers and farm labourers and Maori women were set up to be housewives, domestic servants, and in later decades possibly nurses or teachers. In that pathway, you see a very big internal distinction between Maori men and women and their ability particularly to access tertiary education. (32, p. 17)
	Colonial Impact on Education and Knowledge Systems	• The disruptions that underpin the marginalization of Māori knowledge systems are due to colonial control that can negatively impact a cultural sense of self. Systems of European settler colonialism have been delivered through the assimilationist policies of the education system since the 1840's (Simon, 1998). Moana Jackson (2016) describes education as fundamental to the colonizing process. Educating us to believe that our own knowledge

		systems and cultural understandings were not worthy in order to “dispossess us of our lands, lives and power” (p. 39). These pervasive systems of colonialism have the effect of subverting the autonomy of Māori knowledge structures. (4, p. 11) • Colonial literature related to Māori is framed in such a way to embed dominant western misogynistic constructions of gender as a means by which to continue an intentional assault on the roles and status of Māori women which disrupts the balance that Ani Mikaere (2017) states is critical to the well-being of Māori people (Smith 1992; Pihama 2001; Simmonds 2014). These colonising discourses have had a significant impact on the ways in which Māori women are regarded and how our place within society continues to be marginalised as a direct result. (8, p. 356) • Name calling in academic settings; But, had I taken this option, I would have been labelled a sell out, a colonised Maori, a house nigger, a ‘potato’ (brown on the outside, white on the inside) by other Maori, not to mention the labels that feminists would have generated for me! If I were to be part of a system which tried to attract Maori people to it, particularly Maori women, then I knew that I had to do considerably more than write courses with appropriate content. (69, p. 61) • Pihama details the marginalisation of Māori women’s knowledge and roles in colonial ethnographic texts, stating: Māori women’s knowledge has been made secondary to Māori men’s knowledge and Māori women’s roles redefined in line with colonial notions of gender relations. Information related to Māori women has been ignored or rewritten to become more conducive to colonial belief systems. (Pihama, 1994, p. 39) (87, p. 125) • Narratives: Cowan’s example denies the generative sexual centre of Papatūānuku, the mother of the gods, and relegates Hineahuone to a pile of dirt with language that erases the vocabulary of women’s sexuality and power. The divinity of Hineahuone is negated, and so, correspondingly, is the divinity of Māori women as her descendents. Papatūānuku’s status as an atua, as the mother of Tāne himself, is overlooked in the colonial literature. This kind of presentation of the origins of humanity, and women, has informed and perpetuated the myth that women are inferior to men “even as Hineahuone was inferior to Tane” (Best, 1924, p. 74). Here at the genesis of humanity, in what could be a story reflecting the intense power of women, sourced from the creative force of the earth, we find a subdued story of female reticence. Translated in such a way, this story became the hook on which to hang chronicles of masculine supremacy within the Māori world that continue today. (87, p. 127) • Colonial literature related to Māori is framed in such a way as to embed dominant western misogynistic ideas and practices of gender and the intersection of gender with white supremacist notions of race and capitalist class systems (Irwin, Ramsden & Kahukiwa, 1995). At the centre of colonisation has been the dispossession and erasure of Indigenous Peoples. Dispossession of lands, Dispossession of culture, Dispossession of language, Dispossession of knowledge. (93, p. 193) • Colonising discourses have had a significant impact on the ways in which Māori women are regarded and how our place in society continues to be marginalised as a direct result. We have been told in colonial literature that as wahine we are ‘noa’; that we are without ‘tapu’; that we have less ‘mana’; that we are the ‘wives of’ or ‘the mother of’ someone, generally a man (Heuer, 1972). (93, p. 193)
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	Colonial Impact on Gender Dynamics and Social Constructs	• The relative invisibility of Māori women, of mana wahine maternities within geography contains a political imperative that maintains the hegemony of colonialism and patriarchy. (2, p. 16) • While colonisation is the reality for all Māori (in fact for all New Zealanders) it has impacted on men and women differently. The effects of colonisation are gendered (Mikaere 1999, 2003; Pihama 2001; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Ani Mikaere (1999, 2003) argues that the forces of colonisation resulted in an imbalance of Māori society. (3, p. 4) • Ignoring Māori women's knowledges in mythology, tikanga and wairua discourses is not a harmless omission rather it contains a political imperative that maintains the hegemony of colonialism and patriarchy. (3, p. 4-5) • Males wrote the first weaving books: It is also evident that women writers were absent from the early literature on the Māori fibre arts. Importantly the first book written from a female perspective on raranga was written in 1989 entitled Māori Weaving by Erenora Puketapu Hetet. Prior to this publication male ethnographers were the only visible authors on Māori material culture, which effectively silenced the female creative experience of these art forms. Developing a Mana wahine theory in this study enables the critique of the invisibility of Māori women's creativity, and the learned stereotypical gender roles we are subjected to. (4, p. 44) • Western reductionist approaches to gender identities: The dominance of English in this country, coupled with the marginalisation of Te Reo Māori and Pacific languages, has contributed significantly to the imposition of dominant beliefs and practices pertaining to Māori and Pacific Islands women. One means of imposing dominant gender expectations on indigenous people operates through the undermining of existing gender norms. For this to be successful there must be either an undermining of the indigenous language or the imposing of dominant discourses on the indigenous language through processes such as interpretation or translations. (Pihama and Mara 1994, 217) (8, p. 359) • White women and Maori men: This also requires revealing the ways in which those who we would expect to be allies can be and have been co-opted in ways that work against the interests of Māori women. In particular the spaces where both white women and Māori men are complicit in validating such systems. For example, had existing western feminist and class analyses been adequate in, or even open to, the incorporation of Indigenous voices we may have seen more active involvement of Māori women in those movements (Te Awakotuku 1991; Smith 1992; Maracle 1996; Moreton-Robinson 2013). (8, p. 360) • Maori men: The power of colonial hegemony is not to be understated, nor is the power of co-option within movements such as feminism. Similarly, Māori men have been actively challenged on the ease with which many align to the interests of Pākehā men over the well-being of Māori women. (8, p. 360) • I agree with Pihama (2001, p. 253) when she states: 'Māori men that chose to address issues of colonisation and racism whilst being sexist, homophobic and abusive in their relations with Māori women should not be considered "leaders" and definitely have no right to the label "radical"'. (9, p. 15) • As Mikaere states: 'an existence where men have power and authority over women and children is not in accordance with tikanga Māori [Māori custom]'.²⁵ Māori women lost their sense of social purpose, their rights, their land, and their status as leaders. They also lost their voice, and this enforced silencing of cultural knowledge had detrimental effects. Shakespeare's abuse of power for Māori women begins here. (31, p. 220)
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		• Leonie Pihama, a key commentator in this area of scholarship, comments “Colonisation has had a major impact on the position of Māori women. Ideologies of gender and race have interacted in complex ways to corrupt many of the stories, values, beliefs and practises that are linked to Māori women”. (Pihama, 1994, p. 34). (90, p. 169) • Briefly, the story arc of colonisation and the introduction of Pakeha and tauīwi into Aotearoa has meant that the balance of roles and responsibilities and the place of women vis-a-vis the place of men was destroyed upon colonisation and had unique effects upon Maori women. (32, p. 10) • the division of social ordering into the public and private spheres, and this notion of the primacy of the marital relationship over other family relationships, have been significant in the breakdown of the protective factors within traditional Maori communities. In their view, and I agree with them, the diminishment of the family and the primacy of the marital relationship has meant that it is easier for people to perpetrate intimate partner violence (32, p. 15) • Colonisation destroyed much of that balance, in making gender a primary determinant of status (32, p. 15) • Often the hierarchy will be, in terms of wellbeing or education status etc, that Pakeha men will be best off then possibly Pakeha women, Maori men, but always Maori and Pasifika women at the bottom. That is the effect of intersectionality. In my field, in terms of criminal justice, the most over incarcerated demographic in Aotearoa, by proportionate numbers, is wahine Maori, and that is growing exponentially. (32, p. 18-19)
	Colonial Disruption of Cultural and Spiritual Identity	• The colonisation of Māori women's bodies and bodily tikanga has denied many women this relationship [tied to Papatūānuku]. (3, p. 5) • Christian missionary discourses ascribed the cultural mores of European women to Māori women from very early on and the effects on mana wahine knowledges, particularly spiritual knowledges, was immense. These discourses portrayed Māori women as wanton, immoral, and undisciplined (Johnston & Pihama, 1998). Christian moral codes were also extended to matters of reproduction. The symbolic power of Māori women as the bearers of future generations and sustaining whakapapa that is derived from Māori cosmology was quickly trampled. Māori cosmological narratives stressed the importance of Māori women in sustaining whakapapa. The interconnectedness of wairua and the reproductive role of Māori women can be seen in the duality of words that can have both a sacred and everyday translation (Pere, 1991). For example, whānau can mean family and to give birth; hapū can mean subtribe and also to be pregnant; whenua can mean the land and also the afterbirth. Perhaps the term that highlights this most clearly is whare tangata, which can mean house of humanity and also womb. Therefore, the marginalisation of Māori women's reproductive processes and practices had a direct impact on mana wahine wairua knowledges. (9, p. 16) • Yates-Smith (1998, 2006) notes that the oversimplification of Māori spirituality by non Māori, predominantly male, ethnographers firmly established a hierarchy of knowledge, and female atua were quickly replaced with Eurocentric ideologies of God. It did not take long before this hierarchy was entrenched in legislation by the state. (9, p. 16) • The marginalisation of wairua persisted and continues today. Māori spirituality is commonly described as symbolic and not real. (9, p. 16) • The attempted erasure of our names actually begins much earlier than colonisation itself and finds its roots in the time of the 'great' civilising mission. The missionisation of Māori required

		missionaries to travel here as representatives of their religions to proselytise us, and save us from certain hell by conversion to Christianity (Steeds, 1999). To 'kill the savage and save the man', meant the imposition of colonial ideologies of race, gender, and religion. Importantly, Leonie Pihama (2001) argues that these imported ideologies informed the coloniser's whole approach toward colonisation. The assumed superiority of these ideologies was then legalised, proselytised and taught to our own tamariki (children) through institutions such as schools, land court and the church. (92, p. 181) • Māori were systematically and intentionally renamed with English or transliterated names through colonial practices such as baptism (92, p. 182) • Naming: Edward Jerningham Wakefield, son of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a major driving force behind the colonisation of Aotearoa, claimed in his account of 'Adventure in New Zealand', that the maintenance of the Māori language in Baptismal names through the use of 'transmogrified' or transliterated names was absurd. Moreover, he suggested that if they were not going to give Māori individuals English names for the purposes of teaching us to read and to write, then they should have just given us native names to use (as though we didn't already have names or literacy before the British invaded our land). He also goes on to describe Te Reo Māori as being a poor language, which possesses few words and expresses abstract ideas (Wakefield, 1845). (92, p. 182) • We rarely recognize that colonization and its concomitant intergenerational impacts constitute violence: colonization is the application of anger upon vulnerable peoples. This violence has a reciprocal reaction within the societies upon which it is inflicted: cultural alienation, forced assimilation, and cumulative marginalization create anger in indigenous societies. Where this anger is not understood, it becomes internalized within the colonized society and inverts upon itself. (p. 199) One of the intergenerational impacts of colonisation, which contributes to the anger Rawiri Taonui illuminates, originates from being renamed. Whether this anger arises from the renaming of our whenua (land), our whanaunga (relatives) o te taiao (of the environment) or by being personally renamed by a teacher who can't pronounce your tupuna (ancestral) name, or perhaps, by not being given a Māori name at all because of how society might treat it and you. (92, p. 180)
	Colonial Impact on Health and Well-being	• The binary divisions that have emerged in dominant birth discourses serve to polarise understandings of birth place into essentially 'good' and essentially 'bad'. Many Māori women and whānau are located in in-between spaces through pregnancy, birth and mothering,12 thereby destabilising the boundaries between modern/traditional; medicine/nature; mind/body; and coloniser/colonised. (2, p. 4-5) • Non-Maaori ideas about specific places of birth: It is here that the intricacies of the places of birth become the focus. The binary divisions that have emerged in dominant birth discourses serve to polarise understandings of birth place into essentially 'good' and essentially 'bad'. I illustrate that many Māori women and their whānau are located in in-between and paradoxical spaces and as such, complicate these polarities. (2, p. 18) • Prejudiced thinking decides birthing issues: At the time of the Inquiry Māori maternal mortality was twice that of non-Māori and by 1938 Māori infant mortality peaked to 153.26 per 1000 (Donley 1986). The Committee put these appalling statistics down to "unhygienic living conditions" and the 'inability' of "native attendants to deal with urgent complications, such as haemorrhage" (Committee of Inquiry 1937, 143). The COI also states, however, that

		regardless of these conditions there wasn't "any striking incidence of complications" for Māori women (Committee of Inquiry 1937, 127). What the Committee fails to recognise, as Joan Donley (1986) points out, are the multitude of factors such as: introduced disease to which Māori had no resistance; consumption levels of tobacco and alcohol; changed diets; and dislocation from and theft of Māori lands as contributing factors in the relatively poor Māori maternal and infant health statistics at the time. (2, p. 32) • The policy of hospitalisation for all birthing women did not mean equality for Māori women and whānau. Therefore, while the rhetoric was that Māori women should learn to birth like Pākehā women, and this would be best achieved in hospital, the reality was that wāhine Māori were expected to birth like Pākehā as long as this did not present a threat of 'contamination' to Pākehā women, babies and families. (2, p. 33) • From the early twentieth century Pākehā women were provided post-natal and infant care support from Plunket – this was not extended to include Māori whānau until the 1950s. Instead Māori women came under the auspices of The Department of Public Health and were seen by district nurses. (2, p. 3) • The dislocation of women from their means of extended support through urbanisation and land confiscations has had devastating effects on Māori whānau. As the whānau unit became progressively smaller, the responsibilities of individual women grew. Many young Māori women live the effects of the fragmentation and marginalisation of 'whānau' on a daily basis. In their research on access to adequate health care for Māori women, Cram and Smith (2003) note that the impacts of the fragmentation of whānau on intergenerational knowledge transmission has meant that some Māori women have a lack of cultural knowledge to express cultural needs to healthcare professionals. (9, p. 17) • We can agree on it, because we live with the ongoing effects of colonisation. We know that colonisation is oppression, and we know the trauma of that oppression in our communities and in our lives. Part of the oppression is in the acts of the colonisers - taking our land, spreading diseases, imprisoning us, outlawing our ways of being. The oppression is also perpetrated by the messages that they say about us to justify and minimise their crimes against us. Many of us have internalised the messages that we have heard, and we know that many of our young people will internalise the messages they hear - that Māori are physical and emotional, meaning we aren't smart enough to look after ourselves or our whenua; that we aren't moral like the colonisers; that we are violent and overly sexual. Politicians and the media go out of their way to find stories of Māori failure, especially those that show us as naive, immoral and out of control. We know the effects of this oppression: there is massive pressure to conform to the dominant, colonising values. Some of us do eventually conform, while others can't or won't. For all of us, whether we conform or not, oppression tears at our wairua, the sense of self that should make us strong. (88, 139) • When Europeans arrived here, they brought with them their fear and hatred of homosexuality. In English law at that time, homosexuality could be punished by hard labour or even death. It's only been 25 years since the New Zealand state got rid of the law that could imprison men for having consensual sex with other men. (87, p. 141) • I want to talk specifically about how we've come to buy into this western preoccupation with how we have sex, and with whom. I know we're all familiar with the way patriarchy has been creeping into interpretations of tikanga and kōrero tawhito, but I think it's helpful to think about the way that patriarchy privileges certain men more than others, and the effect of that. For
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		example, at the time the English decided they wanted to colonise these motu, their ideal man was the Victorian gentleman. The men that England sent to control us were pretty much in that mould. (87, p. 142) • As Kathryn Rountree (2000, 52) explains “the missionaries wanted to clean, clothe and control the Māori body, believing this would make them more amenable to the gospel”. The colonial (re)telling of Māori stories, and thus Māori realities, firmly established a hierarchy of knowledge and atua wāhine were quickly replaced with Eurocentric ideologies of God: “God as male, God as ruling, God as natural ... God as white” (Pihama 2001, p. 155). (90, p. 158) • The colonisation of traditional Māori maternities involved a comprehensive attack on maternal customs and, most devastatingly, a sustained undermining of the spiritual underpinnings of our maternities through the introduction of Christian values. A significant devaluing of the feminine in our traditional spiritualities comprehensively destabilised the spiritual significance of ūkaipō and where tangata, which in turn denigrated our maternal positioning and value (Yates-Smith, 1998; Gabel, 2013, p. 98). (91, p. 170)
Theme 11: Patriarchy	Colonial Patriarchal Influence on Wāhine	• The expression of our experiences as Māori women provides yet another critique of the “oppressive model of motherhood [and maternity], provided by the dominant patriarchal culture” (Lavell-Harvard and Corbiere Lavell 2006, 3). (2, p. 58) • The marginalisation of Māori women, at a number of levels, is a visible result of dichotomous Western, colonial and patriarchal ideologies. (3, p. 14) • The processes of assimilation and colonial patriarchal ideology do not acknowledge inherent indigenous Māori knowledge's, specifically knowledges within the feminine spheres. (4, p. 44) • “Māori women belong to the group of women in the world who have been historically constructed as ‘Other’ by white patriarchies and white feminists” (Smith, 1992, p. 33). (4, p. 44) • The insidious nature of colonial patriarchal discourse is such that some Māori men perpetuate representations of Māori women as the ‘inferior other’ (Smith 1992; Pihama 2001). Māori men must reflect on, and challenge, their historical and contemporary compliance with white patriarchy (Te Awakotuku 1991). (8, p. 361) • Much of the discussion, particularly from Dr Molisa, was about the patriarchy's role in feminism and the oppression of women. Dr Molisa very bluntly stated that patriarchal cultures are also rape cultures, with sexualised violence against women being the norm. He asserted that sexism is institutionalised and that the male violence in patriarchal cultures is due to an unwillingness to relinquish male entitlement to women, giving the example of marriage – where women are traditionally treated as property – and entitlement to power, seen in the wealth that is concentrated within male elites. Dr Molisa also said that this rape culture was brought into the indigenous culture in Aotearoa through colonisation, causing the rights of women to be taken away (12, p. 72-3) • According to Dr Molisa, this [‘male sex right’ – men's guaranteed sexual access to women's bodies] is the result of patriarchy's construction of masculinity as social dominance over women and that patriarchy is built on a model of masculinity that rests on the violation of boundaries. (12, p. 73) • “When patriarchal spirituality associates women, body and nature, and then emphasizes transcending the body and transcending the rest of nature, it makes oppression sacred.” (24, p. 110)

		• Another example is Cathy Dewes of Te Arawa, elected to the Te Arawa Maori Trust Board, again in the 1990s. Te Arawa have quite a specific tikanga or kawa around protocols around the place and position of women, probably I would say the strictest of any tribal grouping or area within New Zealand. Cathy was elected and within their protocol, and of course I may get some flak for this, but women are generally seen and not heard in their political tribal spheres. When Cathy walked into the room for the first Trust Board meeting, the men either turned their backs on her or got up and left. So, this has contemporary consequences for wahine Maori, this internalisation of patriarchal views. (32, p. 19) • There have been discussions about body submission, an extension of patriarchy, being the opposite of body sovereignty. Cole (2017) suggests that body submission, as an oppressive enactment of patriarchy, re-frames women and their bodies in negative ways as objects, 'before' pictures and possessions 'available for the input of and control from others' (2017: 2). While Cole's definition of body sovereignty acknowledges that it should incorporate the inhabitancy of bodies, and the respect of people's choices, boundaries and bodies in general, the juxtaposition of submission with sovereignty is problematic. (42, p. 223) • The patriarchal focus of the Crown and its agents, including its Maori agents, was/is a noted feature in this case study. This has been demonstrated not only in the way that women with particular senior status have had positions they hold minimised or even negated in favour of their more junior male counterparts, but it was/is also demonstrated in the more usual ways such as marae women's committee in the kitchen making tea and scones for Corrections Department meetings (ostensibly hapu 'development' hui), while men are in the meeting house signing away their (the women's), and their children's heritage. Helene Connor in her research on Maori women and prisonisation writes of the denial of a legitimate voice for Maori women within the social structures with the advent of colonisation, 'colonial patriarchal constructions of women belittled our intellect and trivialised our words' ... Missionaries and political and military colonisers brought with them not only the means of the destruction of Maori sovereignty but also cultural baggage on the place of women.... With the onslaught of colonialism, Pakeha male norms on the place of women soon prevailed.... They were either 'god's police' or 'damned whores'.... Pakeha settlers, missionaries and then Maori men redesigned Maori women into brown carbon copies of Pakeha colonial women, subservient, silent and secondary.(58, p. 130) • As noted earlier, Awatere (1995) and Kahukiwa address Maori women living today, ancestral Maori women and deified Maori women in order to inspire political action against a particular social order. This order can be called 'patriarchal' at the very least because Government statistics show that men in New Zealand society have more job and education opportunities than women. These opportunities afford men an unequal advantage in New Zealand's capitalist economy. For example, men hold most of the powerful decision-making positions in that society, the current holder of the office of Prime Minister notwithstanding. Nevertheless, Awatere's writing, and Kahukiwa's art, is not intended to be separatist or exclusive. Their endeavour is directed more towards equality between Maori women and men than any oppressive matriarchal Maori alternative. (59, p. 307) • Colonial ideologies pertaining to women located them as chattels, as the property of men, and therefore of lesser status. Furthermore, Fry highlights the debate surrounding what was considered different levels of intelligence of women and men; this debate centred upon an
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		attempt to construct ways of validating colonial ideologies of women's inferiority: (60, no pg no) • These frameworks then portrayed Maori women through a colonial gaze which was entrenched in a European patriarchal belief system and, therefore, the presentation of Maori women was located firmly within racist and sexist ideologies. According to Smith, Maori women belong to the group of women in the world who have been historically constructed as 'Other'. As women we have been defined in terms of our differences to men, as Maori we have been defined in regard to our differences to the coloniser. As Maori women we have been defined in terms of our differences to Maori men, Pakeha men and Pakeha women.(19) (60, no pg no) • Patriarchy and Western norms: In the world, imitation of and adaptation to western norms was a necessity; at home they were tantamount to annihilation of one's very identity" (239). The implications of such an outer-inner binary are obvious and apply to the construction of gender as well. Man participates in the profanity of the outer, whereas woman represents the inner and functions as caretaker and guardian of the traditional and the indigenous. Though woman may participate in the outer world, she is reinscribed within a new form of patriarchy, one inflected with colonialism as well as nationalism. The fact that in most tribes men do all the talking during this particular ritual is regarded by many women, Maori and Pakeha as a symbol of patriarchal power relations and an example of the cooption of Maori men by Pakeha patriarchal structures (Irwin, 1992). 983, p. 95) • Law is not a free-floating entity, it is grounded in patriarchy, as well as inclass and ethnic divisions. (79, p. 181) • The concept of women as leaders and spokespersons for their whānau, hapū and iwi would have been beyond the comprehension of the settlers or the Crown representatives who were sent to negotiate the Treaty of Waitangi. They could only conceive of dealing with men (81, p. 11) • Within Māoridom the GM [Genetic Modification] debate is falling victim to patriarchal ways in terms of who participates how they participate and the issues being placed on the table. (83, p. 28) • My research began by examining what the colonial ethnographers and historians had written about menstruation, and Māori women more generally. It soon became clear that the Victorian, patriarchal and Christian lens of many of the colonial ethnographers had distorted their interpretations of the menstrual practices that they observed, and that those misinterpretations had acquired the status of authority. (87, p. 125) • Within some of the colonial ethnographic accounts, menstrual blood is presented as a malignant demon called the atua kahu, described by Goldie as the "wasted souls of humans" (Goldie, 1904, p. 26). According to Goldie, Māori women are "possessed by a demon during menstruation— or rather, she becomes dispossessed of a malignant disease-dealing demon" (p. 91). The repeated colonial misrepresentation of atua kahukahu as malignant demons has progressed the idea that menstruating women house dangerous forces and therefore need to be contained by the enforcement of restrictions. This has furthered a colonial and patriarchal agenda of female subordination. Goldie describes menstruating Māori women as "unclean", comparing them to Hebrew women, whose movements are restricted lest they "contaminate" others (Goldie, 1904, p. 91). This interpretation reveals the infiltration of Christian ideologies which present menstruation as the "Curse of Eve" (87, p. 126)
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		• The significance of menstrual traditions has been eclipsed by the early ethnographers' automatic equation of restriction with "contamination", "impurity" and female inferiority (Buckley & Gottlieb, 1988; Grahn, 1993). Menstrual restrictions, when interpreted through a patriarchal lens, are easily distorted to convey a message of male control over the wild and uncivilised female body. ... Themes of menstrual demons are littered throughout the colonial ethnographic accounts, providing a political agenda that subordinates women by claiming their inferiority due to some menstrual malevolence. (87, p. 130) • This language, couched within a context of colonial conquest, continues today. The consequences of presenting menstruation as "unclean", "an embarrassment" and, in some cases, "demonic" created both a hostility toward the menstruating body of Māori women, and a "lost vocabulary". (95. p. 131) • Colonialism and patriarchy have denied, and continue to deny, the legitimacy of Māori women's knowledges, bodies and spiritualities. Further, there are new formations of colonialism that are evident: for example, in the silencing of Māori women's voices by promoting hate speech as 'free speech'; in the control and surveillance of brown bodies within and outside institutions; in the spiritual impoverishment (and culture of blame where Māori mothers feel ashamed if their family is ill because it is probably their fault) of health and social services; in the ongoing marginalisation of Māori mothers and whānau; and the violence of the state against children by removing them from their parents (Pihama, 2017). (90, p. 159) • The imposition of patriarchy and the introduction of the nuclear family mould also contributed to an overall degrading of the maternal in Māori society, by undermining the position of the maternal within the whānau network while simultaneously promoting the superiority and authority of men. (91, p. 170) • Naming has been, for many of us, a theft of matrilineal descent by Western patriarchal descent. ... Being renamed in the colonial image has marked us as members of the Empire and therefore as contributors to its expansion and wealth. Renaming us collected a labour force for them and provided them the opportunity and capacity to expand their inventory of possessions and power. Surnames, in particular, originate from heteropatriarchy and represent its symbolic power over Indigenous peoples who have been subjugated by that system of ownership, in which women are the property of their husbands and thereby must take his identity as their own in the form of his surname. (92, p. 184) • What is this thing, the patriarchy? There was no such thing in te ao Maori, there certainly is in the lives of contemporary Maori women. (32, p.10) • One of the core things, when I say that there was no patriarchy in te ao Maori, is that te ao Maori was not a patrilineal society traditionally, neither was it matrilineal. It was ambilineal or ambilateral. (32, p.10) • So, this internalisation of Christian morality and gender hierarchies that I've flagged already, women as supporters of men, men who are the heads of nuclear families, again this internalisation of these very Victorian Pakeha social organisation demographics. The democratising of the position of men as landholders, voters, persons with social, cultural, economic, and political power. (32, p. 18) • Meri [Mangakahia] represented the Maori women's suffrage movement in asking them, the Maori Parliament, made up only of men, Maori men, to support the suffrage rights and advancement of wahine Maori. And they closed ranks upon her. Maori women were not granted the right to the franchise within Te Kotahitanga until 1897, which of course was four
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		years after the general suffrage right granted to women in the New Zealand Parliament. That gives you some idea of the difference and the internal discrimination faced by Maori women (32, p. 19) When Cathy [Dewes of Te Arawa] walked into the room for the first Trust Board meeting, the men either turned their backs on her or got up and left. So, this has contemporary consequences for wahine Maori, this internalisation of patriarchal views. (32, p. 19)
	Internalisation of Patriarchy by Māori Men and Impact on Wāhine	- One of the story arcs that we will see is that Maori men internalised much of the patriarchy of the incoming European colonisers. And why wouldn't they? Obviously, they had a lot to gain, particularly if you were a man without a lot of status or non-chiefly status. This democratisation of te ao Maori had enormous effects upon the stratification of Maori society into quite new social orderings in which gender did become the more significant determinant of status and power. Women of mana were diminished, and men without mana were raised into much more significant roles of power and responsibility. I've used that phrasing "the balance destroyed." (32, p. 11) - The assets and interests held by these organisations total in excess of \$1 billion dollars. The power and decision making process of these organisations is in the hands of a small oligarchic menagerie of Maori men, politicians, bureaucrats and lawyers. Maori women are "on the outside looking in", and yet of all the Trusts and Incorporations I have ever dealt with the majority of shareholders are women. (48, no pg no) - Women's experiences are socially, culturally, and politically bound, and must be engaged in that way. The notion of gender oppression as culturally bound raises issues in regard to the role of Māori men in challenging white patriarchal and internalized sexism. It is argued that Māori men have a role in challenging all forms of colonial oppression including those forms that may serve the interests of Māori men. There are few Māori men that actively analyze the gendered nature of colonization; however, it is argued that challenge to colonial patriarchy benefits not only Māori women but all Māori people in that it is a challenge to an unjust social form that has been imported to Aotearoa and therefore has no place here. Māori men must be called into account in regard to challenging not only racism, classism, and colonization, but also sexism. 993, p. 69)
	Mana Wāhine Resistance and Reclamation	- As Ani Mikaere (1999) has proposed, Māori society may not have been patriarchal prior to colonisation, and, along with the loss of land and cultural resources, Māori mythological and spiritual worldviews were suppressed. Mikaere presents this worldview as matriarchal, with the collective interrelationships (whanaungatanga) of all living things balanced by the strength, sexuality, and reproductive power of Māori women. (29, p. 7) - This view of a pre-colonial Māori society free from the prohibitions of patriarchy is not accepted by all Māori women scholars, however. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1991), for example, argues that the historical experiences of Māori women can only ever be 'precariously reconstructed' (p. 75), with Māori society being by no means unitary in its treatment of women. Rather, she points to differences in tribal prohibitions made against Māori women, and the need to challenge patriarchy both as a weapon/wound of colonisation and a present day practice endorsed and utilised by male Māori leaders. (29, p. 7)

		• te ao Maori was not a patrilineal society traditionally, neither was it matrilineal. It was ambilineal or ambilateral. Meaning it was non-gender specific. Gender was not and never has been the core determinant of status or power within te ao Maori. Mana is. (32, p. 10) • Maori women have a history of engagement in political action in New Zealand. This activism does not indicate Maori women's passivity and compliance in New Zealand's patriarchal society. Indeed, Maori women can be seen as major players in the production of a Maori identity that is partly based on political activism, regardless of the fact that they do not necessarily share the same experience of hardship, subjugation or oppression. (59, p. 313) • Mana wahine theories address the patriarchal nature of colonisation, which has impacted on Māori women and girls differently to the way it has affected Māori men and boys. (87, p. 125) • Indigenous ideologies of motherhood are distinct from patriarchal western models of motherhood, and this means that strategies for empowered mothering are also distinct. Rather than seeking to break gendered patterns of family dynamics, Native women may seek to reintroduce gendered roles and responsibilities that come from a time when Native motherhood signified authority. Native mothers do not necessarily seek their status as autonomous individuals, and Native youth may not feel the need to individuate by separating from the maternal authority of their mothers, aunts and grandmas. (Anderson, 2007, p. 775) (91, p. 168) • Mana wahine supports the formation of Māori women's approaches and resistance to colonisation as a means by which to challenge dominant colonial patriarchal systems. (93, p. 193)
Theme 12: Gender	Gender in Tikanga	• Gender in tikanga depicts all/all genders are responsible for supporting wahine: The role of tikanga in birth is examined, particularly the ways in which tikanga simultaneously transforms and is transformed by women and whānau in birth and afterbirth. It is argued that the responsibility for reclaiming and privileging mana wahine maternities must, however, rest with many. To expect that Māori women alone can carry such a task only serves to overload often already overburdened women. Reclaiming mana wahine maternities, therefore, is about mana wahine, mana tāne, mana whānau. It is about iwi, hapū and marae. It is about community and culture. (2, p. 18) • University of Auckland Art History course: The most important aspect the course underscores is that Indigenous and diasporic women identify in relation to their culture/ethnicity first, and then their gender. (7, p. 188) • Western constructs of gender are surpassed by the interpretation of Mana Wahine as the embodiment of all the facets of the feminine essence, as well as the masculine essence. Mana Wahine theories contribute to the deconstruction of gender constructions by acknowledging fluid expressions of identity and the many facets that make up a person. Expression of key elements of the self are constricted by binary gender roles where one is expected to act, to dress, to take on roles dictated by Western constructions of gender. (4, p. 44) • Decolonising gender in Aotearoa requires bringing to the fore the notion of tino rangatiratanga (Māori sovereignty, self-determination). This is part and parcel of a wider Māori decolonisation movement and is a key focus of Mana Wahine theory. (8, p. 360) • Gender refers not just to the roles of women and how those roles are constituted, but to the roles of men and the relations between men and women (Smith, 2021). The process of

		engendering descriptions of the 'Other' has had negative consequences for women who are not white. (13, p. 115) • Part of a Kaupapa Māori approach involves decolonising the research process by prioritising and privileging Māori perspectives and practices (Smith 1999). Māori beliefs and values that were historically seen as uncommon, unusual, abnormal, have within Kaupapa Māori, become normalised and centralised (Barnes 2000). The potential within a Kaupapa Māori approach to research allows for various methods to be employed but adapted to meet the specific question and design of the research. However, Kaupapa Māori requires that research should be of value to Māori while also valuing their position as Māori. The research should also be useful and responsive to the needs of Māori, with the ultimate goal of being transformational for Māori (Smith 1999, 2006). (17, p. 2) • Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira [a version of Troilus and Cressida] reinforces the interdependence of gender roles in Te Ao Māori, embodied by an opening haka as whakaeke (introduction) performed by all cast members. The female presence is also thorough here: from Mason as translator, House as director, Shona Tawhiao as costume designer, and actors Awhina Rose Henare-Ashby, Waimihi Hotere, Roimata Fox and Juanita Hepi in strong female roles, exemplifying key mana wāhine archetypes such as 'Wahine Toa', or warrior women. (31, p. 223-4) • To resolve internal conflict when in the presence of older Māori males, for instance, participants often sought support from a kaumatua (elder with prestige) to speak on their behalf, and tautoko (support) their point of view. Other strategies included: speaking out to bring about change (especially with regards to sexism); being solution-focused and outcome-focused; being willing to learn; getting support from governing bodies and staff; initiating their own training and development opportunities; and incorporating Māori values and practices into organizational culture and management/leadership styles to enhance leadership/organizational effectiveness. (47, p. 340) • Although all of the participants proactively integrated aspects of Māori tikanga, kawa, and te reo (values, protocols and language) into their organization, they were not so explicitly aware of how their gendered identity influenced their management and leadership styles. One participant emphasised masculine hegemony, chauvinism and sexual harassment being accepted as the norm within the male-dominated institution of sport, and viewed it as a fixed aspect of sporting culture. (47, p. 341) • In our reflection on Wairaka, we are not say-ing that we want to restore the former order and have the same roles of our ancestors. Instead, we are saying that we need to renew some of the gender roles and restore gender balance within our communities while we undertake the trans- forming and self-determining work. In order for this to happen, we need to confront some of the gender imbalances that have been introduced amongst our peoples as a result of colonisation. (56, p. 78) • Young's analysis from gender is particularly useful for highlighting the position of 'otherness' and difference.(9) She contends that the classifications between men and women are based on the superior/inferior hierarchy emphasising the mind-body dichotomy in which women are positioned as the Other group. Josette Feral takes this position one step further and suggests that women do not merely • Indigenous ideologies of motherhood are distinct from patriarchal western models of motherhood, and this means that strategies for empowered mothering are also distinct.
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		Rather than seeking to break gendered patterns of family dynamics, Native women may seek to reintroduce gendered roles and responsibilities that come from a time when Native motherhood signified authority. Native mothers do not necessarily seek their status as autonomous individuals, and Native youth may not feel the need to individuate by separating from the maternal authority of their mothers, aunts and grandmas. (Anderson, 2007, p. 775) (91, p. 168) • Openly acknowledging our connections with our mothers or even with our fathers as the context may dictate does not, however, mean that Māori names are gendered. In fact, the opposite is arguable, with it being difficult, for example, to identify how many women signed the Treaty of Waitangi for this very reason (Mikaere, 1994). While we do have names that indicate a particular gender, this does not necessarily identify the gender of the named. A compelling example of this is Tamatea Upoko, a chieftainess of Ngāti Porou, whose name has the word 'tama' (boy) in it, but she is, in fact, a woman (Mahuika, 1973). (92, p. 186) • Gender was not and never has been the core determinant of status or power within te ao Māori. Mana is. (102 p. 10) • This democratisation of te ao Māori had enormous effects upon the stratification of Māori society into quite new social orderings in which gender did become the more significant determinant of status and power. Women of mana were diminished, and men without mana were raised into much more significant roles of power and responsibility. I've used that phrasing "the balance destroyed." (32, p. 11)
	Fluidity of Cultural Gender	• While we do have names, which indicate a particular gender, this does not necessarily identify the gender of the named. A compelling example of this is Tamatea Upoko a chieftainess of Ngāti Porou whose name has the word 'tama' (boy) in it, but she is, in fact, a woman (Mahuika 1973). Tāneroroa, the daughter of Turi, the captain of the Aotea waka, is another such example. Her name has the word 'tāne' (man/men) in it, and yet she is identified as female in some accounts. So the assumption that all names with 'tane' or 'tama' are male and all names with 'hine' are female then can be problematised. (8, p. 358) • This is evidenced by the lack of gendered pronouns in the Māori language - 'ia' meaning both he or she and tona/tana his or hers (Smith, 1994). That is not to suggest that pre-colonial Māori gender relations were a utopia of equality, and it is difficult to definitively argue that no form of sexism existed pre-colonisation. Power (or rather mana) existed, as did hierarchy; however, it was likely to be through claims to whakapapa rather than gender (Mikaere, 2003). (9, p. 14) • In this article, we situate the findings from Project Buzz within broader debates about how gender is 'done' in neoliberal cultures of intoxication. Within this discussion femininities are considered to be negotiated and constructed within a shifting social landscape. Notions of femininity and gender are seen as fluid, not fixed and are subject to change according to the practices of enactment (West & Zimmerman, 1987). In the same way that young women have been found to move between different femininities according to a variety of factors as they use alcohol (Hutton, Wright, & Saunders, 2013), it is of interest (and importance) to understand how young Māori and Pacific women negotiate their femininities in relation to cultural norms that may be overlooked by harm reduction initiatives that address 'young women' as a homogenous group. (62, p. 103-4)

		Debbie Jones: 'Gender', 'race', and class are not a static categories, but dynamic processes in which everyone is located.'¹⁸ (71, p. 25)
	Gender-Based Oppression Under Colonial Rule	- Through our colonial experiences, indigenous peoples have inherited an oppressive gender legacy entrenched in policy and legislation that is socially constructed and instructed. To survive, indigenous women have to engage, challenge, resist and mitigate gendered spaces. (1, p. ii) - Sexism opposed: The significance of having Wilkinson and Kirkwood's work in this exhibit was articulated during the panel by Professor Ngahuia Te Awekotuku: 'women make craft, men make art. That was bullshit'. Māori women's artwork has been devalued in the western world, dismissed as merely craft. (12, p. 71) - Continuing the theme of colonisation shaping possibilities for Māori and Pasifika culture, the panel discussed how language shaped possibilities for gender when the shift to English caused nuanced understandings of gender fluidity to be lost in translation, such as the shift from no gender pronouns in describing characters of Māori mythology to the English default masculine. According to Raymond, this led to limited possibilities for presenting and acting gender. (12, p. 72) - This subordination of gender to culture can be seen in the 1994 Waitangi claim, in which a group of Māori women argued that mana tāne (prestige of males) had been affirmed and protected by political dealings with the government, but that mana wāhine (prestige of women) had not (Irwin, 1993). There being more pressing concerns, the mana wāhine claim has never been heard and so there has been no formal resolution or outcome (Simmonds, 2015). This does not mean that gender has been sidelined by a concern for Māori. The Māori Women's Welfare League, or Te Rōpū Wāhine Māori Toko I te Ora, established in the early 1950s following the mass movement of Māori from rural to urban areas, has focused more recently on health and education issues (MWWL, 2015). With the development of Information Communication Technology (ICT), other virtual spaces have been created where Māori women continue to discuss and campaign. (30, p. 575) - I used to sit on a board as the women's representative and the sexism and chauvinism ... it was almost bordering on me taking legal action. And you have men that accept it ... the so-called leaders just sit there and shut up. [Hinekukutirangi] The double disadvantage of being Māori and female was more noticeable in a Pākehā environment: A classic is going into a Pākehā environment and they immediately discount you because you're a Māori and you're a woman. [Hinekukutirangi] (47, p. 335) - It appears that the intersecting gendered and Indigenous identities for Māori women became a barrier when their credibility was questioned in Pākehāmasculine contexts, and when the participants felt pressure to resort to cultural expectations as Māori women in the presence of older Māori males or in traditional Māori contexts. (47, p. 341) - become the Other, but become his Other, and end up getting caught in the endless and enduring circle of his representation.(10) The point that both Young and Feral are making is that women are not only portrayed in opposing positions to men, but also in positions where men are not. "Men are rational, women emotional, men are rule-bound contractors, women are caretakers, men are right brainers, women are left-brainers,"(11) and so on and so on. These dichotomies have traditionally helped to legitimise the exclusion of women from privileged male places. (60, no pg no)

		• The intersection of race and gender has for Māori women culminated in dominant oppressive ideologies providing complex assertions of inferiority. What is different is abnormal, inferior, subordinate to what is the norm. (60, no pg no) • Those who first wrote about Māori society at the time of early contact between Māori and European were not Māori, neither were they female. Consequently, Māori women were either ignored or portrayed as wanton, amoral and undisciplined creatures. Māori society was portrayed as a hierarchy based on gender, and by being left out of the accounts, Māori women were portrayed as being excluded from participation and determining tribal policy.(18) (60, no pg no) • Clearly those aspects of Māori women's realities that the coloniser sought to reject were those which were viewed as incompatible with the gender roles and expectations that were desired. The ways in which gender inequalities were accentuated differed for Pakeha women and Māori women. For Pakeha women, a strong emphasis on their role in ensuring the survival and purity of the race developed. For Māori women the focus was on assimilation, of using Māori women as a vehicle for the transmission of what was considered appropriate knowledge and appropriate ways of living. Young Māori women were expected to learn the 'appropriate' values and skills of 'civilised young ladies' and this task was linked explicably to the expectation that they would then pass on such knowledge to those in their iwi and in the future to their children. (60, no pg no) • Early descriptions of Māori society by Pākehā ethnographers and anthropologists were particularly influential in the re-construction of our relationships within the frame of colonial gendered relations where the mana of Māori women began to be redefined, and colonial dominant views of sexuality, sexual identity and gender identity were imposed upon our people in ways that created layers of oppression for takatāpui, Māori LGBTIQ whānau. (93, p. 193) • Translations that align with colonising views about gender identities contribute to the hegemonic internalisation of such beliefs about ourselves and within wider Māori society. These are fed by the distorted definitions of colonial ethnographers or anthropologists regarding the place, roles or status of wahine Māori. As such, crucial to Mana Wahine as a part of wider Māori resurgence and resistance movements is a process of decolonising the hegemonic impact upon our people (Awatere, 1984; Irwin, 1992; Smith, 1992; Yates-Smith, 1998; Mikaere, 2017). (93, p. 194) • They are not signatories [of the ToW] for that very reason, because her mana was not recognised because of her gender. (32, p. 16) • Mana wahine is about the denunciation and rejection of violence and colonial gender hierarchies (32, p. 19)
	Gender Patterns in Gambling and Alcohol Consumption	• Many Māori women along with their Pākehā counterparts are now seeking help with problems with gambling. In 2007 more women than men presented to a gambling treatment service, with just 80% identifying that their major mode of gambling and problem with gambling was with pokie machines (Ministry of Health, 2008). (55, p. 46) • The study demonstrated that Māori and Pacific young women's engagement with New Zealand's culture of intoxication is complex: Māori and Pacific women drink for pleasure or to achieve a 'buzz' and to be social. Drinking practices are deeply affected by ethnic and peer group collectives ('the girls'), traditions and expectations. Harm reduction initiatives need to

		take account of the many pathways specific to how Māori and Pacific young women engage with alcohol use. Additionally, the wider context in which alcohol-related harm occurs needs to be considered in policy and harm reduction debates. (62, p. 101) • It is important to view alcohol consumption through a gendered lens, influenced by societal expectations and norms: Understanding the consumption of alcohol as a gendered practice (see Banwell, 1997; Bloomfield, Gmel, & Wilsnack, 2006; Borlagdan et al., 2010; Killingsworth, 2006; Lyons & Willot, 2008), which is located within an immediate context as well as a broader social environment has implications for the success of harm reduction strategies. Alcohol harm reduction campaigns that target women have a tendency to replicate neoliberal discourses of individualization control and responsibility and also tend to be informed by notions of a conservative, respectable femininity (where women's behaviour is demure and dignified) ... Ethnicity is often understood through the lens of risk; but, to see communities and cultures in this way is to further stigmatize individuals and to ignore the influence of wider social structures on health and well-being such as cultural annexation and racism (Bond & Brough, 2007). (Brown & Gregg, 2012). (62, p. 105) • Women preferred to drink with each other than with others: To maintain a commitment to 'the girls', to the party and to enact gender in a neoliberal context, Pacific respondents employed a number of strategies with which to conceal their drinking and partying, including sneaking out when other family members are asleep, lying about where they are going, and when in the company of family drinking lots of water and/or 'acting normal' so that their level of intoxication is not detected. (62, p. 113) • It is also noted that the practices highlighted in Project Buzz such as sideloading, preloading and determined drunkenness are not limited to Māori or Pacific young women. These are characteristics of the drinking practices of a wide range of young female (and male) populations. The participants in Project Buzz demonstrate that they are just like many other groups of young women, and that they suffer from similar harms and experiences, related to the heavy consumption of alcohol on particular occasions. • Therefore, Māori and Pacific young women's engagement with New Zealand's culture of intoxication is complex and the wider social and economic context in which drinking occurs needs to be carefully considered. These findings validate the understanding that the construction of 'drinking femininities' is fluid and accomplished differently by different groups of women. It also suggests that harm reduction initiatives need to explore and take account of many pathways towards intoxication to ensure that inroads to reduce alcohol-related harm are successfully made. (62, p. 115) • Intersectionality: Western feminist tradition has for a long time posited gender as the primary and universal site of oppression, while largely ignoring factors of class and race ... this position is untenable because it fails to expose/own/acknowledge not only white Pakeha women as beneficiaries of Māori women's dispossession through colonization but also their implication in these relations in a post-colonial Aotearoa. Our status as tangata whenua [first peoples] our culture and ... experience of colonization ... situates Māori women in a much larger reality than that of women's rights. (64, p. 326)
Theme 13: Feminism	The Necessity of Developing	• When Māori women, some of whom claimed to be Māori feminists, began to assert mana wahine more explicitly they were met ... with resistance from both non-Māori and Māori alike. In 1984 Donna Awatere wrote Māori Sovereignty an influential (and controversial) book on

	Māori Feminist Discourses	the Māori protest movement that asserted the sovereign rights of Māori. It is in this book that she also voiced concern that in their attempts to advocate for women white feminists of the time were “hegemonically voicing Māori feminist concerns as their own” (Bishop 2005, 135). It was her argument that Māori women’s realities were different from Pākehā (non-Māori New Zealanders)20 women and as such Māori feminist discourses were necessary. (2, p. 8-9) • Following the lead of other indigenous women and women of colour (see bell hooks 1982, 1995, 1997, 2000 and Angela Davis 1982, 1990) a handful of Māori women were criticising „Western” feminism as exclusive of women of colour. Dissatisfied with „Western” feminism, writers such as those mentioned above promoted the need for Māori feminism. (3, p. 22) • Māori feminism sought to make space for Māori women’s experiences in order to re privilege Māori women’s voices, stories and creations (for more on the origins of Māori feminism see Evans 1994a, 1994b; Irwin 1992a, 1993, 1995; Jenkins 1992; Johnston 1998; Nepe 1992; and Te Awekotuku 1991a, 1992a, 1992b). (3, p. 23) • Leah Whiu (1994, 164) who says: “it seems that my struggle necessarily takes account of your struggle. I can’t ignore patriarchy in my struggle. Yet you can and do ignore the “colour” of patriarchy, the cultural-specificity of patriarchy. And in doing so you ignore me.” Māori women have sustained this criticism of western feminism over the years (see Irwin 1992; Jahnke 1997; Smith 2012) and have been quick to distinguish Māori women’s discourses as distinct and unique. (2, p. 58) • Feminist geographers stress the importance of interacting and sharing your own experiences with research participants (Valentine 1997). In all of the joint interviews the women acted as participants but they also questioned each other’s responses and probed each other about topics that I might not have necessarily followed through on. (3, p. 45) • As Te Awekotuku (1991) argues, (re)claiming mana wāhine need not be divorced from feminist theory and action. Challenging the assumption that feminism is an ‘imported Pākehā idea about being female and being put down for being female’, Te Awekotuku takes an intersectional stance, suggesting that ‘feminism is what we make it; it’s a matter of how we determine it for ourselves, in terms of our own oppression as women’ (p. 10).(29, p. 7) • As shown, this Māori ‘making’ of feminism in Aotearoa often goes beyond textual and academic resources, utilising Māori mythology, artwork, song, dance, and storytelling to provide new forms of voicing resistance (Diamond, 1999). I liken these forms to what Sara Ahmed calls feminist tools, which she links to Audre Lorde’s proclamation that ‘The master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s Women’s Studies Journal, Volume 31 Number 2, December 2017: 4-17. ISSN 1173-6615 © 2017 Women’s Studies Association of New Zealand Hosted at house’ (Lorde, cited in Ahmed, 2017, p. 160). In recognising that mana wāhine has its own tools and its own raw materials to work with in the fight against intersectional oppression, we move away from the suggestion that Māori women have been invited, rather benevolently, into the Pākehā feminist movement. (29, p. 7-8) • The foci of Māori feminism (sometimes referred to as Mana wāhine Māori), in its diverse forms, has included the goal of giving Māori women control over their own identities, making sense of Māori women’s different realities, describing the forms and contexts of oppression that are confronted by Māori women, and celebrating the strength and resilience of Māori women in certain contexts and circumstances. Since the 1980s, the proliferation of Māori women’s voices in feminist studies has been diverse rather than homogeneous (Irwin, 1992a, 1992b; McNicholas, Humphries, & Gallhofer, 2004; Te Awekotuku, 1991b). (47, p. 332-3)
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		• The Maori protest movement of the 1970s and 1980s was largely feminist-led. From the momentum created by the feminist movement and the land/language/Treaty protests, we forged a consciousness and dialect of Maori feminism. There was a distinct difference between what we called white feminism and Maori feminism. The difference lay in the fact that Maori feminism was grounded in the identity and creation of this country, grounded in the rivers, lakes, mountains, seas and forests, grounded in the war and peace between tribes and families, grounded in the whakapapa of generations of families, tribes, waka, Gods and Goddesses, grounded in notions and concepts of time and space that required reclamation, and if the price was a re-fashioning of Maori society than so be it. We marched against our own people in order for the Treaty to be put back on the agenda. (48, no pg no) • Because Maori sovereignty had resonated so strongly with our other political beliefs, Women for Aotearoa now felt ready to become active and work hard towards bringing about our new vision and communicating our analysis. Because there were so many other Pakeha groups active in anti-racism at the time, many of whom were feminist, I guess we had a naive belief that the time for a really radical feminism that went beyond the patriarchy and incorporated economic analysis and post-colonialism had come. Without articulating it, we believed that the logic of our analysis was so compelling that those interested in Maori sovereignty could not help but see it. Donna [Awatere] had taken our analysis forward, others seemed to be committed to Maori sovereignty and, we assumed, must have arrived at the same conclusions as ourselves. (49, no pg no) • Feminism and politics: In order to understand the rapidity with which Women for Aotearoa identified with Maori sovereignty and also our faith in the validity of our arguments it is necessary to look at the history of the women concerned in the Women's movement and our political beliefs generally. All of us agree that there is no doubt that a Marxist feminist theoretical position dominated the group, although only four out of the seven would have termed themselves such. (49, no pg no) • Feminism and politics: In many ways it is not surprising that we should find our views so closely matching Donna's arguments. In 1971, Joce and Donna were both members of Women for Equality, a group of socialist women who believed that the liberation of women would only be successful within a socialist society. Their analysis therefore laid emphasis on economic issues and the position of women in capitalist society. Donna's paths and those of three of us often crossed throughout the 1970s as we periodically found ourselves attending the same Marxist study groups, both within the loose Republican group and sometimes those run by socialist party groups such as the Socialist Action League. Some of us had been involved with radical feminism in the early 1970s, but increasingly felt the need to return to socialist or Marxist roots to rectify an analysis of the world based only on patriarchy. We were part of a Marxist study group in 1976/77 in which we read Marx and discussed the first two volumes of Das Kapital. While it was a group of men and women, it was dominated by the strong feminist women who returned with confidence and assertion from consciousness raising groups to take up their rightful place in left wing groups on their own terms rather than those set by the men. The most useful part of these discussions for us was encountering in Marx a description of capitalist society not based on moral rectitude.(49, no pg no) • University assignment for Maori feminist studies: The strength for a feminist paper is for the women to find their voice early ... 'put the Maori stuff up first and then one the Maori women
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		felt comfortable they should be able to cope the other way [i.e. with Pakeha feminist knowledge] (54, p. 296) • The absence of a sustained focus on love in progressive circles arises from a collective failure to acknowledge the needs of the spirit and an over-determined emphasis on material concerns. Without love, our efforts to liberate ourselves and our world community from oppression and exploitation are doomed' (my emphasis). There is immense aroha in hooks' statement, where she focuses on spiritual needs. amongst human beings. Along with that of other feminist discourses I have described, hooks' advice may be taken by those of us who engage in Pihama's 'critical struggle'. While my description of feminist theory focuses mostly on women, this theory de-emphasises separatist, anti-male politics. This politics and feminist theory relates more to recognition of situation- based variety in human experience that transcends race and gender based boundaries but is geared towards progressive political action. (59, p. 314) • I will show how Maori feminism derives from Maori nationalism, a nationalism that allows for the visibility of racial divisions (Maori vs. Pakeha) rather than gender divisions (men vs. women), on which feminism is traditionally based. ... In her article "Maori Sovereignty: A Feminist Invention of Tradition" Michele Dominy intertextualizes the two movements by suggesting that the Maori Land March of 1975 led by Dame Whina Cooper, the Bastion Point occupation by the Maoris in 1977-78, and the protests against the South African Springbok Rugby Tour in 1981 are linked with the emergence of feminism. To recapitulate these incidents: Dame Whina Cooper started her Land March in 1975 from Te Hapua in the north to Wellington in the south (of the North Island). Basing her politics on the premise that for a Maori to be landless is tantamount to being deprived of an identity, she led other Maori and marched to Wellington to present a statement of Maori rights to the government. The Bastion Point occupation represented a challenge to the Crown's underhanded ways of acquiring Maori land during the late 1800s. In 1976 the government announced its plans to build a major high-income housing development on what was originally Maori land. As a result, Maori protestors occupied Bastion Point for 506 days and demanded that 180 acres of land be given back to them. Around this action, Maori women challenged their men for equality within the movement. (66, p. 58) • Mana wahine differs from feminism in being Māori centred, but it was often developed in a relationship to feminism, both internationally and at a local New Zealand level (68, p. 73) • Pioneering feminist education resources in 1980s: The overall climate that universities found themselves in during the 1980s had much to do with this. For Maori and feminist academic staff, working in areas which were still largely subject to pioneering in this decade, the resources were just not available to implement the programmes of reform generally accepted as necessary. This under-resourcing, at a time when educational policy had clearly come to include equity as a central focus, was intensely frustrating (69, p. 61) • A challenge for women's movements: grass-roots and community women's movement has given women's studies its life. How do we relate to it? How do we bring our gifts and our educational privilege back to it? c there is to learn in doing this essential work? Ask yourself what the women's movement is working on in your town or city. Are you a part of it? Ask yourself which women are living in the worst conditions in your town and how your work positively affects and directly touches their lives. If it doesn't, why not?2 (71, p. 21)
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		• Women's Studies should be an empowering process for the seekers and participants; it should make the intellectual more understandable; it should enrich, provoke, and enlighten; it should stretch the imagination and exercise the intellect - and it should be FUN! After all, Sue Wise remarked rather drily: The sound of women laughing together is the beginning of the revolution.³ We realise there are many different concepts of Women's Studies; as there are different feminisms, and conflicting definitions of what it means to be feminist. What we are doing here, and now, is choosing the right one for us (71, p. 21) • On the cutting edge of feminist theory: And to theory itself, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, a prominent and creative Maori feminist educator, made this remark: By just being Maori and a woman, who thinks about her life, and her people- one is on the cutting edge. That is where Maori women live - on the cutting edge of theory.¹³ ... Such issues are being addressed by a growing number of feminist Maori scholars,¹⁴ with diverse and excitingly contradictory views. As Kathie Irwin states: In order to understand the needs of Maori women and girls, it is essential to develop Maori feminist theories in which Maori Society and culture are central.... The issue of life styles and opportunities for Maori women and girls is a serious one and demands our specific concern.¹⁵ ... She continues: Feminist theory and her stories from other women of Aotearoa, particularly our Pākehā sisters; from other coloured women around the world; from indigenous women, whose people have been colonised; in fact from other women wherever they are, all provide an international perspective (thus) there is no one theory of Maori feminism; there will be many.¹⁶ (71, p. 25) • The challenge for Maori women in the 1990s is to assume control over the interpretation of our struggles and to begin to theorize our experiences in ways which make sense for us and which may come to make sense for other women. In helping to determine how that interpretation might be advanced, it is worth while analysing the kinds of struggles in which Maori women have been engaged and to set them more explicitly within a Maori orientation to the world. This does not mean rejecting all feminist theories. Rather, it means that we, as Maori women, should begin with an understanding of our own condition and apply analyses which can give added insight into the complexities of our world. (73, p. 41) • Maori feminisms: The development of theories of Māori feminisms is not an ostrich approach to Māori development, where Māori feminists have their heads buried in the sand, not aware of or interested in the world around them, concentrating only on the role or status of Māori women, in isolation from the world they live in. This kind of posture is self-defeating if development is the aim. It is especially so because you can't even see who is kicking you in the bum, let alone catch them at it! A more appropriate analogy is perhaps that of a bird flying high in the sky, with full view of the horizons around it, moving in directions and at a speed that it can control. This is the power offered by Māori feminisms. (74, p. 69) • We can and must design new tools — Māori feminist theories, to ensure that we have control over making sense of our world and our future. This is a feminist position in which the artificial creation, inflation, and maintenance of male power over women is unacceptable. We don't need anyone else developing the tools which will help us to come to terms with who we are. We can and will do this work. Real power lies with those who design the tools- it always has. This power is ours. Through the process of developing such theories we will contribute to our empowerment as Māori women, moving forward in our struggles for our people, our lands, our world, ourselves. (74, p. 70)
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		• Man theories of Maori feminisms: The tribal basis of Māori society cannot be overlooked in any study of Māoridom. Iwi Māori have suffered different fates at the hands of the colonizers. This iwi focus is particularly relevant in studies of Māori women, as this area is one in which tribal kawa and tikanga differ markedly. Without iwi-based analysis, people may assume that the tikanga which apply to women and women's knowledge are pan-tribal in their origins and impact. They are not. The role of Ngāti Porou women in Ngāti Porou society, as detailed in Apirana Mahuika's MA thesis, for example, provides a fascinating historical analysis which I helps to explain why Ngāti Porou women are so strong, to this day! (Mahuika 1973) There is no one theory of Māori feminism; there will be many. (74, p. 70-71) • Feminists debate about gender speaking roles on the marae: Ironically, on at least two levels the debate engages in double standards which are seldom acknowledged. At the heart of the matter is the assertion that men whaikorero, that women don't, and that this is an example of sexism, of the denial of women's rights. Here, the principle of equal rights is being argued in the context where male behaviour is used as the norm against which female behaviour is judged. Women weren't doing exactly what the men did, therefore what they were doing didn't count, in its own right. These feminists are proposing that Māori society and culture should adopt the very use of male behaviour which they would not accept for themselves, as a norm for judging female behaviour. (74, p. 74) • Māori feminism is grounded in both Māori culture and the women's movement. Further, that under the kaupapa of whanau development, Māori feminists work with all Māori people, including men, a principle which stands Māori feminism apart from some other expressions of feminism. (74, p. 75) • Maori feminist struggles are grounded in the world views and language of Maori people. One commonly used Maori term for these struggles is Mana Wahine Maori. (76, p. 90) • Similarly Kathie Irwin argues that there is no one single theory of feminism but that there are many.¹¹ She maintains that in order to understand more fully the positioning and needs of Māori girls and women it is essential to develop Māori feminist theories even when groups of Māori do not perceive this as necessary. (85, p. 63) • Māori women's involvement in the so-called 'second wave' of feminism through the seventies corresponded with Māori women's activeness in Māori sovereignty movements. Māori women's groups were clearly a feature of Māori nationalist movements through the 1970s and 1980s. 993, p. 67) • As Linda Tuhiwai Smith has noted: The women referred to in this discussion have been instrumental in my own thinking about how Māori women engage feminism. They have each provided analysis of not only the ways in which Western feminisms have rendered nonwhite women invisible, but have done so in a context of recognizing the need for analysis that is incorporative of gender in ways that are connected to wider social, economic, political, and cultural realities. None of these women dismiss the need for focus on women's experiences; rather they promote analyses that position gender as interrelated to issues of colonization, capitalism, hetero-sexism, classism, and racism. For Māori women, such an analysis is absolutely essential as we live within a context of colonialism that has been both driven and justified by acts of racism and capitalist exploitation. (85, p. 68)
	Critiquing Western	• Leonie Pihama (2001) also criticises western feminism as being 'spiritually impoverished'.(2, p. 51)

	Feminism's Inadequacy in Addressing Māori Feminist Perspectives	• In early assertions of mana wahine, many Māori women stayed away from 'feminism' because it was assumed to put Māori men down. It was thought that being a 'feminist' was anti-Māori, specifically anti-Māori men; that in the struggle for rangatiratanga it was inappropriate to divert one's energies towards what was seen as predominantly a 'white woman's' struggle (Jenkins 1992). (2, p. 55) • Given the history of western feminism, finding workable links with non-indigenous feminists has been somewhat of a struggle. Māori women were not the first to critique western feminism. (2, p. 58) • In reference to Western feminism, Leah Whiu (1994, 164) makes the important point that "it seems to me that my struggle necessarily takes account of your struggle. I can't ignore patriarchy in my struggle. Yet you can and do ignore the „colour" of patriarchy, the cultural specificity of patriarchy. And in doing so you ignore me". (3, p. 22) • The explicit assertion of mana wahine has been met with resistance from some. It was thought, in the 1980s and 1990s (and perhaps this still persists today), that being a 'feminist' was anti-Māori, specifically anti-Māori men; that in the struggle for rangatiratanga it was not appropriate to divert one's energies towards what was seen as predominantly a white women's struggle (Jenkins, 1992). Mana wahine is not anti-Māori or anti-Māori men (Johnston & Waitere, 2009; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1992, 1996). It is not about seeking some 'oppressive matriarchal alternative' (Diamond, 1999), neither is it nor has it ever been 'about changing the sex of the winning team' (Johnston & Waitere, 2009, p.18). Rather, it is premised on the argument that pre-colonisation, mana wahine and mana tāne existed as complementary parts. (9, p. 14) • For many Māori, and other minority groups, the „race" issue took priority. Therefore, to be involved in feminist activities was often considered anti-Māori, or more specifically anti-Māori men (Irwin 1992a, 1993; Jenkins 1992). (85, p. 22) • Leah Whiu (1994, 164) who says: "it seems that my struggle necessarily takes account of your struggle. I can't ignore patriarchy in my struggle. Yet you can and do ignore the "colour" of patriarchy, the cultural-specificity of patriarchy. And in doing so you ignore me." Māori women have sustained this criticism of western feminism over the years (see Irwin 1992; Jahnke 1997; Smith 2012) and have been quick to distinguish Māori women's discourses as distinct and unique. (2, p. 58) • Western feminism has been slow to take up spirituality discourses [wairua discourses] and often spirituality is relegated to the realm of religion (Pihama 2001). (3, p. 26) • Mana wahine, often referred to as Māori feminist discourses, is a theoretical and methodological approach that explicitly examines the intersection of being Māori and female. There is little published academic work that engages with Māori women's embodied, spatial and spiritual experiences from an explicitly mana wahine standpoint. The exceptions, however, are significant. I draw on these, in this article, to highlight the exciting possibilities of mana wahine, an extension of Kaupapa Māori theory, as a localised and place-specific theoretical approach that examines the diverse and complex geographies of Māori women. (9, p. 12) • Western feminism has been criticised as being 'spiritually impoverished' (Pihama, 2001) and it has been argued that wairua marks the clearest contrast between indigenous knowledges and the West. (9, p. 16)
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		are intertwined in anti- and de-coloniz ing projects to (re)assert knowledges, practices, and subjectivities rendered largely invisible through colonization. (20, p. 1187) • Murphy (2017) notes that the history of feminism, particularly white Western feminism, in Aotearoa New Zealand was preceded (and challenged) by mana wāhine. Drawing on Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1991), Murphy (2017) notes that “in Aotearoa, the shattering of Māori through colonisation remains at the forefront of any intersectional feminist consciousness and is informed by our own commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and tino rangatiratanga” (p. 6). Through recourse to discussions of mana wāhine by women such as Leonie Pihama, Kathy Irwin, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Simmonds (2011) explains that mana wāhine is “an extension of Kaupapa Māori” (p. 13) and is a “space where Māori women can, on our own terms and in our own way, (re) define and (re)present the multifarious stories and experiences of what it means, and what it meant in the past, to be a Māori woman in Aotearoa New Zealand” (pp. 11–12). (21, p. 45) • Connections between mana wahine and feminism have been variously interpreted, with some commentators arguing that mana wahine preceded and is very different to European and American forms of feminism, while others see closer connections between them (see Johnston and Pihama 1995, Pihama 1997). (24, p. 109) • The failure of western feminism to adequately address the needs of Maori women is also shared by other indigenous women.(38, p. 33) • Mana wahine expresses what counts as feminism for Maori women (38, p. 35) • Maori and Pakeha feminists can't unite: We stated that Donna's [Awatere] totally Maori-identified politics challenged us as Pakeha feminists because for once we were forced to find our theory in New Zealand. The emphasis on Pakeha was important as that focused us on what made us New Zealanders and not how British colonial history defined us. We questioned individual property ownership and the social structures that control access to land and work. We connected this with feminist theory which we saw as relying on crutches and catchphrases such as 'the personal is political', 'women are a class', 'destroy the patriarchy', 'sisterhood is powerful'. The letter went on to state the political belief which was to distinguish our approach to anti-racism from those of many other feminist groups of that time. We said, "Effective political action comes from the proper identification of our own political interests, not from guilt." That is, we were involved with Maori sovereignty because it was in our political interests to do so not because we were outsiders feeling sorry for what we had done to Maori. We also mentioned Donna's [Awatere] question of a possible alliance between Maori and feminist groups, stating, "No alliance is possible until we feminists understand that Maori sovereignty is not just another issue." (49, no pg no) • Paikea behaved as if she was a child brought up by her father in Germany, with no knowledge of Māori culture, when she sat on the front pew with the men. A child raised by her grandparents would simply not behave in this way. This is an example of the Eurocentric feminist belief that women can challenge a supposed male hegemonic practice that appears to discriminate against Māori women and, therefore, relegates them to lesser positions in Māori society. The disregard for the cultural significance of the marae and the protection of women is masked by this Eurocentric feminist challenge, thus portraying Māori as a 'barbaric' people who have no respect for women. (50, p. 8) • Awatere's and Evans's Black feminist philosophy was shaped by their respective experiences with the New Zealand women's liberation movement. The (primarily white) women's
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		movement displayed a diversity of feminist viewpoints from the outset, yet in the early 1970s was constituted by radical feminist collectives united by the common objective of “bringing down patriarchy,” defined as an oppressive system of masculine domination (Dalziel 1995: 64). Radical feminists were the catalyst for the subsequent formation of more liberal feminism women’s groups, who sought to reform the system for women rather than overthrow it. (52, p. 259) • However, as the seventies progressed, discord between feminisms was a common occurrence that became more sharply defined. Maori women, who had always been a small minority in the women’s movement, offered their own challenges (Vanderpyl 2004: 319–20). Awatere’s and Evans’s paper on Maori women at the 1979 United Women’s Convention stated: “We cannot romanticise about the past or the present. Most of all we cannot exaggerate the trivial jobs which Maori women have done and are still doing, in order to make it appear as if Maori women have ever had any equal status. To equate Maori women’s oppression to any facet of oppression of Pākehā women is to do Maori women grave injustice. As N.Z. society thrives from having one of the most sexist societies in the world—a society so sexist that Maori women are no longer good enough for Maori men, where Maori women only get the scraps after Pākehā women have finished choosing their jobs” (Awatere and Evans n.d.).⁷ (52, p. 260) • Both the verbal feedback and the journal feedback shows that there still remains a white women’s assumption that feminism is for all” (54, p. 299) • In the development of the Gambling Act (2003) no feminist perspective was actively visible or involved in the development of policy, harm minimisation regulations and health interventions. Those who have advocated as women have generally been dismissed or their views marginalised along with Māori, Pacific and Asian interests. (55, p. 46) • In some of the feminist discourses, Indigenous women are an appendage to the main body of work, like an afterthought that is not separated, but is lost within the text of the dominant voice. But if we look from a Māori or Indigenous Australian worldview, we are in the centre with all the other aspects and entities of our cultures: the rest of the world is at or in the margin (Fredericks, 2003; Huggins, 1994; McIntosh, 2001; Mikaere, 1995). Thus we as Māori and Indigenous Australian women are simultaneously at the margin and at the centre, within and without, inside and outside. (56, p. 80) • For young women, however, this ‘new’ order is not divorced from older, conservative discourses of femininity with implications for how young women ‘should’ behave (Day, Gough, & McFadden, 2004; Plant & Plant, 2006). Young female drinkers, now more visible participants in the [night-time economy] NTE of pubs, bars and clubs, are invited to take up post-feminist ‘drinking femininities’, urging them to be ‘up for it’ and pleasure-seeking on the one hand, while cautioning them to be restrained and ‘respectable’ on the other (Day et al., 2004; Lyons & Willot, 2008). The practices of consuming alcohol within cultures of intoxication are therefore key sites for exploring how femininities are experienced and challenged in relation to the contradictions of neoliberalism. (62, p. 102-3) • The feminist symptoms and struggles from one geography are not the same in another geography: First, in its haste to demarcate itself from First World feminism, the argument symptomatically reproduces the same homogenization of the concept “Third World” that Mohanty herself finds problematic in “Under Western Eyes.” Her use of the conditions produced by the global economy as a defining principle, while it takes care of the problematic
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		division of the two hemispheres (Western and non- Western), once more reaffirms Third World women as poor and united in their struggle for survival regardless of their location on the globe. The very structure against which Mohanty argues in "Under Western Eyes"- a homogenized Third World and an equivalent First World-somehow remanifests itself in "Cartographies of Struggle." Second, while an alliance based on commonality of struggle is particularly meaningful in a multicultural, ethnically diverse country such as the US, it does not resonate in the same way in Aotearoa/New Zealand. (66, p. 51) • Phyllis Goldfarb's description of a "theory-practice spiral". 4 She wrote: Feminist theorising begins with the concrete experiences of particular women ... These experiences are then questioned, probed, examined, explored and analysed. (67, p. 162) • Feminism in education/need to be agents: Anne Marie O'Neill supports this analysis in her comprehensive discussion of the development of feminist scholarship in the area of cultural reproduction: The primacy of human agency and the production of meaning and culture is...paramount in this work. Feminist studies of this kind have sought to expose how women, as well as men, are enmeshed in social relationships and ideological webs of meaning and power. The limitations inherent in the application of reproduction models to the study of girls' educational experiences, and women's lives, can be seen in their failure to sufficiently acknowledge human beings as 'choosing agents'.¹⁵ (69, p. 80) • White feminisms have thrown into relief the complexities of our oppressions but have, at the same time, come dangerously close to smothering us in various metatheories and reconstructing our reality in 'their' metaphors. Even worse, the metaphors which are used to explain our situation are sometimes reconstructed versions of our own whakataukii.* And in attempting to theorise our own lives we have frequently been caught using their concepts as a means of understanding our own. (73, p. 40) • Most Maori women have been so conditioned to keep away from anything that smacks of radical feminism - the reason being that feminists are out to usurp the male role. Within Maoritanga, such a move would serve to undermine the already weakened ranks. It is also interpreted as being in direct opposition to the belief that the role of the Maori women is that of wife and mother. Such a position seemed to be unshakeable when exposed to challenge about whether or not this in fact was a traditional Maori belief or a recently assumed one since colonisation. (75, p. 84) • The work of Pakeha feminists have often been regarded with deep suspicion by Maori women although some feminist groups have actively promoted the issues of Maori women. Maori women have argued, for example, that Pākeha women are as much the beneficiaries of colonization as Pakeha men. Others use the 'bottom of the heap' metaphor to argue that Maori women are on their own and that alliances with other groups such as Maori men, Pakeha women and Pakeha men will always be problematic (Awatere, 1984). (76, p. 92) • There are tensions between the ways in which Maori women view their realities and their struggles and the ways in which Pakeha feminists have defined feminist projects. This tension is sharply delineated over such issues as Maori male violence or dealing with sexual abuse within Maori families. When attempts are made by Pakeha women to blame Maori men or Maori 'culture' for such issues, Maori women are quick to challenge such remarks as being founded on racist ideologies. Donna Awatere, one of the few Maori women who has written in this area has accused Pakeha women of seeking to 'set Maori women against Maori men'
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		(ibid). Maori women claim the right to define such issues on the basis that in the end it is Maori women who are left to pick up the pieces of a colonized society. (76, p. 92) • Some Pakeha feminists, for example, have interpreted the issue of speaking rights as an example of patriarchal power over women's voices, however many Maori women would claim that the definitions of power being used in this example are culturally located and whilst in Pakeha society speaking rights may indicate power and status in Maori contexts, real power is held behind the scenes often by women who sit in the background. (76, p. 100) • The label Māori Feminism is problematic for many Māori women. This problematic is located within an analysis that identifies a fundamental contradiction in the use of the label in relation to Māori women's analyses and theories of the world. Much of the criticism is based in an idea that the terms Māori and Feminism do not sit comfortably together, and that for some Māori women their experiences of Feminism and/or what is often termed the 'Women's Movement' has not been a healthy one but has mirrored their experiences of wider Pākehā society, where Māori ideas and concepts have been marginalized and denied and Māori women's voices been silenced. (85, p. 62) • White feminisms, Linda notes, while useful at one level, can perpetuate 'otherness' at another. Linda argues that existing feminist analyses fail to recognize the cultural and historical realities of Māori women.¹⁴ She asserts that race and class may mean that Māori women's alliances with Pākehā women may at best be tenuous, reminding us that cultural institutions are sites of struggle, and therefore it is not surprising that some Māori women view Pākehā feminism with suspicion. She notes that in the building of a wharehau in a mainstream Pākehā girls school, 'issues of race and class differences tended to struggle against any potentially common interests of gender.' (85, p. 64) • White women's feminist voice: The first loyalty of white women is always to the White Culture and the White Way. This is true as much for those who define themselves as feminists as for any other white woman.¹⁵ Further to which, Donna Awatere raises a number of other criticisms of the ways in which Pākehā women position themselves as the voice for all women. Firstly, she argues white feminists assume a position of defining feminism for all women, while denying the struggles of Māori women. The ability to control definitions is, she argues, a consequence of white power and privilege.¹⁶ Secondly, in assuming a right to speak for all, individual Pākehā women are able to then view themselves as 'spearheading' a challenge to patriarchy that all will benefit from. The flaw in such an assumption is the underestimation of the strength of patriarchal institutions and the liberal belief that individual success necessarily means real change for all.¹⁷ Statements such as this are not limited to Māori women. Indigenous women, Black women, women of color have raised major concerns about the inability of white women to engage through feminism with the multiple experiences of women who are not white, heterosexual, or middle class. (85, p. 64) • Winona Stevenson of the Cree nation: I believe that while feminists and Indigenous women have a lot in common, they are in separate movements. Feminism defines sexual oppression as the Big Ugly. The Indigenous Women's movement sees colonization and racial oppression as the Big Uglies. Issues of sexual oppression are seldom articulated separately because they are part of the Bigger Uglies. Sexual oppression was, and is, one part of the colonization of Indigenous Peoples.(85, p. 65) • As with Māori women's critique of Western feminism, Haunani argues that the universalizing of feminist issues as being the same for all women does not serve the interests of Indigenous
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		women where issues of race and culture are critical. She argues that Indigenous women are exploited by both white men and white women, and that exploitation by our colonizers cannot be separated from sexual oppression.²⁹ Haunani emphasizes that the universalizing tendencies of Western feminism have reduced oppression for all women to a common denominator of gender, when this is not the reality of many Indigenous women. (93, p. 65) • a key theme of early and subsequent Western maternal theorising is the idea that motherhood was a source of oppression, a “source of subordination” (Sanger, 1992, p. 20) and that expectations of mothers to perform in a constructed self-sacrificing model are patriarchal in origin. These theories are grounded in Western feminism and discourses to address the issues raised by maternal theorists who also largely draw from Western feminist theories. These Western feminist-based foundations have permeated the discussions that have emerged within international maternal theory; however, the majority of this early theorising has focused primarily on the ‘plight’ of white middle-class mothers and has had little consideration of the mothering experiences of other cultural and social constructs. (91, p. 167) • Film-maker Merita Mita in an address on feminism and post colonialism clearly articulated the inadequacy of Western feminism to explain her own position as a Maori woman. (38, p. 34) • Critiques and Alternatives to Western Feminism: According to Grant Thornton (2018), in Aotearoa women in senior management roles have dropped 19% since 2004. It is crucial to address this unconscious bias, and in some cases conscious bias, that has become a model that contributes to devaluing mana wahine. As explained by Smith (1994): Our struggle as Māori women is our own struggle. To lose control of that struggle is to lose control of our lives. We are not in a position, therefore, to simply endorse or graft on to the projects of white women. We must develop according to the reality and logic of our lives. (p. 48) (33, p. 70)
	Tikanga Māori Feminist Methodologies Challenge Western Hegemonic Discourses	• mana wahine methodology [in research] that incorporates elements of feminist methodologies grounded in tikanga Māori. (2, p. 17) • Far from corrective feminist research feminist geography today is premised on exposing the power relations of hegemonic discourses (Gibson-Graham 1994). In addition, the recognition and celebration of difference is now integral to feminist geographers' understandings of place, space and embodiment. (2, p. 59) • Simmonds (2) research: It also extends feminist geography, by conceptualising new geographies founded in the mana of wāhine. (2, p. 63) • [1970s]... a handful of Māori women recognised that gender relations needed to be addressed in indigenous communities (Irwin 1992a, 1993; Szasy 1993). Irwin (1993) asserted the need to re establish the mana of our women to allow us to stand tall beside our men in our whānau again. In the 1980s and 1990s Māori women began to take issue with the monolithic category „woman“. Traditional gender debates were problematised by highlighting the intersecting oppressions experienced by Māori women. They pointed out that their experiences were not the same as Pākehā women. Linda Alcoff (1996, 26) insists that “feminist theory has committed analogous errors to andocentric theories in insidiously privileging the position and experiences of academic European American women”. Non-Western women have been lumped into a homogeneous category. The “80s and “90s were an important time for Māori feminist discourses and more Māori women began to write about and present their experiences.¹² (3. p. 7)

		• Lerner (1995) argues that local articulations of feminism are good examples of situated knowledges. Mana wahine can contribute to wider indigenous and feminist scholarship by challenging hegemonic colonial masculinist ideologies. While ours is a physically isolated country it is intimately connected to wider theoretical and ideological frameworks (Kearns and Panelli 2007). (3, p. 8) • Feminism, post structuralism, queer theory, post-colonialism, and many other critical epistemologies disrupt the hegemony of traditional Western, colonial, masculine and disembodied knowledge. (3, p. 13) • Over time, feminist geography has shifted and developed and will continue to do so. Today, feminist geography can be understood as a space within which identity politics, the politics of difference, knowledge construction, power relations and contemporary constructions of gender can be explored (England 2006). Important to feminist geography is that "asking where is not a secondary question, an afterthought, but instead represents a crucial entree into understanding the world in which we live, particularly a world marked by difference including but not limited to gender" (Nelson and Seager 2005, 7, emphasis in the original). Far from „corrective feminist research" (Gibson-Graham 1994) feminist geography today is premised on exposing the power relations of hegemonic discourses. In addition, the recognition and celebration of difference is now integral to feminist geographer's understandings of place, space and embodiment. (3, p. 28) • Brown feminism was a core sub-theme which arose through the sexism meant wahine had to develop strategies of handling' oppressive encounters so they could continue to work towards applying for surgical training. (13, p. 110-111) • We enter into the discussion of feminism in practice knowing that as we take up the invitation to speak, it does not guarantee a hearing. (18, p. 14) • the ability to hear is significantly effected by shared spaces that traverse socio-political histories, linguistic, cultural and, yes – theoretical, epistemological and ontological airwaves which connote levels of resonance or dissonance in the auditory range of the listener. So while we believe there is evidence in Aotearoa New Zealand that the institutional acoustic is expanding, unless feminism takes account of the multiple forces of subjugation where sexism, racism, colonialism and class combine and overlap with the political aspirations for self determination, feminist studies will only ever, at best, take account of part of indigenous women's realities. (12, p. 15) • Ecofeminism works towards "a transformed consciousness that eliminates the dualisms that undergird dominance" (2) and has been called the third wave of feminism because it "is engaged with political and economic struggles, as well as with the challenge to articulate ecofeminist theory," although it does not "presuppose or posit a unitary voice of women" (3). Garrard identifies a "radical ecofeminist essentialism" (24) that has been charged with positioning women as the irrational, nature-bound, emotive opposite in the binary of male mind, logic, and culture as a way of trying to balance out the effects of male dominance. As he points out, many (eco)feminist thinkers have deconstructed such binaries and moved on to understanding the need to critique fixed concepts of gendering that embrace either masculinity or femininity too exclusively. (24, p. 110) • The emergence of a second wave of feminism in the 1970s and 1980s was indicated by the setting up of Broadsheet and other feminist magazines and journals, the formation of women's organizations, and the "liberation" of many exclusively male places. 928, p. 112)
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		• intersectionality problematises the taken-for-granted 'body' in which these feminist reactions are expected to occur, with this body not necessarily being white, middle-class, physically able, heterosexual, or biologically delineated as female. The result is an infinite score of women's possible lived experiences, occurring within an interconnected array of contextual sites, producing no singular or universal feminist consciousness, but rather a multiplicity of diverse feminist consciousness-es (Brah & Phoenix, 2004). Ahmed describes the visceral sensations which come with an emergent feminist consciousness; in her own experience, these include sensations of heat, anger, and flushed skin, all of which are 'sensible reaction[s] to the injustices of the world' (p. 21). We are aroused by injustices, we 'register something in the sharpness of an impression' (p. 21), and through this sensing we begin our journey toward living a feminist life – a life which inevitably involves agitation, or the stirring up of sensations in the world. (29, p. 6) • In Aotearoa, the shattering of Māori through colonisation remains at the forefront of any intersectional feminist consciousness, and is informed by our commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and tino rangatiratanga (Hoskins, 2000). (29, p. 6) • Physical structures show either embracing or lack of embracing women: In Figure 1 [Figure 1 (next page). Interior of Te Whai-a-te-Motu meeting house, Mataatua, c.1910.], what is most striking is the lack of divisional walls. The structure of the wharenui symbolises the embracement of the collective whānau, and has been built to resemble a living body: the tāhuhu, or ridge beam, is the backbone; the heke, or rafters, are the ribs; and the poutokomanawa, or central column, is the heart (Brown, 2014). Figure 2 [State house, Levin, 1945.] The New Zealand state house shown in Figure 2 is individualistic in design: it is divided into distinct spaces, with the sections between the houses delineated by straight, white fences. (29, p. 9) • Photography layout of women and women with men show where the power is. The following example shows powerful wahine: The Māori women in Figure 8 contrast sharply with the woman in Figure 7. Their position on the marae is not one of passivity or confinement, but of responsibility and agency. Our attention is drawn to the kuia, who is adorned with ceremonial objects of power. She faces forward, her head tilted upward, and the strength of her posture is reinforced by the framework of the wharenui behind her. Although these are historical images, the ways in which women are positioned as objects and subjects amongst these structures and walls persist in modern media (Wilkes, 2015). , For example, in her analysis of how gender and ethnicity are depicted and constructed in New Zealand television advertisements ... Echoing the depictions of white men in Figures 5 and 7, white men were found to represent financial, corporate, and legal services, while Māori and Pasifika men were found to dominate athletic advertisements ... Most strikingly, Māori and Pasifika women were all but absent from the advertisements, representing the 'multiple axes of subordination' encountered by these women in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Michelle, 2012, p. 21). (29, p. 12) • Perhaps it is the harmony of the family, or the agreement of the members, or the signing of an agenda. Enclosing this setting are walls. The group gathers in order to protect and preserve the thing which is at stake; but the feminist woman senses, even if she still struggles to articulate it, that this 'thing' contains waves of violence, that its survival depends upon the silence of those who have been shattered. She ventures to interrupt, to voice her own biography of violence. She says, 'But that [----] is sexist,' or 'That [----] is racist.' Immediately there is a disruption. The group shifts, alters its orientation, turning in defence
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		against the woman who has spoken. 'You are being dramatic,' it says, 'You are being sensational.' The group recoils into its own safety net, protecting the thing which has been threatened. But the word 'racist' remains, hovering in the corners of the room. The dust has been raised. (29, p. 12) • Decolonising with the feminist lens: Ahmed reintroduces Audre Lorde's description of words such as racism and sexism as 'grown up words' (Lorde, as cited in Ahmed, 2017, p. 128), with these words being retrospective: they never manage to catch up with what has been encountered in the world during our childhood and beyond, before we had the words to articulate our experiences. But the act of naming in and of itself can bring us closer to understanding what it is that we have experienced. By naming we make manifest the invisible structures. We throw the names at the walls and wait for the names to bounce back, like balls. 'Feminist and antiracist consciousness involves not just finding the words, but through the words, how they point, realizing how violence is directed: violence is directed toward some bodies more than others' (Ahmed, 2017, p. 34). (29, p. 13) • Feminist activism: Figures 9 [Maori land march, Porirua motorway, 1975.] and 10 [Women marching to protest against the abortion laws, Willis Street, Wellington, 1973] visually present such embodied disruption of traffic systems. The provocation of the protestors necessarily occurs within a neoliberal context which thrives on the privatisation and individualisation of poverty, discrimination, and crime (Roberts, 2014). Thus, activism involves collectively getting in the way of mechanised systems, occupying spaces which were not intended for certain bodies. In her summary of intersectionality, Ferguson (2017) laments the description of intersectionality through an 'unfortunate traffic metaphor, wherein intersections are discrete points where lines cross' (p. 271). (29, p. 14) • Salem argues that 'the context of the neoliberal academy plays a major role in the ways in which intersectionality has lost much of its critical potential in some of its usages today' (p. 1), with this critical potential rooted in the radical origins of intersectionality in Black and Third World feminisms. For Black and Third World feminists, intersectionality was a way of disrupting the traffic flow of White feminism. It was a protest against the invisibility of racism and classism in the works of many neoliberal, W.E.I.R.D.1 feminists [Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic], who, in their efforts to attain equality with their male counterparts, neglected to extend their gains to the women of colour and working class women in their communities. These radical roots are what continue to give intersectionality its critical power... (29, p. 15) • Salem (2016) traces intersectionality's trajectory through time and space, arguing that as intersectionality has become a 'catch-all' feminist theory, it has inevitably been watered down. ... It is these moves to stretch intersectionality and make it an approach that fits all feminist ontologies that has undermined its radical potential. Precisely because conflicting approaches use intersectionality, and precisely because intersectionality works to hide these conflicts, feminism ends up being presented as a field devoid of power relations, a field of 'diversity'. (Salem, 2016, p. 4) (29, p. 15) • Today, the development of mana wāhine, or Māori feminism, is seen to be about (re)presenting the knowledge of women that has been, and continues to be, misrepresented and misappropriated. It is a localised and place-specific theoretical approach (Simmonds, 2014). Whilst colonisation destroyed or severely disrupted the Māori world, mana wāhine need to be equally represented in decisions regarding the process of decolonisation. The
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		dislocation of women from their means of extended support as a result of urbanisation, resulting from land confiscations, has parallels in the Europe of today, where society is being constantly disrupted by urbanisation and social change. (30, p. 575) • I'm quitting this unhealthy and uneven relationship for a number of reasons, in connection to what I perceive as the project of 'taming' Māori women. The following is an unpacking of some of these, framed within the Māori feminist discourse of mana wāhine, a platform which advocates for the recognition of agency, knowledge and mana (power) of Māori wāhine (women). (31, p. 213) • In the past decade feminist geographers have begun to challenge the way bodies have been treated as an 'absent presence' in the discipline (Longhurst 1997). Poststructuralist versions of feminism have helped legitimate bodies as an important area of study. Many different kinds of bodies, from pregnant bodies (see Longhurst 1998) to homosexual bodies (see Bell et al. 1994), and ways in which bodies are constituted in space, have been explored. Examining bodies and the meanings inscribed upon them, has helped geographers further their understanding of social processes and spaces. (39, p. 117) • The report found that a small proportion of paid Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) and national coaches in Olympic and Associated Sports were female; organized sport in NZ therefore typifies a global trend of sport as a male-dominated institution (Aitchison, 2005; McKay, 1997). At the same time Māori women remain under-represented in its administration and management (Te Puni Kōwhiri, 2005, 2006). (47, p. 332) • In the 1990s, Patricia Hill Collins moved to rearticulate the theory of simultaneous and multiple oppressions often referred to as Black feminist thought (an example of identity politics) by introducing intersectionality theory (Andersen & Collins, 1994; Collins, 1998). Intersectionality theory took a social constructionist view of knowledge where no one group possesses the perspective, theory or methodology that allows it to discover the 'absolute truth'. The politics of intersectionality theory focused on groups exploiting other groups and maintained an analysis of oppression that was relational, oppositional and structural, despite its multiplicity (Mann & Huffman, 2005). (47, p.332) • Conversely, Niki Caro, who wrote the screenplay and directed the film, is a Pākehā. It is apparent that she enlists Eurocentric feminisms as the basis of her writing and film directing. Therefore, the portrayal of a young woman's struggle for leadership within her tribe becomes the focus of this film irrespective of whether this was the intention by Ihimaera in his novel. (50, p. 2) • The local forerunners of intersectional theorising to a large extent have been Māori (lesbian) feminists, who, since the late 1970s challenged the second-wave of feminism in Aotearoa New Zealand for being mainly attuned to white, heterosexual, and middle-class women. Failing to address the specific experiences of Māori (lesbian) women's experiences, an increasing number of scholars and activists critiqued the notion of 'global sisterhood' and the New Zealand feminist 'establishment' for being racist and sexist. The emergence of Māori feminism or mana wahine Māori and the anti-racist challenges of indigenous women to the 'white women's movement', the increasing visibility of lesbian feminists, and the largely invisibilised experiences of ethnic, sexual and gender minorities outside the Pākehā-Māori divide impacted on the movement and produced an extensive written archive by Māori women scholars about sexuality and gender (cf. Rosier, 1992). (53, p. 56-7)
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		• The list of Māori feminist commentators who criticised 'shared patriarchal oppression' as a culturally specific invention of white, heterosexual, middle-class women blind to the issues and particularities of lesbian and takatāpui2 women in the discourse of Māori feminism is long. Since Donna Awatere's (1984 [1982]) challenges to racism in Pākehā feminism espousing a 'tripod theory' of oppression in her seminal publication <i>Maori Sovereignty</i>, many local voices have joined the discourse stating that: unless feminism takes account of the multiple forces of subjugation where sexism, racism, colonialism and class combine and overlap with the political aspirations for self-determination, feminist studies will only ever, at best, take account of part of indigenous women's realities (Waitere & Johnston, 2009, p. 15). (53, p. 57) • The question why women are taking to the pokie machines is an extremely important question to ask in relation to today's society. It is perhaps one of the downsides of the effects of feminism, in that the work and contribution women have traditionally made to their families, communities and organisations have been devalued. Perhaps we, like many men, are also lost and look to gambling as a form of diversion and sense of hope when we have completed specific roles in life. (55, p. 47) • For a time I [Kathy Irwin] internalised the stress and difficulties I found in my job, seeing them as personal problems, unrelated to professional concerns, the place of my work or society at large. I was sure that I was not well enough read, that I was poorly qualified, that my sense of humour was not strong enough to laugh off some of what I saw, and that I was unrealistic about what I thought could be achieved in the university system. But now I have been in the job long enough to see that my experiences as a Maori feminist academic cannot be 'explained away as personal 'failings'. It has taken me years to accept myself as an academic and to learn to analyse how a complex range of factors has the potential to alienate and marginalise me from the very job that I was appointed to do. In this regard, I found Dale Spender's <i>Women Of Ideas and What Men Have Done to Them</i>¹⁹ particularly useful in placing the careers of many women, including feminist academics, in a historical context which helps us to analyse their real nature of the problems facing women of ideas. (69, p. 62) • It would be useless to deny the relevance of the feminist struggle for all New Zealand women. As analysts of a particular form of oppression, feminist scholars and researchers have uncovered the different forms of patriarchy which have served to oppress groups on the basis of gender, race and class. The cervical cancer inquiry at National Women's Hospital, for example, sparked by the investigative report of feminists Sandra Coney and Phillida Bunkle, drew people's attention in a very focused way to the unethical practices of medical researchers on women. In that inquiry, specific attention and concern relating to the needs of Maori women was expressed by Judge Sylvia Cartwright. The inquiry was presented with some material by Maori women¹³, but the main media focus was on the practice of research on women in general. (73, p. 49) • Basically, there is a tension between the projects of white women and those of Maori women. Donna Awatere's comments on feminism in her book <i>Maori Sovereignty</i>¹⁴ are a succinct statement of that tension. As Maori women, we have to be on the alert for the possibility of one oppressive agency simply being replaced by another. Experience should have taught us to be wary of those who bear gifts and those who may have come to rescue us. (73, p. 50) • While Ngahuia Te Awakotuku (1991, 1992, 2004, 2005) has been pivotal in retrieving Māori women's sexualities from a sexually tolerant Māori archive by reaffirming pre-colonial cultural
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		concepts such as takatāpui, scholars such as Kathie Irwin (1988, 1992a, 1992b), Helene Connor (1997), Annie Mikaere (1994, 1999), Aroha Yates-Smith (1998), Hinemoa Awatere (1995), Clea Te Kawehau Hoskins (1997), Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1992, 1994, 1997), Iriha peti Ramsden (1993), Margaret Stewart-Harawira (1993, 2007), Everdina Fuli (1995), Pania McArdell (1992), Tuki Nepe (1992), Patricia M. G. Johnston (1998) and Donna Matahaera Atariki (1995, 1998) have worked to shed light on the 'whakapapa of Māori feminism' from the earliest female entities of Māori cosmology, to academic knowledge production, education, and Māori women's spirituality. Further crucial contributions have been made by Patricia Johnston and Leonie Pihama in their study, 'What counts as difference and what differences count: Gender, race and the politics of difference', (1995) and Teresa Platt in her M.A. thesis on Authenticity, identity and difference. A critical review of Maori women's feminist theory (1998). In the field of literary studies and cultural analysis, Cathie Dunsford's gender-based anthologies (1986, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1997), Patricia Grace and Robyn Kahukiwa's (1991) Wahine toa: Women of Maori myth, Powhiri Rika-Heke's (1993, 1996) and Jon Lois Battista's (2004) literary analyses have marked significant contributions to the study of Māori women's identity particularities. (53, p. 57)
Theme 14: Legislation and Frameworks Affecting Wāhine	Dated Legislation and Its Impacts	Treaty of Waitangi 1840 • In 1994, a group of Māori women filed a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal arguing that mana tāne had been affirmed and protected (to an extent) by political dealings with the government and that mana wahine had not (Irwin, 1993). The claim sought to remedy exclusionary practices of the Crown which inhibited and prevented participation by Māori women in decision making. (9, p. 18) • Resistance to the Crown's deviousness was deemed absolutely necessary if we were to retain any semblance of relationship with our taonga and to uphold Treaty rights. (14, no pg no) • I urge you to read a case, Barton-Prescott (Barton-Prescott v Director-General of Social Welfare [1997] 3 NZLR 179). It is not a case that is quoted often but it was an important turning point in our efforts to ensure the relevance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi guarantees to whānau. The context was placement of a Māori child within its whanau where there was no express reference to Te Tiriti o Waitangi in the Guardianship Act 1968 and other Acts dealing with the status, future and control of our tamariki. (14, no pg no) • Ultimately, this article concludes that upholding Te Tiriti must include breathing life back into mana wahine as a constitutional and actionable legal force. (26, p. 19) • In signing Te Tiriti, wahine asserted their mana as constitutional actors, agreeing to the creation of a new constitutional structure founded upon tino rangatiratanga and (limited) kawanatanga.²¹ There are also examples of wahine Maori being denied the opportunity to sign Te Tiriti by English men.²² This not only suggests that more women would have likely signed Te Tiriti given the chance, but also highlights the lack of political agency the British worldview afforded women, in contrast to the te ao Maori centering of mana wahine. Arguably, mana wahine is also inherently protected in Article Two of Te Tiriti, which affirms the rangatiratanga of Maori, naturally including the constitutional and constituting mana that wahine Maori wield.²³ Article Two essentially asserts that, in the new constitutional vision, te ao Maori and its tikanga will be recognised and Maori will retain control over it.^t In tikanga Maori, mana wahine is a central concept as is evidenced by its inalienable entwinement with the te ao Maori worldview and the place of women embedded in Maori cosmology.

		Consequently, mana wahine is a constitutional force inherent in the notion of tino rangatiratanga. It is also a powerful legal principle, which will be explored later in this article. (25, p. 24) • There is growing and consistent discourse about the need for constitutional transformation in Aotearoa New Zealand to properly uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Maori have long maintained that they did not cede sovereignty to the British in Te Tiriti o Waitangi⁷⁶ but rather Te Tiriti represented a bicultural power-sharing agreement.⁷⁷ Initiatives such as the 2015 Matike Mai Aotearoa ⁷⁶ Indeed, the fact that Te Tiriti was not a treaty of cession has been recognised by the Waitangi Tribunal in Waitangi Tribunal He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti: The Declaration and the Treaty: the Report on Stage 1 of the Te Paparahi o te Raki Inquiry (Wai 1040, 2014). ⁷⁷ For a discussion of the historical Maori assertion of Te Tiriti as a bicultural power sharing agreement and the need for the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty to adapt to that agreement, see Jacinta Ruru and Jacobi Kohu-Morris "Maranga Ake Ai: The Heroics Of Constitutionalising Te Tiriti o Waitangi/ Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation have examined how constitutional transformation could occur to realise that bicultural power sharing agreement. Recently, the He Puapua report commissioned by Te Puni Kokiri has also outlined constitutional amendments that could be made to better recognise the rights of Maori and to fundamentally affirm their tino rangatiratanga and right to self-determination. (26, p. 38) • In terms of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, there were at least 13 female signatories to the Treaty but of course, we don't know of the Soo plus signatories, because many Maori names are non-gender specific. Some of those signatories may be women that are unidentified. We also know of many wahine rangatira who turned up to sign on behalf of their hapu who were turned away. Matua Moana Jackson gives a story of one of his female tupuna who was in that position, who was denied the right to sign and who then had her people walk away. They are not signatories for that very reason, because her mana was not recognised because of her gender. (32, p. 15-6) • The failure of the Crown to protect the rights of equality that existed between Māori women and men before the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi has left Māori women marginalised (Mikaere, 1994). (33, p. 71) • Paterson and Wanhalla (2017) assert that "thirteen Māori women are known to have signed the treaty" (p. 20). Many at that time were unable to write or speak English, which is the reason some chieftainesses applied their moko kauae as their signature or mark (Higgins & Meredith, 2011). Early authors focused on Māori male leaders and practically wrote wāhine Māori leaders out of history; however, the presence of mana for Māori women is identified in tribal names, traditional Māori waiata, pūrākau, manuscripts and many other forms of oral traditions. (33, p. 71) • As noted by Gordon Anderson, labour law plays a central role in protecting working peoples' access to the material conditions of life and the failure of law to protect the access of Māori women to this is troubling. Furthermore, art of the Treaty of Waitangi affirms the principle of equality and non-discrimination between New Zealanders.⁶ The current disadvantaged socio-economic position of Māori women is inconsistent with this.⁷ (64, p. 322) • The fact that the Treaty was signed predominantly by men, sometimes pointed to as a reflection of pre-colonised Māori society's attitudes towards women, is more an indication of the influence of Christianity and the fact that those seeking signatories largely ignored the
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		possibility of women signing. This approach has been recorded as having angered Māori women, thus leading the missionaries to allow some women to sign. (81, p. 11) • The fact that the Treaty was signed predominantly by men, sometimes pointed to as a reflection of pre-colonised Māori society's attitudes towards women, is more an indication of the influence of Christianity and the fact that those seeking signatories largely ignored the possibility of women signing. This approach has been recorded as having angered Māori women, thus leading the missionaries to allow some women to sign. (81, p. 11) • For Maori, the Treaty articulates and acknowledges our status as the tangata whenua of Aotearoa and it should be respected in a unique way in the country's constitutional system; it should give rise to legally enforceable rights to lands, forests, waters and fisheries. The Treaty gives recognition of Maori as an equal partner with the Crown, hence the necessity for existing constitutional structures to be reformed. Above all the Treaty symbolically reflects, for Maori, the distinctive identification of being Maori, te mana Maori motuhake, mana tangata, mana wairua, mana whenua. ... A perusal of the extensive writings on the Treaty reveals that the status, existence and rights of Maori women guaranteed under the Treaty has never been addressed not actively protected through legislation. It is perhaps this issue which has been the motivating influenced behind a recent Maori women' claim to the Waitangi Tribunal (82, p. 20) • Maori women have constantly maintained that all legislation and institutions should be consistent with kaupapa Maori, which was in place long before 1840. The fact is that the rangatira who signed the Treaty bestowed mana on the Pakeha and their rangatira queen rather than visa versa. Those rangatira legitimised the British presence in Aotearoa. Tangata Whenua held their mana intact at the time the Treaty was signed. This historical fact vindicates our claim of sovereign status of women within Maori society and full status as tangata whenua in New Zealand, sharing all rights claimed by us as a people under the Treaty. (82, p. 21) • The rights which are encapsulated in the concepts of 'tino rangatiratanga' and 'mana motuhake' were not surrendered to the Pakeha when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840. The Treaty simply reaffirmed the rights, which Maori had always had, and gave some limited rights to Pakeha to look after themselves, subject always to our tino rangatiratanga. (82, p. 22) • The exercise of kawanatanga has come to mean almost exclusive Pakeha monopoly, authority and power over decisions that impact daily on Maori people's lives. (82, p. 23) • The present government of New Zealand, through the Crown, rejects our views of indigenous rights, for it claims that Maori ceded legal and political sovereignty to them through the Treaty of Waitangi and through subsequent (illegal and immoral) proclamations that they made following the signing of the Treaty. (82, p. 23) Education Ordinance Act 1847 • The impact of colonisation upon Māori society (such as the 1847 Education Ordinance Act which was a policy of assimilation, and the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act which outlawed Māori experts applying traditional knowledge and customary practices) has for 130 years forced the declining Māori population to prioritise individual needs such as education and employment, often ahead of the needs of their iwi. Therefore, Māori leadership has evolved in contemporary Māori society to embrace this demographic change. (50, p. 10)
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		Native Land Acts of 1862, 1863, 1865 and 1909 - Starting with the Native Land Act, its long title, its very purpose is the destruction of collectivism, and along the way the position of Maori women, wahine Maori as landholders, as leaders of iwi hapu and whanau. The Land Act is really one of the first, probably foremost, means of the destruction of Maori women's place in our local tribal economies. (32, p. 16) - Keita's position signals important and long-standing differences between Māori and Pākehā over attitudes to land ownership that reflect broad differences in historical, cultural and ideological heritage. These differences have influenced differences between feminism and mana wahine into present times as is indicated by Tania Rei's comment on varying attitudes to land and property. While settler women were using a discourse of individual rights to assert the rights of married women to hold property in their own name and control their own earnings, Maori women were dealing with the consequences of applying the principles of individual property ownership to communal land. (68, p. 77-8) - The Native Land Act 1909 declared Māori customary marriages to be valid for some purposes only and required Māori to undergo legal marriage ceremonies. These provisions, coupled with the parliamentary debates of the time,³ signalled a renewed determination on the part of the state to both redefine and intrude into the whānau. The remoulding of the whānau into a nuclear family arrangement had been on the missionary agenda since their arrival ((81, p. 12) - The deliberate destruction of whānau and hapū structures and the forcing of Māori women away from their whānau and into the Pākehā model of the nuclear family left them vulnerable in a host of ways. They became dependent on their husbands as breadwinners, while they became increasingly isolated as caregivers at home. Some women were expected to work both outside and in the home, as economic hardship required them to contribute financially while Christian values about what constituted a good wife and mother compelled them to maintain that role as well. Such values also meant that husbands became increasingly the head of the family, wives feeling obliged to remain with them no matter what.(81, p. 12) Native Schooling Act 1867 - In education, the Native Schooling Act 1867 set up a racialised and gendered education system for wahine Maori that persisted for 100 years. I say it's racialised and gendered because the primary purpose was to set up an education system for Maori children, but within that system there were gendered pathways, so that Maori boys became fathers and farm labourers and Maori women were set up to be housewives, domestic servants, and in later decades possibly nurses or teachers. In that pathway, you see a very big internal distinction between Maori men and women and their ability particularly to access tertiary education. (32, p. 17) - The first schools established by the missionaries focused upon two key agendas, civilising and christianising Maori people. For Maori girls an integral part of those agendas was to ensure the internalisation of gender expectations.(20) Through the 1847 Education Ordinance, the Crown provided its support to the existing missionary schools by creating a national system of Native schools, whilst at the same time legitimating the structures and curriculum under missionary control. Governor George Grey viewed it as expedient to retain the existing system rather than establishing a totally new one. As the first piece of legislation related directly to the development of a State system of schooling, the Education Ordinance may also be viewed as
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		the first legislative expression of Pakeha male control of the system. Management of each school was placed in the hands of the bishops, superintendents, and heads of the various churches, positions which could only be held by Pakeha men. (60, no pg no) • Legislation and policy moves contributed significantly to the marginalisation of Maori women. The 1867 Native Schools Act explicitly alienated Maori women from key decision making processes within their communities. Sections five and six stated that in order for a Native School to be established within a Maori community there was required a "memorial of any considerable number of the male adult native inhabitants of any locality or district." If the request was deemed valid the Colonial Secretary would then call a meeting - of the male adult native inhabitants, who would determine whether a school would be established, and would elect a District School Committee. Clearly, Maori women were denied access to the decision making involved and the ongoing development of schooling within their areas. The selection of knowledge and development of curriculum areas contributed significantly to the assimilation agenda, in particular the intention to 'domesticate' Maori girls. Schooling became a site through which the colonisers could reproduce selected knowledge forms that validated reality as constructed by them. (60, no pg no) • The Native Schools Code (1880) retained the assertion of colonial ideologies in terms of assimilation and social control agendas, and with regard to the industrial curriculum and make-up of committees. The code removed explicit requirements that a school be requested by the "native male adults," but it continued the more insidious ideological assumptions that those on school committees would be men and that those appointed to take charge of the schools would be "a married couple, the husband to act as master of the school and the wife as sewing mistress. (60, no pg no) Married Women's Property Act 1877 • We know of course that in terms of Pakeha law from the UK that the Married Women's Property Act in 1877 was the piece of legislation that gave legal status and personality to women. So, we have that early one or two generations of colonial contact where Maori women were assumed not to have legal personality. They couldn't contract, they couldn't sign the Treaty, they couldn't own property (32, p. 16) Midwives Registration Act 1904 • Preceding this Act was the Midwives Registration Act 1904. The requirements, under the Act, were that birth attendants be registered. Traditional Māori birth attendants (kaiwhakawhānau/tāpuhi) were unable to be registered unless they were trained in the ways of Pākehā midwifery. The outlawing of a whole class of Māori intellectuals, healers and kaitiaki through the Tohunga Suppression Act and the Midwives Registration Act stripped away many of the spiritual elements, ceremony and tikanga of birth and further marginalised mana wahine maternal knowledges. (2, p. 31) • Despite the developments in Māori health research and the requirements under the Treaty of Waitangi and the Māori Health Strategy, Christine Kenney (2009; 2011) points out that the existing model of midwifery practice in New Zealand fails to adequately account for Māori worldviews. There are a number of Māori values, specifically Tūranga Kaupapa developed by Ngā Maia collective of Māori midwives, included in the performance criteria for professional
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		competencies and standards of practice for midwives. 41 Midwifery is limited, however, in its consideration of mana wahine maternities beyond this. (2, p. 38) Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 • The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907, which remained un-repealed until 1962, was perhaps one of the most aggressive assaults on wairua knowledges and it had a direct impact on mana wahine maternities. At its very core the Act defined what was considered important and credible knowledge. Māori spiritual knowledges were viewed as insufficient and improper and therefore our ancestors were denied the right to access their own cultural and spiritual experts (2, p. 31) • As a direct result of this Act [Tohunga Suppression Act 1907] “the active involvement of Tohunga in childbirth was undermined [and] ... resulted in the radical and permanent loss of whānau and hapū specific mātauranga (knowledges) and tikanga (cultural traditions)” (Kenney 2009, 63). (2, p. 31) • The 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act was perhaps one of the most aggressive assaults on wairua knowledges. At its very core, the Act was about defining what was considered important and legitimate knowledge. Māori spiritual knowledges were viewed by colonisers as superstitions or tales on the pathway to reality (Johnston, 1998). This law outlawed a whole class of Māori intellectuals and the ability of our ancestors to access their own cultural and spiritual experts was stripped away (Smith, 1996). (9, p. 16) • Maori theories and practices pertaining to reproduction were overridden by those of the British colonisers, who legally prohibited the practice of Maori experts through the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907 (Cunningham & Stanley, 2003). Early missionaries were explicit in an objective to “tame” and “civilise” Maori through conversion to Christianity (Aspin, 2005; Mead, 2003; Simmonds, 2009). This has led to interwoven understandings of Christian religion with Maori theories, practices (Pihama, 2001; Royal, 2006; Simmonds, 2009) and perspectives on abortion (Tangohau, 2003). (35, p. 147) Incorporated Societies Act 1908 • MWWL [Maori Women's Welfare League] & discrepancies in tikanga, showing differences between wahine - The Maori Women's Welfare League was founded in 1951 and is an incorporated society under the Incorporated Societies Act 1908. The preamble to the League's written constitution states that the League is an organisation principally concerned with promoting through study, discussion and action the well being of Maori and the people of New Zealand. (40, p. 607) ... It appears that his Honour considered the tikanga of the League to be much more than an aid to the interpretation of the written constitution but instead an equally respected source of authority for the rules governing the powers and operation of the League. (40, p. 609) ... With respect, the Judge's finding that the tikanga of the League deserved as much respect as the written constitution and could speak where the written constitution was silent, and the suggestion that the common law might bend to accommodate a distinct customary practice, are not good law. (40, p. 623) Licensing Act 1908 and Licensing Amendment Act 1910
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		- In 1910, women were legally banned from entering public bars and from selling alcohol. Māori women were further singled out and not legally permitted to consume alcohol at all, except on doctors' orders (Park, 1995). (62, p. 102) The Adoption Act 1955 - The Adoption Act, and family law, and other pieces of law in terms of things like the Administration Act. Who inherits when someone dies, who is your next of kin when you need organ donation, or you have a dispute over a tupapaku? Billy T James and of course the case of James Takamore of Tuhoe that went to the Supreme Court, in a dispute between his Pakeha wife and birth whanau. Again that's essentially a dispute about which is the primary relationship in a person's life - is it the marriage partnership, or is it the broader whanau? Here we see what I call the tactics of divide and rule. We see Maori women and Maori men pitted against one another, and when we come to the contemporary position of Maori women, we see lateral violence. Men taking out their frustration and the discrimination against them, the inequities that they face, on the women in their lives, extremely dangerously. (32, p. 18) The Hunn Report 1961 - The Hunn Report in 1961 blamed the high neo-natal death rate for Māori on birth taking place outside of the confines of the hospital, unsatisfactory feeding and the reluctance of mothers to seek antenatal care and heed advice from Plunket36 or district nurses (Hunn 1961). Further, it was stated in the report that the "old Māori ways persist enough to impede all efforts of the Health Department and Māori Affairs Department to close the statistical gap" (Hunn 1961, 20). Some 37 years following the Hunn Report similar sentiments were expressed by health professionals. In 1998 Riri Ellis found that a number of health professionals continue to label Māori women as shy, passive and complacent. This is in stark contrast to the 'ideal consumer' who professionals said were confident, assertive and well informed. (2, p. 33) - Hunn Report (1961), pepper-potting", urbanisation: When Washday was published, the Māori national population was in flux, changing from being almost entirely rural to mainly urban in 'one of the most rapid urbanizations of a population on record anywhere' (Labrum, 2013, p. 70). The Hunn Report of 1961 famously heralded the official state policy of Māori 'integration' that included 'pepper-potting' Māori families in areas dominated by Pākehā in order to 'avoid residential concentrations' (p. 71). Bronwyn Labrum (2013) documents the public anxiety about 'Māori problems' that resulted, including hundreds of complaints from Pākehā about 'neighbourly tension and hostility' (p. 67). Recounting one such incident in detail, Labrum notes how the Pākehā complainant 'objected to the presence of Māori in her neighbourhood and to Māori as Māori' (p. 67). In response to the challenges of Māori urbanisation, the MWWL was established in 1951 and worked to support Māori women and children in particular, in areas such as housing, health and education (Te Ara—The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2015). The appearance of Washday within this milieu of social change and inter-ethnic tension, in which Māori housing was already a politically fraught topic, was 'almost bound to result in controversy' (Openshaw, 2001, p. 36). (6, p. 686) Body Mass Index 1970s-80s - In general, participants viewed the BMI as a discriminatory western construct; a finding reiterated by Māori and Pasifika participants in Parker and colleagues' (2019) study
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		problematizing discourses of pregnancy fatness. For Awhina, losing weight was a constant struggle because, as she put it, “my body’s not built like that.” Manu remarked that fertility specialists needed “to understand that Pacific peoples have a higher muscle and bone mass than the general population.” (65, p. 346) • In addition to describing BMI criteria as a “Pākehā point of view,” Awhina was not convinced that the fertility clinic setting was compatible with Indigenous health practices to assist fertility. (65, p. 348) Waitangi Tribunal from 1975 • A State Systems that Operate Against Wahine Maori The Mana Wahine claim (Wai 2700) currently before the Waitangi Tribunal addresses this very issue. Wai 2700 was first filed in 1993, after Dame Mira Szazy was removed from contention for the Waitangi Fisheries Commission and replaced with a male candidate. This action was the catalyst for a group of wahine Maori to bring a claim against the Crown for its ongoing adherence to the patriarchal values which have denigrated mana wahine, in breach of Te Tiriti. Wai 2700 was formally initiated by the Tribunal in 2018 and is currently being heard at the time of writing this article. The Tribunal will explore if, and how, Te Tiriti has been breached by the Crown in relation to wahine Maori, across four key focus areas: rangatiratanga (self-determination), whenua (land), whakapapa/whanau (family) and whai rawa (prosperity) Within this, a key focus of Wai 2700 is to look at the way the effective participation of wahine Maori in decision making and the Maori relationship with the Crown has been restricted by colonial laws and political, economic and social systems.²⁷ In addition to the political aspect of the claim, Wai 2700 will also look at the personal injustices wahine Maori have suffered in relation to failures by the Crown regarding domestic and sexual violence, justice, education, health, social development, employment and equal pay.²⁸ These are areas in which wahine Maori have particularly suffered, largely as a result of the cycle of trauma and deprivation resulting from colonisation (25, p. 25) • Obviously because it’s a claim in the Waitangi Tribunal, the opposition if you like is the Crown, and it’s about the breaches of the Treaty and how the Crown has facilitated this discrimination, and the consequential inequities and deprivation suffered by women in ways that are Treaty non-compliant. So that’s the mana wahine claim. The hearings are scheduled, Covid dependent, to continue by the end of 2022. (32, p 12) • within pre-contact te ao Maori, the legal status of wahine Maori was very clear. There was equal citizenship to the extent that a person’s mana allowed for it. There were, for want of a better equivalent term, slave people with little to no mana and little to no property, legal status, rights within the community, but the qualifying mea or thing was not their gender, but their mana. Generally speaking, women had the right to equal citizenship and legal personality, they could hold positions of political and tribal power and influence, they could contract, own land, gift or bequeath property, they had sexual and bodily autonomy, they could have multiple partners. There was not necessarily any idea that you would stay with one partner for life. You could marry for love, you could marry for alliance, and as is often the case in communities or societies based upon stratification by class, you could have a tomo or taumau, an arranged marriage by alliance for political purposes. Equally parties could separate. Upon marriage women maintained their family or whanau tribal names, their own identity and separate property. That is because the most significant aspect of te ao Maori is whakapapa. If you do
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		not whakapapa or have a genealogical link to a place or a piece of property, then you had no rights to it. Marrying someone does not merge your property portfolios or your access to particular rights and responsibilities. The primacy of whakapapa as a means of determining legal entitlement was maintained upon marriage or coupling in traditional te ao Maori. This is really important in terms of protecting the rights and status of wahine Maori, because the whanau remained your primary source of support. (32, p. 14) • Recently I participated in the presentation of a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal seeking a declaration about the exercise and recognition of the rangatiratanga of Maori women. The claimants include the Maori Women's Welfare League, all the past Presidents of the League, Lady Rose Henare, Mabel Waititi and Mrs Cooper from Ngati Hine and myself, Donna Awatere and Paparangi Reid. The claim is the first of its kind to be placed before the Tribunal. We reminded the Tribunal at the presentation that there was a perception amongst our women that the claims and settlement process, and the Treaty debate, had been captured by resource issues. I am not saying that resource issues are not important, but the Tribunal needs to be mindful not to let the sexy issues eclipse issues of status. For me the claim is more than just about rangatiratanga, it goes to the heart of the matter of governance. (48, no pg no) • The Chairman of the Waitangi Tribunal remarked recently: "there are few branches of the law so mixed with power politics as that governing the standing of indigenous people." I would add to this that "there are so few branches of our own law as indigenous people so mixed with power politics as that regarding the standing of women." (48, no pg no) • I [Phillida Bunkle] have written a number of articles related to the Treaty of Waitangi and gambling and the harm gambling creates for Māori, women, children and young people, communities, the mis use of advertising of gambling, the exploitation of vulnerable populations, and overall national and indigenous politics associated with gambling (Dyall, 2002, 2004, 2006; Dyall & Hand, 2003; Dyall & Manaia, 2005; Dyall, Tse & Kingi, 2007). (600, p. 47) Human Rights Declarations - CEDAW 1981, DEVAW 1993, UNDRIP 2007 • A Human Rights Protection for Maori Women: The Human Rights arena is a forum where wahine Maori (and women in general) could look to protect and invigorate their position in relation to the State. Targeted instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Declaration for the Eradication of Violence Against Women (DEVAW) and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) all offer rights and protections of varying relevance to wahine Maori. General human rights mechanisms such as the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Social, Cultural and Economic Rights, the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990 (NZBORA). (26, p. 29) ... and the Human Rights Act 1993 are also of relevance to the relationship between Maori (as a collective and as individuals) with the State. Many of these mechanisms allow for individual complaints to be brought against the State, including for inhuman treatment in detention, or for failure to properly implement mechanisms to uphold the rights enshrined in these documents. (26, p. 30) • Much of the law relevant to human rights in Aotearoa New Zealand does not truly hold space for wahine Maori. Whilst wahine Maori can search for justice in the spaces that the law leaves
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		open, there is little specific, collective protection,⁵⁴ despite the constitutional embedding of mana wahine in Te Tiriti. As such, the lack of specific constitutional protection for women, and indigenous women particularly, in our current legal framework creates a conceptual, ideological gap. (25, p. 31) • New Zealand is also bound under various ratified international human rights instruments to improve the position of Māori and it has been noted on numerous occasions that New Zealand is not living up to these obligations. For example, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has recommended that New Zealand "should intensify efforts to improve the outcomes of ... Māori ... in the fields of employment, health and in the administration of criminal justice".⁸ The Special Rapporteur on the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People has commented that the most notable way in which New Zealand's obligations are not being met is "the extreme disadvantage in the social and economic conditions of Māori people in comparison to the rest of New Zealand society".⁹ The UN Committee on the Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women has also identified the disadvantage of Māori women as problematic and has indicated there is reason to believe Māori women may be vulnerable to multiple forms of discrimination due to the intersections between their identities as women, as caregivers and as Māori.¹⁰ This is consistent with an extensive body of research which suggests that ethnic women are typically subject to multiple, intersecting forms of disadvantage in a range of settings. (64, p. 322-3) • A Māori woman believing she had been discriminated against on intersecting grounds could make a complaint to the Human Rights Commission or file a personal grievance in the Employment Relations Authority. If this discrimination was experienced pre-employment she could complain under s 22(1)(a) of the Human Rights Act 1993. If she felt she had been disadvantaged in employment she could complain under either s 22(b) of the Human Rights Act or the Employment Relations Act 2000.⁵⁰ Human Rights Commission data shows that there have been complaint made which rely on multiple grounds.⁵¹ A number of these complaints have been mediated although they have not progressed to the Human Rights Review Tribunal or the courts. Unfortunately, no equivalent data exists regarding complaints or mediated disputes in the employment jurisdiction. However, a review of reported cases in the Employment Relations Authority between 2000–2017 revealed a few cases where multiple grounds of discrimination were alleged. In most cases, the claims of discrimination were rejected on grounds of insufficient evidence, even if the claim was otherwise successful on other grounds (64, p. 329-330) • The essence of the guarantee of Maori sovereignty is the right of self-determination, the right to control, administer and decide our own destiny. This principal is at the heart of the United Nations Declaration on Indigenous Peoples also. It is therefore worthy of our fullest support. (82, p. 24) National Education Guidelines 1989 • Educational policy under National government: The first year of the new decade, however, ended ominously. Within weeks of National's victory in the 1990 general election, the new Minister of Education has announced that the non-racist and non-sexist principles of all schools charters were no longer 'non negotiable'. (69, p. 56) • NZ 1980s Education described: The 1980s may well have been the worst of recent decades to take up the work of an academic. In announcing the findings of the report University Funding
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		Over the Last Decade, jointly commissioned by the Association of University Teachers of New Zealand (AUTNZ) and the New Zealand University Students Association (NZUSA), AUTNZ described the New Zealand university system as: ... the educational casualty of the Western World. ... During the period 1980-1988, equivalent full time students (EFTS) in universities increased by approximately 13,000: the numbers of fulltime academic staff increased by 208. Thus for every 62.5 students entering the universities, the number of full time academic staff increased by 11.⁹ (69, p. 56) - Review shows not serving women or Maori: In 1987, the Vice-Chancellors Committee published their commissioned review of New Zealand universities. New Zealand Universities: Partners in National Development¹² clearly stated that the university system had not served the interests of women or Maori equitably and that major changes were needed in order to implement a policy of equity. This report was important for feminist and Maori academics. It validated our concerns about the failure of the university system to implement policies of equity, and it provided recommendations relevant to the urgent need to develop programmes of reform in this area. (69, p. 58) Nurses Amendment Act 1990 - Legislative change in 1990 meant that midwives could attend births independent of a medical practitioner (Davis & Walker 2010). Through the Nurses Amendment Act 1990 midwives in New Zealand now practice under their own authority through pregnancy, labour and the period of six weeks post-partum. New Zealand residents, who are expected to experience 'normal' childbirth, are able to choose who they have as their lead maternity carer (LMC). (2, p. 35-6) Mana Wāhine Inquiry (Wai 2700) 1990s - In the 1990s, when that Mana Wahine claim was tabled, there was a North American legal academic at the University of Waikato called Nan Seuffert. I think Nan might be at the University of Wollongong in Australia now. She wrote a few interesting pieces at the time about this idea of the alliance of men across race, this idea of men bonding across the patriarchy in that fisheries settlement kaupapa, that Maori men were willing to diminish the status and potential leadership of wahine Maori in order to advance themselves. (32, p. 18) The Resource Management Act (RMA) 1991 - In the early 1990s, major environmental law reform in the shape of the Resource Management Act was instituted in Aotearoa/New Zealand, in order to streamline previously cumbersome environmental law statutes and, more importantly for our purposes, to recognise and provide for the relationship of Maori and their culture and traditions with all of their physical and natural resources. The overarching purpose of the Act, however, is sustainable development.³ Maori people have always sought to be consulted in matters of environmental management. They have struggled for years against legislation, which excluded them from participation. When the Resource Management Act was being formulated, Maori struggled to overcome this historical legacy by making representations to the Working Party on Environmental Administration and subsequently as the Act and new administrative procedures were being fashioned (58, p. 121) - Resource Management Act (RMA): The translation process enables subtle redefinition of the Maori concept. The resultant hybrid is both ill-defined and ill-suited to its new statutory
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		framework. Its application is narrowed considerably by other concepts which must also be taken into consideration... Through its inclusion in the RMA the concept has become divorced from its Maori cultural and spiritual context. It has been redefined in terms of "guardianship and stewardship" two terms arising out of feudal England. It has been reduced from a fundamental principle of Maori society to one factor for consideration among many. (58, p. 122) UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED - also known as the Earth Summit) 1992 • In conclusion, Māori Congress wrote in its 1992 report to the UN Conference on Environment & Development. That "economic utilisation of the environment must not compromise traditional values, the needs of future generations, or the earth's spiritual integrity." There's a lot to be said for this approach. A sacred balance of sustainable utilisation and protection of the earth's resources in order for the survival of all, rather than the profits of a few. (79, p. 205) Law Commission Report 53 (1999) • The State has not only created the conditions for this denigration of mana wahine but has itself been an active participant in that destructive task. This was reflected most recently in the appalling treatment of wahine Maori in Auckland's Women's Prison. In 2020, a Radio New Zealand investigation revealed that two wahine Maori, Mihi Bassett and Karma Cripps, were gassed with high strength pepper spray and subjected to dehumanising treatment.⁹ They were required to change in front of male guards, beg for hygiene products and lie prone on the floor to receive food. Mihi and Karma were subjected to long-term cell confinement and prolonged solitary confinement ... At her sentencing Judge McNaughton described her treatment as "serious physical and psychological abuse"⁴⁰ and heavily criticised the Department of Corrections (25, p. 27) • He said such changes were necessary because it was "inappropriate for women in prison to be treated as if their needs were the same as male prisoners".³ Since that time, Corrections has launched its updated Women's Strategy, which has refreshed its approach to how it works with women in its care. (46, p. 48) • Moana Jackson has explained that, prior to first contact, Māori had an established system for identifying wrongdoing and repairing harm.⁵⁵ The ultimate aim was to restore whakapapa, in its broadest sense of an interrelationship between peoples, and between people and their environment. Guided by the principles and values of tikanga Māori, reconciliation was the logical conclusion of the process, as was rehabilitation for a person who had committed harm. But as for the concept of incarceration, "the idea of confining a wrongdoer in something like a prison would have been culturally incomprehensible".... When the British settlers introduced their cultural values and systems to Aotearoa, they brought with them the "punitive will to contain and reprimand those who caused harm to people or property".⁶¹ They regarded their European concepts as universal constructs, and dismissed established Māori systems as inferior.⁶² Naturally, this colonising mindset applied to concepts of justice, and the British "corrections" system, complete with the British common law (46, p. 55-6) • In light of the Māori name of the strategy, meaning "Women – Rising above a new horizon", one might be forgiven for thinking that the Women's Strategy 2017 may have been informed by Mana Wāhine theory, or was specifically directed toward the care of Māori women, or had
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		been drafted on the basis of a Kaupapa Māori framework. Neither of those were the case. The Women's Strategy 2017 was fundamentally a monocultural strategy for all women, with a Māori name, and with three small isolated pockets directed toward wāhine Māori (46, p. 58) • The Women's Strategy 2017 recognised that women in prison required a "gender responsive approach" based on the root causes of women's offending and what works to reduce women's re-offending—both of which research had shown were distinct from those of men.⁷³ Women prisoners were more likely than men prisoners to have experienced mental health disorders, PTSD, and alcohol and other drug dependence disorders, and 68 per cent of women in prison had been victims of family violence. Generally, women's offending was often driven by these marginalised experiences and problems, and women committed less serious crimes than men overall.⁷⁴ (46, p. 59) • The Operational Review found that the prison may have developed a culture over the years whereby "many staff take a 'punitive' approach to their work, rather than a 'humanising' approach".¹³³ For example, staff addressed women by their surnames rather than first names; applied use of force rather than first attempting to resolve issues with "more appropriate tactical communications"; and the Custodial and Health teams not always working together or in the best interests of the women. The Operational Review recorded that the "humanising aspect of Hōkai Rangi, which is also due to be rolled-out on site, will further assist the re-set and go some way to changing the "punitive" culture which currently exists in pockets" at ARWCF.[Auckland Region Women's Corrections Facility } 134 (46, p. 68) • On the same day the Chief Inspector's final findings were publicly released, Corrections launched its updated Women's Strategy 2021. As noted in Part III above, the Women's Strategy 2021 improves significantly on the promises of the 2017 Strategy to be "culturally responsive" to (Māori) women's needs—both substantively and by the process in which the 2021 Strategy was formulated. For example, the Women's Strategy 2021 begins to hone in on some of the marginalised experiences of Māori women compared to non-Māori women.¹⁷² It applies tikanga Māori values and concepts, such as viewing wāhine both as individuals and as part of their collective (for example their family, whānau, hapū and iwi),¹⁷³ and demonstrates how those values and concepts can be applied practically, and in a healing way for the benefit of women in Corrections' care.¹⁷⁴ (46, p. 74) • although the Women's Strategy 2021 significantly improves upon the Women's Strategy 2017, it does not go far enough to put wāhine at the heart of its solutions. It is not a Māori women's strategy but remains a strategy for all women, albeit with several key improvements for the care of wāhine Māori. Not creating a Mana Wāhine strategy was a significant missed opportunity for Corrections to revolutionise, rather than just improve, its treatment and care of Māori women. This is especially so in light of the Waitangi Tribunal finding that the Crown breached its obligations under Te Tiriti and the Treaty of Waitangi by failing to specifically address the overrepresentation of Māori,²¹⁵ and in circumstances where wāhine Māori still comprise 66 per cent of the women's prison population (which has increased from 62 per cent in May 2021). (46, p. 82) • This view is damningly reinforced in the 1999 Law Commission Report 53 examining the erosion of the roles and value of Maori women. (58, p. 131)
	Colonial Frameworks	Colonial Knowledge Systems

	Shaping Reality and it Impacts	• Within this framework difference becomes a basis for conflict, discrimination and exploitation. [Also before] Dualisms dominate Western discourse. They serve to solidify and secure the boundaries of Western knowledge, hegemonic colonial masculine identities, and embodied and institutional practices. [And after] Elizabeth Grosz (1994, 3) asserts that “dichotomous thinking necessarily hierarchizes and ranks the two polarized terms so that one becomes the privileged term and the other its suppressed, subordinated, negative counterpart”. (3, p. 16) • Graham Hingangaroa Smith (2003, 3) asserts that: [h]egemony is a way of thinking – it occurs when oppressed groups take on dominant group thinking and ideas uncritically and as “common-sense”, even though those ideas may in fact be contributing. (3, p. 18) • The role of the state in marginalising mana wahine knowledges cannot be stressed enough. (9, p. 18) • Mātauranga Māori (education, knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill pertaining to Māori, the Indigenous people of New Zealand) has long been suppressed and invalidated in psychological theories and practice, at one stage, legally prohibited through the Tohunga Suppression Act, in 1907 (Cunningham & Stanley, 2003). From colonisation through to contemporary times, an assumed universality of Anglo-European (and American) notions of psychology, and reification of these culturally-bound ways of knowing as ‘rational’ and ‘objective’ has created new barriers to validating mātauranga Māori within psychological theory and practice (Levy, 2016). (37, p. 88) • In other words, Yamamoto warns that the poststructuralist notion of the subject has been constructed from a position of “Western or dominant culture”. The idea of the unified self largely ignores the extent to which history and language construct the subject. Conversely the fragmentation of the subject also tends to undermine any attempt to integrate disparate aspects of being and bring them to bear on a sense of self. The poststructural ‘multiple subject’ position depends on a coherent subject being ‘taken apart’. But what of a subject that has never experienced such coherency? Frantz Fanon (1967) also argues that fragmentation, or the negation of subjectivity as he sees it, undermines the very possibility of being for the ‘Black’ man. ... For Fanon, to celebrate the fragmented subject is to celebrate his or her own dismemberment and privilege those things that deny subject status to the racially marked and gendered body. Subjectivity here must be ‘put together’ again by ‘another self’ suggesting both the provisional nature of the ‘raced’ self and the continual process of reconstructing this self from his or her own burst fragments. (57, p. 111) • David Pearson points out that the meaning of race has changed considerably over time; from being a term used to classify plants, animals and persons of common lineage,(5) race was then constructed to include ideas that described the biological transmission of ‘physical/psychological and cultural characteristics’.(6) This latter construction has also contributed to and supports racial hierarchies that endorse the supremacy of particular ‘races’ over Other ‘races’. Furthermore, the difference between ‘races’ is seen as an unchangeable position. (60, no pg no) • Ideology works in the main by confusing the social with the natural, mistaking surface appearances, skin colour and other physical characteristics, the phenomenal forms of social relations, for the essential underlying causes. Thus ... New Zealand’s intergroup problems [are seen as] natural racial differences, whereas Miles would argue that the real causes of current conflicts lie in the economic and political organisation of New Zealand society.(7) (60, no pg no)
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		Frameworks of Christian Ideologies and Their Impact • The inscription of Christian ideologies onto the bodies and souls of Māori women, the outlaw of spiritual experts through the Tohunga Suppression Act (1907) and the consignment of Māori traditions and stories to the realms of mythology has been devastating for Māori women. The marginalisation of wairua persists today. (2, p. 50) • Urbanisation and land confiscations as well as Christian ideologies about the hierarchy between men and women have had devastating effects for Māori whānau and specifically for Māori women. As the whānau unit became progressively smaller, the responsibilities of individual women grew. Women became dislocated from traditional means of support and cultural knowledge, including Māori maternal knowledges, which would have been learnt in a communal setting (Mikaere 2003). ... In a study of health care accessibility for Māori women, by Fiona Cram and Linda Smith (2003) it was noted that the fragmentation of whānau and subsequently the loss of intergenerational knowledge transmission has meant that some Māori women now lack cultural knowledge that would otherwise enable them to express their needs as Māori women to healthcare professionals. (2, p. 54) • Integral to the success of colonisation was Christianity (Evans 1994b). The imposition of Christian ideologies has had a profound impact on Māori subjectivities and relationships to space and place. Almost without exception, participants have been unable to deny the impact of Christianity on their understandings of spirituality and Papatūānuku. Moana identified herself as Christian during the interview. (3, p. 69) • the Maori Anglican church, in the belief and the idea of the Jo, the primary monotheistic whakapapa of God. We move away from the dualistic cosmogony of Ranginui and Papatuanuku and you start to see materials referring to Io, which coincidentally sounds a lot like the Christian God, although as I say people within my whanau and others are adamant that the history of Jo predates colonial times. That's another matter of controversy within Maoridom. (32, p. 16) • Some scholars have speculated that conservative Christian values may have melded with, or even usurped, Maori ideologies in this regard, as one of many effects of colonisation (Tangohau, 2003). (35, p. 151) • Mana Wairua deals with our mental and spiritual well-being, the two waters of balance between negative and positive epitomised in a sense of belief in something greater than humanity. The destruction of Mana Wairua was a prerequisite to successful colonisation. It was replaced by Judeo-Christian beliefs and practices. The twin pillars of European society, the church and the family, provided the value system for establishing the state and the judiciary. Collectively, once the land wars were over, the church and European nuclear family, the state and judiciary, sought the destruction of Mana Whenua, Mana Tangata and Mana Wairua. (48, no pg no) • The process of marginalisation has frequently mirrored the processes at work within dominant Pakeha structures. This is an example of hegemony. The Church of England, for example, was institutionalised as an ally of the state educational bureaucracy, beginning with an ordinance issued under Governor FitzRoy in 1853 which appointed the Anglican Bishop of New Zealand as one of the trustees to a board set up to manage property set aside for the advancement of the Native race'.¹ This church, along with other settler churches, was given government assistance for the development of schooling for Maori children. (73, p. 42)
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		• Linda Smith notes: ...Māori women were perceived either in family terms as wives and children, or in sexual terms as easy partners. Women who had “chiefly” roles were considered the exception to the rule, not the norm...Māori women were considered attractive in the absence of a pool of white women. Their autonomy was interpreted as immorality and lack of discipline. Christianity reinforced these notions by spelling out rules of decorum and defining spaces (the home) for the carrying out of appropriate female activities.²² (81, p. 11) • The Church schools trained Māori girls to domesticity, to become good wives in the context of a nuclear family situation. ... the denominational schools were actively discouraged from becoming too academically orientated, the Director of Education arguing in 1931 that the aim of Māori education should be to turn out boys to be good farmers and girls to be good farmers' wives.³ In 1906 the Principal of Hukarere described the daily routine of the girls as covering all aspects of domestic work, including cooking, washing, ironing and mending clothes.³ Judith Simon notes: Māori girls were thus being fitted, not only for manual labour but also to fulfil the subordinate domestic roles deemed, within European culture, as appropriate for females.⁴⁰ (81, p. 12) Colonial Frameworks in Health • The expression of our experiences as Māori women provides yet another critique of the “oppressive model of motherhood [and maternity], provided by the dominant patriarchal culture” (Lavell-Harvard and Corbiere Lavell 2006, 3). (2, p. 58) • The state too was instrumental in marginalising those Māori institutions surrounding child birth. For example, the Midwives Registration Act of 1904 required midwives to be registered by law. Traditional Māori birth attendants or tāpuhi were not recognised as qualified, and therefore had to be trained in Pākehā ways of birthing to warrant registration. Although many Māori managed to continue birthing at home with tāpuhi for quite some time, by the end of World War II legislation ensured that childbirth was largely relocated into state-owned maternity hospitals (Kenney, 2009). (9, p. 21) • Wahine expressed a desire to see more policy in action through mentoring other like-minded wahine into surgery. (13, p. 113) • We draw on the conceptual tool of epistemic injustice, described by the philosopher Miranda Fricker (2007, 2008), as a lens through which to examine the challenges Māori and Pacific women face accessing fertility treatment. Fricker's approach sheds light on why the inclusion of perspectives from the standpoint of Māori and Pacific women experiencing infertility in Aotearoa is ethically needed and justified. Fricker distinguishes two kinds of discriminatory epistemic injustice. Testimonial injustices occur when the hearer, usually a member of a dominant group, assigns “a prejudicially deflated degree of credibility” (Fricker 2008, 69) to what a speaker says based on preconceptions of their social identity and privilege, thereby discounting or ignoring the speaker's perspective and their ability to share knowledge. Hermeneutic injustices occur when a dominant group lacks the conceptual and interpretive resources to deal with experiences they do not understand. For marginalized and oppressed groups or individuals, a hermeneutic gap in collective understanding delimits their ability to make sense of or articulate their experiences to others (or oneself). The harms that result from these misunderstandings across cultures prevent a speaker from being heard or silence a certain group or individual unfairly through processes which Kristie Dotson (2011) calls testimonial quieting and testimonial smothering. Because these processes are embedded in
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		norms prescribed by dominant culture, it is difficult for such groups and individuals to reclaim or assert their epistemic agency and communicate their experiences. (65, p. 339) Colonial Influence on Education • The struggle for Māori women within academic institutions is fraught at the academic level as we vie to be heard, seen and represented – as academic, as 'real', as legitimate, a position where two worlds meet or collide. (18, p. 21) • Over the years I have developed a critical view of that which is considered to be 'natural', 'normal', 'conventional', 'traditional', 'rational' and 'objective' in education. Such words are invariably used to rank and judge people. In the ranking process, Maori women routinely end up at the bottom of the pile. As an academic, this has led me to question seriously the cultural bias of formal educational institutions in New Zealand, from early childhood to post-compulsory education and training. (69, p. 56) • In a context where Pakeha women were making the decisions there was never a guarantee that those decisions could or would serve the interests of Maori women. Race and class differences tended to struggle against any potentially common interests of gender. The school (as represented by the main body of staff) with its own organizational system and 'the school tradition' was very effective at maintaining control over its own boundaries. (76, p. 101) • I boarded with a family where the wife was from Maketū. But her way of coping with marrying a Pākehā was to become like one. So it was difficult to live there and extremely difficult at the college. I didn't think I'd last the distance. I hated everything. I concentrated on my work because it took me away from anything outside. I presented a front, but behind it was an awful sense of isolation at the time. I didn't cry. I'm not a tearful person. I just withdrew and became very quiet and watchful. And I realised I was watching a system designed to turn out teachers. We came here to be moulded in to something and were then sent out to perpetuate that system. I got quite cold about it. I was already at odds with the system. (77, p. 108) • There were other Māori teachers, but they were assimilated. They were successful in the Pākehā world, which I wasn't. They'd given up on tradition and a Māori value-system. I hadn't. I still measured my success in Māori terms. They were critical of me because they had become super-Pollies, super-browns. They tended to assess me almost as they did the unteachable kids. (77, p. 108) Legal and Political Structures • The entry of Māori women into the legal profession has empowered us to etch new paradigms in law and politics and to rebel against being made invisible as we are too oft to find ourselves in the colonising realities that most of us were born and raised into. Fighting for identity, recognition of self; of the constitutional underpinnings of our past; of the need to protect women and children; of the need for gender equality and pay equity as workers and caregivers; marriage equality for lesbian women; advising on land occupations and arrest of our people in the ongoing struggle for our sovereignty to be given life; have been more than a calling for Māori women lawyers. It is a fight that can only be viewed as part of the struggle for recognition of our people as tangata whenua and the contingent constitutional protections that such status demands. (14, no pg no) • We [from a legal position] all know that given the brutality of the subjugation and invasion of our peoples and their territories by force, and the blunt application of policies of assimilation
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		and denial in the past, that the State apparatus and those that protect its functioning will never relinquish easily the power that such recognition demands. More and more it is becoming even a struggle for the rights of Māori to be accorded more than a cursory mention in the present constitutional debates around Republicanism and the like. All this is occurring in a contemporary climate of forced Treaty settlements (with unilaterally designed and applied Crown policy and artificial time limits) and other indicia such as rising prison populations where Māori still outnumber everyone else in male incarceration rates by almost 2 to 1. (14, no pg no) • In my field, in terms of criminal justice, the most overincarcerated demographic in Aotearoa, by proportionate numbers, is wahine Maori, and that is growing exponentially. (32, p. 19-20) • There is a need for more women along with Māori demanding that their perspective on the world is included in the development of legislation, policies and strategies to eliminate gambling related harm. If women worked along Māori we may be able to reduce significantly gambling related harm in our whanau, communities and nation generally. (55, p. 48) • The legal system does not and cannot help women with problems arising out of such cultural clashes. The solutions the system applies may not only fail to assist Maori women but may continue the destruction of the culture in that the involvement of other members of the whanau are not included in decisions regarding the children of such a relationship. There are no easy answers.³⁷ There is no prospect in the immediate future that the system will change, but there seems to be no other place but the system for Maori women in abusive relationships to turn. (79, p. 180) • Associated with the monocultural nature of our substantive law, court procedures, and administration is the racism that may be encountered at any level. Most lawyers and judges are white, middle class males and females. They cannot help but have stereotypes of Maori women in their minds and it is difficult for even the most sensitive person not to apply inadvertently those stereotypes (and there are always those who are deliberately offensive). Lawyering is also a profession peculiarly prone to patronising its clients. Nevertheless, none of the women interviewed attributed the way they were treated to racism on the part of their lawyer. (79, p. 180) Economic Exploitation and Inequality • For Wynter, Man is born out of an "axis of subjugation" centred in the "bio-economic man" where dominating white supremacist meets neoliberal capitalism. The results of this are world economic exploitation, gendered oppression and, for Indigenous peoples including Māori, this sits against the backdrop of colonisation. Wynter's work has been essential in my developing an understanding of the way in which multiple systems work against the wahine Kāi Tahu in her attempts to take her rightful place at decision making tables, in the centre of debates around her body or her parenting or in her connection and responsibilities to whakapapa. (93, p.9) • Policies such as corporate privatization heavily disadvantaged many Maori. James Belich describes the strategy of Maori leader Apirana Ngata, active in the Maori Renaissance from the 1920s, as "subversive co-operation" (466), and it is this tradition that is continued in literature in terms of the deployment of literary forms and language to alter and reflect the status of changing and varying Maori relationships to the state. Arguably, however, the
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		author's shifting focus is secured by some long standing values by which changes in the lives of Maori people and the environment can be assessed. (24, p. 115) • Often the hierarchy will be, in terms of wellbeing or education status etc, that Pakeha men will be best off then possibly Pakeha women, Maori men, but always Maori and Pasifika women at the bottom. That is the effect of intersectionality. (32, p. 19) • The idea that quotas can be used to better the position of women in the workplace has been raised (and implemented) internationally and the possibility has also been mooted in the New Zealand context.⁸² Discussion has however largely been focused on elite women at the highest levels. Nevertheless, the potential of quotas is not limited to this demographic. Employers could be required to meet quotas of employees from disadvantaged groups through affirmative action programmes. In addition to creating a quota for Māori women, further specificity aimed at the most disadvantaged is also possible. Larissa Berendt stresses that it is important "to avoid the risk of elites within disadvantaged groups [taking] the majority of the fruits of the struggle for equality". (64, p. 336) Social Norms and Gender Roles • In my view at least, and in the view of other Maori female researchers such as Kuni Jenkins, Stephanie Milroy, Leonie Pihama, the division of social ordering into the public and private spheres, and this notion of the primacy of the marital relationship over other family relationships, have been significant in the breakdown of the protective factors within traditional Maori communities. In their view, and I agree with them, the diminishment of the family and the primacy of the marital relationship has meant that it is easier for people to perpetrate intimate partner violence. It is easier for all kinds of horrors to go on and deprivation and discrimination to go on behind closed doors when your whanau no longer has automatic right of access to your marital home. (32, p. 15) • The new moral order of the colonial invasion also brings with it different sexuality and behaviours and mores about what is appropriate feminine behaviour. I'll mention very briefly the effect that that has had on the representational intersectionality of contemporary Maori women. Judgement about sexuality. Judgement about not being married that is represented in our laws of welfare. Media representation of women, Maori women in particular. Judgement of their choice of partner. In criminal law the law of omissions, of failure to protect children, in my view is in some way related to this imposition of this new moral order about appropriate female sexuality and behaviour. (32, p. 16) • So, this internalisation of Christian morality and gender hierarchies that I've flagged already, women as supporters of men, men who are the heads of nuclear families, again this internalisation of these very Victorian Pakeha social organisation demographics. The democratising of the position of men as landholders, voters, persons with social, cultural, economic, and political power. (32, p. 18) • Meri represented the Maori women's suffrage movement in asking them, the Maori Parliament, made up only of men, Maori men, to support the suffrage rights and advancement of wahine Maori. And they closed ranks upon her. Maori women were not granted the right to the franchise within Te Kotahitanga until 1897, which of course was four years after the general suffrage right granted to women in the New Zealand Parliament. (32, p. 19) • there's the representational aspect of the way in which wahine Maori are presented in the media compared with Maori men or compared with Pakeha women or other demographics.
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		I've just got a couple of examples of two Maori women, Nicola Daly Paki, mother of Moko Rangitoheriheri, killed by caregivers, and Macsyna King, whose partner Chris Kahui was acquitted of the murder of their babies. Neither of these women, these Maori mothers, neither of them were suspected of harming their children. Yet they were the ones vilified in the media, for their choices of partner, for their choice of activity in terms of sexuality and behaviour, for going out, in the case of Nicola Paki, leaving their children with caregivers so she could speak medical help and treatment for one of her other tamariki. That is a form of representational intersectionality. (32, p. 20-21) • This stigmatisation is maintained by societal systems and personally mediated and internalised through neoliberal individualised discourses. Fatism intersects with other oppressions (Pausé, 2014, 2017). (42, p. 217) • There is, however, a distinction between individual and collective agency and sovereignty. Biopower manipulates bodies through surveillance and control stemming from the dominant neoliberal discourses, and often conflates individual agency and self-determination with that of collective sovereignty. This fails to acknowledge the ways in which some individuals who are part of non-privileged groups and who experience these surveillance may still have scope for, or access to, agency (Le Grice, 2017). (42, p. 219) • According to [Ripeka] Evans, white colonial practices of integration created "house niggers": Integration is a porous process, like having a blanket over your head. . . . Before you know it you have been through the process of sitting still with a blanket over your head waiting for so long to be able to assert your identity and somewhere in the white-washing process the blanket has crept over your head and enveloped you—it's like an invisible creeper. (52, p. 257) • Power conflicts are about the unequal "power" associated with the position of subordinate groups. In this relationship, subordinate groups pursue their interests from a position of "power deficiency"; therefore, their interests and aspirations are generally ignored or reinterpreted according to the beliefs of the dominant group. The differences between Maori and Pakeha have been exacerbated by the fact that Pakeha have control over the context in which changes can take place for Maori. Difference is defined for Maori, not in terms of unequal power-relations, or unequal social, economic and political positions, but in terms for Maori which emphasise only language and culture. (60, no pg no) • Let us not forget Awatere's self-evident statement that "[t]he oppression of women does not exist in a vacuum". 12 Women, law and policy issues in Aotearoa exist in a social, political and economic framework. Intrinsic to this framework is the historically-determined position of Māori women and non-Māori women. This history must include analyses of the impact of colonialism and the Treaty of Waitangi. It must also include Māori women's persistent claims for self-determination. For this is the difference in Aotearoa. This is what identifies us and distinguishes us from women in America, women in Australia, women anywhere else. This is also what identifies and distinguishes us as Maori women from you non-Maori women. (67, p. 168) • Our attempts to escape this marginalisation have resulted either in the assimilation of our entire beings as social, physical and spiritual members of society or it has entrapped us in a state of perpetual contradiction and struggle. Assimilation, where it has worked, has cut many Maori off from their own society and has left them still on the fringes of Pakeha New Zealand. (73, p. 40)
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		• Although we may value the revelations of how white patriarchy works (revelations which have come to us from the work of white women), we have also witnessed the practice of white patriarchy. Our rage as an oppressed group is directed at dominant white structures which sit over us, and so encompasses white women as much as white men. Our struggle as Maori women your own struggle. To lose control of that struggle is to lose control of our lives. (73, p. 50) • Although we may value the revelations of how white patriarchy works (revelations which have come to us from the work of white women), we have also witnessed the practice of white patriarchy. Our rage as an oppressed group is directed at dominant white structures which sit over us, and so encompasses white women as much as white men. Our struggle as Maori women your own struggle. To lose control of that struggle is to lose control of our lives. (73, p. 50) • New Zealand is a former British colony and British modes of colonization, including schooling, have had a powerful influence over the ways in which Maori people have been structured out of their 'tino rangatiratanga' or status as sovereign people and into a Pākehā New Zealand society as an underclass, ethnic minority. State schools have been significant sites of struggle for Maori people because of the clear intentions of colonial administrators to use education as an instrument of colonization and cultural annihilation. Suppression of Maori language, knowledge and culture was regarded as a necessary condition for becoming civilized. Schooling for Maori children was viewed by the more liberal politicians of the nineteenth century as an efficient and humanitarian way for bringing civilization and social control to a population of indigenous people who still had the audacity to believe in the 1860s that they were a sovereign people. It was thought by one proponent of Maori education that it was in fact cheaper to 'civilize Maori than to exterminate them' (NZPD, 1867). That audacity has remained an important feature of Maori resistance to the ways in which colonization structured a new British society in the Pacific and to the racist ideological trappings which were used to justify attempts to destroy indigenous, Maori society (Simon, 1990). (76, p. 90) • This form of social organisation ensured a degree of flexibility for women not possible within the confines of the nuclear family. The presence of so many caregivers, and the expectation that they would assume much of the responsibility of childrearing, enabled women to perform a wide range of roles, including leadership roles. wi histories that have been handed down orally from generation to generation present a picture of a society where women and men featured in all aspects of life, and fulfilled all manner of roles. It is clear from such histories that Māori women occupied very important leadership positions in traditional society, positions of military, spiritual, and political significance. (81, p. 9) • One of the most damaging effects of colonisation for Māori women was the destruction of the whānau. It was clear right from the outset that Māori collectivism was philosophically at odds with the settler ethic of individualism. As Māori had their cultural and economic base wrested from them²⁸ and as they were ravaged by introduced diseases²⁹ their social structures were inevitably undermined. The disruption of Māori social organisation was no mere by-product of colonisation, but an integral part of the process. Destroying the principle of collectivism which ran through Māori society was stated to be one of the twin aims of the Native Land Act which had set up the Native Land Court in 1865, the other aim being to access Māori land for settlement.³⁰ Not only was the very concept of individual title to land destructive of collectivism,³¹ but the massive land loss brought about by the workings of the Native Land
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		Court³² meant that, as the Māori population stabilised at a low point towards the end of the century and began to grow,³³ Māori found that they had insufficient land left to support themselves. Whānau were eventually forced to break into nuclear families and move to towns and cities in search of work.³⁴ (81, p. 12) Cultural Representation and Identity • Meredith (1999, 13) points out that “new hybrid identities or subject-positions emerges from the interweaving of elements of the coloniser and colonised challenging the validity and authenticity of any essentialist cultural identity”. Furthermore, Meredith (1999) makes the important point that there are multiple and diverse realities in Aotearoa that are influenced by numerous, overlapping and entangled considerations including race, gender, class, political and sexual orientation. Hybridity enables us to negotiate through and between these subjectivities. In taking up a hybrid understanding of Māori women’s geographies I hope to avoid the perpetuation of those antagonistic binaries that have shaped our realities for so long. (3, p. 30-31) • I understand positionality as “more than simply the space that one occupies; it implies recognition that such occupation is active, engaged and contested” (Kobayashi 2005, 36). (3, p. 50) • This chapter is premised around my second research objective; to provide comment on the colonisation of Māori women’s relationships to Papatūānuku. Wairua, Christianity and Māori women’s subjectivities are entangled in a complex web. I present a space of in-betweenness that is reflected by participants and argue that the boundaries between self and Papa are fluid, malleable and complex. (3, p. 56) Other themes: the colonisation of Papatūānuku (p. 56), contemporary understandings and articulations of mythology and tikanga. The colonisation of Māori mythology and subsequently tikanga is evident in the representation (or lack of) of atua wāhine in dominant discourse. (p. 56) • In a similar vein, Smith (1992, p. 33) notes that: As women, we have been defined in terms of our differences to men. As Māori, we have been defined in terms of our differences to our colonisers. As both, we have been defined by our differences to Māori men, Pākehā men and Pākehā women. The socioeconomic class in which most Māori women are located makes the category of Other an even more complex problematic. These feelings of in-betweenness, contradiction, complexity, and inconsistency expressed above, all highlight the distinct yet diverse realities of Māori women. (9, p. 19) • “Challenges? Where do I start? Racism. People being racist... I’ll never, ever, be the doctor at work. I know a lot of women, non-brown women, are often thought of as being nurses. But that’s the end, being a nurse. Whereas, I’ve been mistaken as the orderly, bereavement lady and the cleaner.” (13, p.110) • It is not uncommon for many Māori women in institutional contexts to continue to struggle against the precepts of colonisation, to find the spaces in which they are able to pose questions, write and theorise without the constant pressure of assimilation working under the weight of institutional norms that remind us of our ‘abnormalities’. (18, p. 17) • We never had second names [surnames] until colonialism. We had only first names because we identified our last names were our iwi, that was how we were identified by our whanau... That was my own understanding. I am a descendent – of this, the name you can call me by is this, but then again with naming, you look at Joeliee’s mahi [referring to Joeliee
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		Seed-Pihama's PhD research] and she talks about how people get named after events that have happened, people that are important, all sorts of tikanga [protocols] around that, so you are only carrying a name to remind you of something else that is more important than self. (22, p. 9) • This article suggests that mana wahine should be conceptualised not merely as a social concept, but also as a legal principle in its own right. As discussed, mana wahine is a central principle in the tikanga system. In the traditional tikanga understanding, mana wahine is not merely a principle, but a literal metaphysical force possessed by wahine, passed down through our whakapapa from Papatanuku and Hineahuone. Arguably, this metaphysical force can also be conceptualised as a legal force. (26, p. 33) • Explicitly recognising mana wahine as a legal force within tikanga could be a powerful tool in shifting how we understand the relationship between wahine Maori and the kwanatanga State. It allows us to conceptualise that State abuse of wahine Maori in prisons, for example, is an unlawful action, without needing recourse to the human rights framework and is fundamentally unconstitutional because it fails to uphold the holistic law of mana wahine, in contravention of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (26, p. 36) • In this way, the consideration of mana wahine as a legal principle informing the common law could represent a way to begin hacking out of the "hostile and confining thicket" that colonialism has captured mana wahine within. (26, p. 44) • Postcolonialism, like intersectional feminism, explores the interconnections formed by overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination that describe • relations between the Coloniser and the Colonised, or the Other and the Self. Professor Masood Raja explains the multiple threads considered by postcolonial studies: intersectional, complex and situational.⁹ (50, p. 11) • Marie can only fantasize about wholeness – not only is she fragmented, but she is at once "invisible, visible (exposed), hypervisible, and pathologized in dominant discourses" (Hammonds, 1999, p. 93). (57, p. 114) • New Zealand was annexed at a period when ideologies of the 'superiority' of particular races over others were very influential. In particular, notions of the development and evolution of races provided major theoretical foundations from which Maori were viewed. Two clear philosophies existed in relation to the evolutionary process. The first was the ideas advocated by the Church and the notion of 'divine' order. Writings from the bible were used to justify in more than one country the belief that the 'black man' was placed on this earth to serve the 'white man', and that it was the prerogative of the 'white man' to rule. Growing out of these beliefs were a number of systemic philosophies which enforced the taken-for-granted positionings of whites over 'inferior' blacks. These beliefs further maintained the conceptions of the second philosophy of the evolutionary process, Charles Darwin's 'Natural Selection' process, in which his "studies of the natural world were used to support the development of the notion that natural selection provided an explanation for the social order of human beings."⁽¹⁾ In time, humans were categorised according to their levels of development that were presumed to be indicative of the evolutionary process and civilisation. In these belief systems, Maori were located within the lower ranks of the hierarchies. (60, no pg no) • The meaning of difference submits to the logic of identity. One group occupies the position of norm, against which all others are measured. The attempt to reduce all persons to the unity of common measure constructs as deviant those whose attributes differ from the group-specific
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		attributes implicitly presumed in the norm. The drive to unify the particularity and multiplicity of practices, cultural symbols, and ways of relating in clear and distinct categories turns difference into exclusion.(3) (60, no pg no) • Beliefs about racial differences became influential in maintaining the superior/inferior relationship. By virtue of biological transmission, each group was designated as having distinctive attributes and dominant groups as sharing no attributes with those defined as Other.(4) This is a particularly problematic idea in that worthwhile and "valued" characteristics are attributed solely to those of the dominant group. (60, no pg no) • What has been shown so far is that the position of difference for Maori is one that is identified and controlled by Pakeha. The saying that we as Maori women are more disadvantaged because of compounded oppression associated with being woman and being Maori, is true - this is our reality. (60, no pg no) • What is it I disguise, hide or contain every day I sit in a room full of white women who do not acknowledge their privileged position and its impact on me and my position in Aotearoa? What affinity can we share with white women who refuse to acknowledge and take responsibility for their colonialism? How we can share an affinity with these women who do not see Māori sovereignty as an issue, and who are not fighting Pakeha colonialism, who are not challenging the present political, economic and social norms? (67, p. 164) Historical Narratives and Memory • The struggle for decolonisation (in the sense of „freeing ourselves“ from the influences of our colonised realities) appears, to me, to be impossible. The interwoven realities of coloniser and colonised mean that endeavours to gain access to „truths“ about „our“ past will be perpetual (Aspin and Hutchings 2007a). Notwithstanding, it is important to embark on endeavours to rewrite and re-right our histories, as much as possible, in order to decentre the colonial and masculine versions that currently dominate.18 (3, p. 18) • Debates are continuous about the use of the term “post” as it eludes to the idea that colonisation has ended, when it is undeniable that the effects of colonisation are ongoing. Another contentious issue is the prevalence of colonisation as a defining factor in the 30 subjectivities of those in a so called postcolonial period. I do not have the space to enter fully into these debates in this thesis. What I will say is that I agree with Paul Meredith (1999, 14 emphasis in the original) in his assertion (used for the purpose of his (and my) work) “postcolonial does not mean that „they“ have gone home. Instead, „they“ are here to stay, indeed some of „us“ are them, and therefore the consequential imperative of relationship negotiation”. Used in this way then, postcolonial notions of hybridity and relationship negotiation are useful to my research.24 (3, p. 30-31) • There is a vibrant whakapapa of Te Reo Shakespeare in Aotearoa – texts which not only relocate the plays to a pre-colonial era, within the original contexts of New Zealand, but also transfer the inherent meaning or morality of the plays to Te Ao Māori (The Māori world). This is a process not simply of adapting Indigenous histories or performative praxes into the play’s narratives, but rather of ‘re-making’ Shakespeare to fit within Te Ao Māori. Notable is the late, great, Māori theatre-maker Don Selwyn’s landmark 2002 film The Māori Merchant of Venice/ Te Tangata Whai Rawa o Weniti, based on Pei Te Hurinui’s 1946 translation.28 The film integrates Renaissance staging with opera, alongside elements and influences drawn from Te Ao Māori. The setting is opulent; it rejects traditional Māori costuming in favour of mixed
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		Renaissance-contemporary garb in lavish fabrics. There is no rustic pre-colonial or decimated urban setting here; rather, a fantastical hybrid of Venice and Auckland. The film reconfigures the play's original racism: the history of Jewish discrimination is paralleled with oppression against Māori, where images of genocide during the Māori Land Wars are backdrop to the 'pound of flesh' scene. (31, p. 221-2) • Meanings of Mata Pairama (character in <i>Cousins</i>): Mata's name is a multi-layered one and carries with it indications of the complexity of heritage, although only a few characters in the novel, excluding Mata herself for the period in which the novel is told, actually understand the significance of that name. Mata, according to Williams' dictionary, 12 can refer to face, surface, eye, edge, point, headland and to the important category of raw or uncooked food, unripe, fresh and green. Signifying a yet to be fulfilled potential, the characterization of Mata Pairama testifies to the potential of Māori women, even those whose lives have been a struggle against the odds in an unsympathetic environment. Pairama can be translated in many ways since the word pai has multiple connotations including good, excellent, suitable, pleasant, goodlooking, handsome, agreeable, willing and rama, a torch or source of light. Mata constantly resists the commercialism of the world around her and maintains the marae and whanau based values of caring for people and her environment, despite the fact that this treatment is often not what she herself receives. When she stands stranded in the middle of the road the description reads 'Hands not paddling' hinting at the paddling of the waka, which signifies Māori heritage, genealogy and on-going cultural life. When she keeps moving, she is described again in terms of swimming, rowing: 'Hands had paddled her - one hand and then the other - trapping air and thrusting it back. Her handful of air, then not hers, paddling back to wherever it would go' (11) (68, p. 79) • Meanings of Mata Pairama (character in <i>Cousins</i>): The alliterative proliferation deployed in the names (Mata, May, Missy, Makareta) suggests a primary relation to the word as maternal, to the mother's body (in Māori beliefs Papatūānuku, the land as mother) and also to the word Māori which has been translated to mean normal, usual, ordinary, and also freely without restraint, without ceremony, clear and intelligible. Identifying with the Māori name Mata, when she had been given the Pākehā name 'May', she is then able to interpret the gravestones in the name of the mother and enter into the process of reading and naming in Māori. (68, p. 81) • Their myths and beliefs had to be reshaped and retold. The missionaries were hell-bent (heaven-bent) on destroying their pagan ways. Hence, in the re telling of our myths, by Māori male informants to Pākehā male writers who lacked the understanding and significance of Māori cultural beliefs, Māori women find their mana wahine destroyed.¹⁷ (81, p. 10) • This re-telling of Māori cosmogony by Māori males to Pākehā ethnographers¹⁸ led to a shift in emphasis, away from the powerful female influence in the stories and towards the male characters. Instead of creation beginning with the womb symbolism of Te Kore and Te Pō, and the female-male partnership of Papatūānuku and Ranginui, the balance was turned on its head by the introduction of a supreme male god, Io. The cosmogonic genealogies were relegated to a phase occurring after the initial creation at the hands of Io. Io created all by sheer force of his willpower, and free from the female taint of any birthing process. Consequently, the balance between the male and female elements was destroyed, male power was inflated and female energy neutralised. The similarities between the "Io" version of creation and the bible are so striking that many have reached the conclusion that much of it could only have been a post-missionary development. It is possible that there was an atua
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		named Io in the cosmogonic accounts of some iwi, but the elevation of Io into a supreme and male being, and on a national scale seems clearly to be a post-contact phenomenon. Even if there were a supreme being named Io, there is no reason to assume that that being was male, although it is probably inevitable that Pākehā recorders of information would have assumed that to be the case. (81, p. 10) • The one figure who could scarcely be characterised as passive was Hine nui-i-te-pō. Given the way in which Māui died, it was extraordinarily difficult to ignore or minimise her supreme strength. Faced with the irrefutable expression of female sexual power that Hine-nui-i-te-pō posed, the redefiners of Māori cosmogony recast her as evil and destructive. This fitted in nicely with biblical notions of woman being responsible for sin. The negative connotations that then attached to the female sexual organs were also entirely consistent with Old Testament notions of women being unclean because of menstruation. (81, p. 11) • The colonial (re)telling of Māori stories, and thus Māori realities, firmly established a hierarchy of knowledge and atua wāhine were quickly replaced with Eurocentric ideologies of God: “God as male, God as ruling, God as natural ... God as white” (Pihama 2001, p. 155). The impact of this on Māori spirituality and thus on Mana Wāhine is immense, fragmenting the knowledges, traditions and whakapapa of Māori women and it did not take long before these colonial ideologies became entrenched in legislation. The claim to the Waitangi Tribunal made in 1993 was a pivotal moment in a much longer struggle for Mana Wāhine to be recognised and upheld for what our ancestors knew it was (90, p. 158)
	Māori Worldviews, Frameworks and Their Impact	Māori Theoretical and Research Frameworks: Research Praxis • I follow Moss’s (2005, 50) argument that: “[i]nstead of talking in conventional terms like validity, accuracy, and triangulation, it might make sense to think about, for example, the momentaryness of how and when information gets collected, the intention of participants in being part of a project, or the fleeting moments of negotiating meaning in any research interaction. (3, p. 39) • Te Awēkotuku also makes the point that up until very recently Maori were the objects of research by “dominant and aggressive [Pākehā] researchers and academics with, inevitably, an eurocentric perspective.”⁶ The result has been “decades — even centuries - of thoughtless, exploitative, mercenary academic objectification”⁷ from which tangata whenua are actively withdrawing and retrenching.⁸ (79, p. 170) Kaupapa Māori Theory • Perhaps the most important part of Kaupapa Māori is that it provides space to engage with knowledge derived from a blend of spirituality, mythology and lived experiences. (3, p. 15) • “Kaupapa Māori theory does not take for granted the existence of colonisation, rather it assumes the absolute validity of our world-view and from there locates the acts of colonisation as impositions” (Pihama 2001, 141). (3, p. 19) • By adopting a Kaupapa Māori approach the research process is transformed. Those who take part, both the researcher and participants, participate on different terms and approach the research process from a Māori centred framework. (3, p. 19)

		• Kaupapa Māori, mana wahine and feminist geographies share a common goal in that they all seek to disrupt the hegemonic understandings of self and other as distinct and impermeable entities. They all challenge further enforcement of oppositional ideologies. (3, p. 30) • Mana wahine research is concerned with rangatiratanga over our knowledges and lived realities. Theorising in the words of the coloniser may be relatively new for Kaupapa Māori, yet the tools for searching for and accessing knowledge are founded in tikanga Māori that are hundreds of years old (Te Awakotuku 1991b; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). In other words, research is not a new initiative for Māori. Kaupapa Māori and mana wahine are contemporary theoretical and methodological spaces, whereby, the silencing of Māori voices and experiences, specifically Māori women's, can be addressed and the dominance of Western masculine scientific knowledge can be unpacked. (3, p. 35) • The theories that inform the analysis are Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wahine both of which, like raranga, are organic to this place, Aotearoa 3, and have grown as descendants of Papatūānuku 4 and Ranginui 5. The connection between these theories and the creative practices of raranga and whatu form a cultural praxis through which I argue enables the transformative power of raranga and whatu practices. This too is the essence of Te Whare Pora, a weaving house that embraces kairaranga both conceptually and materially and which provides the approach to the project. Te Whare Pora is a place of knowledge and a place of practice. Like Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wahine theories it is a cultural form and expression of praxis. As kairaranga we create taonga informed by the creative genius of our tūpuna⁷ from the native plants of the land. (4, p. 1) NB: Kairaranga [1 Kairaranga is the term used to describe weavers of native fibres. In particular the weaving of basketry leaf textile.]are constantly in this experience through engaging with the materiality of the practices of raranga and raranga whatu [Raranga is the weaving of leave material, and whatu is the process the off-loom process of twining muka the internal fibre of the harakeke leaves.]. (4, p. 1) • Kaupapa Māori theoretical approaches in creative research address cultural erosion and assimilationist policies by validating Māori knowledge's while at the same time acknowledging and encompassing the "... succeeding generations that add their quota of knowledge and fresh discoveries to the corpus of their [our] cultural heritage." (Marsden, 2003, p. 39).(4, p. 19) Mana Wāhine Research Theory • mana wahine as a theoretical, methodological, and political framework. (3, p. 12) • there are very few tools that adequately deal with the intersections of multiple oppressions such as racism, sexism, homophobia and classism (Larner 1995; Pihama 2001). Moreover, the existing theoretical tools (when used in isolation) do not, in my opinion, effectively provide for the lived, embodied and spiritual experiences of Māori women. (3, p. 13) • I argue that a mana wahine framework has the ability to re-affirm the everyday geographies of Māori women. (3, p. 15) • Embodiment and hybridity are two important concepts that are examined and can be woven into this thesis to enhance mana wahine understandings of Papatūānuku. Rather than simply provide a descriptive account of these theoretical perspectives my aim is to weave them together to produce a complex and theoretically significant contribution to both mana wahine and feminist geography. (3, p. 15)
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		• If Māori women's geographies are to be taken as legitimate in their experience of place and space then theoretical developments that challenge the privileging of one side of a binary over the other is vital. (3, p. 17) • Leonie Pihama (2001) and Jessica Hutchings (2002) have dedicated their PhD theses to the development of mana wahine theory. In her thesis, Pihama engages with the colonial processes that have resulted in the marginalisation of Māori women. She asserts that the colonial impositions of race, gender and class ideologies posit Māori women in an inferior position, not only to non-Māori but also in relation to Māori men. Pihama uses historical documentation to demonstrate the way that colonial and patriarchal ideas that marginalised and ignored the role of Māori women. Moreover, she acknowledges that one of the key features of mana wahine epistemology is to make sense of the ongoing contradictions that Māori women face in their everyday geographies. Her thesis argues for mana wahine as a transformative theoretical perspective in its own right. (3, p. 24) • Figure 1: Mana wahine conceptual framework - Here mana wahine is conceptualised as a harakeke plant with the leaves being critical focus areas. These areas align with, and develop further, some of the key themes identified by Pihama. The roots of the plant are Māori women, whānau, and tikanga Māori. An important point to note is that the harakeke is grounded in Papatūānuku, and interacts with Te Taiao, making this framework all the more pertinent to this thesis. (3, p. 25) • Wairua discourse is an important element of mana wahine and it recognises that for many Māori women (and Māori men) their lived realities are linked to spiritual geographies (Hutchings 2002; Pihama 2001). Western feminism has been slow to take up spirituality discourses and often spirituality is relegated to the realm of religion (Pihama 2001). (3, p. 26) • mana wahine is a fluid framework through which Māori women's knowledge can be examined in two ways. The first is concerned with re privileging Māori women's lived and embodied experiences of space and place. The second is to contest the dominance of Western colonial patriarchy (in fact all systems of patriarchy) that have for so long defined and shaped our everyday realities. (3, p. 26) • The mana wahine claim highlights the guarantees for equal participation promised under the Treaty of Waitangi for all Māori, including Māori women, many of whom signed the original Treaty (Mikaere, 2003). 9, p. 18) • The structure of the mana wahine conceptual framework as presented in Figure 1 is represented as harakeke growing upon Papatūānuku and interacting with Te Taiao. This representation is pertinent, as harakeke is a dynamic and vibrant plant used by Maori women in diverse and creative ways. The leaves and fine strong fibres of the harakeke have a multiplicity of uses. I liken these many uses of the harakeke to the diverse herstories, realities and stories of Maori women.... Whakapapa is a key aspect of the conceptual framework. Whakapapa identifies the position of Maori women as being one with Papatūānuku (34, p. 19) ... Alongside whakapapa and Maori women is kaupapa Maori for this provides the Maori framework or lens through which analysis is conducted. It is pertinent to this framework that analysis be conducted within a Maori world view. This means framing research within a kaupapa Maori epistemology and being able to identify analyses and the impacts of those analyses that occur outside of a kaupapa Maori framework. To maintain the mauri of this framework, Maori women need to be involved throughout its development. The
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		placement of Maori women within the framework allows them to define and tell their stories and analyse the situations pertinent to them. (34, p. 20) • Although diverse, the writings and thoughts of Maori women on mana wahine have commonalities. In the first instance mana wahine provides a space for Maori women to identify and reclaim Maori women's knowledge and analysis; it provides a kaupapa Maori analysis that focuses on issues relevant to Maori women. Mana wahine discourse recognises the unique place of Maori women as indigenous women living in a colonised land. It is an inclusive kaupapa Maori discourse that allows for diversity of sexuality, cultural understanding, urban or rural realities and tangata, whanau, hapil and iwi realities. Mana wahine is founded upon matauranga Maori and calls for an honouring of the Treaty of Waitangi and challenges hegemonic colonial systems and ideologies. (34, p. 20) • As the Mana Wāhine Claim asserts, the "Crown's actions and policies since 1840 have systematically discriminated against Māori women and deprived us of our spiritual, cultural, social and economic well-being, which is protected by the Treaty of Waitangi" (Johnston, 2005). (90, p. 157) Intersectionality Theory • This paper, therefore, attempts to give Māori women in sport management an opportunity to be centre-stage and to voice their experiences by utilising a kaupapa Māori paradigm, a Māori Feminist approach and intersectionality theory. Specifically, this paper seeks to critically understand how one of the most marginalized groups in NZ society (Māori women) experience leadership roles in one of the most privileged, Eurocentric and masculine institutions in NZ (organized sport). (47, p. 332) • Intersectional feminism, based on standpoint theory, identifies how interlocking systems of power affect those most marginalised in society.⁶ I explored colonisation from the viewpoint of my tupuna, which led me to study Kaupapa Māori theory. In a 1990 paper, Professor Graham Hingangaroa Smith set out six principles or components of Kaupapa Māori theory to counteract the colonial world view. "Hegemony is a way of thinking – it occurs when oppressed groups take on dominant group thinking and ideas uncritically and as 'common sense,' even though those ideas may in fact be contributing to forming their own oppression. It is the ultimate way to colonise a people; you have the colonised colonising themselves! (51, p. 11) • In her study of Māori writing, German literary scholar Sigrid Markmann (1993), for instance, has noted how the intersections of class, gender, and race make for a more complex description of hegemony. (53, p. 56) • Applying an intercategory intersectional approach to fiction in general, and to Witi Ihimaera's novel in particular, offers insight into the complexity of these women characters' range of identity constructions and provides a theoretical framework for analysing their 'intersecting identities'. Such an approach not only enhances analytical complexity but fits well with Māori cultural concepts such as spiral time. The conceptualisation of identities as simultaneous and intricate disrupts homogeneous notions of femininity and Māoriness and displays the workings of power as represented amongst others in narrative texts. Witi Ihimaera's innovative female characters mirror these intersectional complexities, turning The uncle's story into an Auntie's story as well. (53, p. 67) • Academia: The institution is so hostile to Maori women. (54, p. 294)
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		• Yet, while saying this, we [Indigenous wahine] understand that our theorising comes from our experiences of multiple, inter-related oppressions which include class, racism, sexism and homophobia. Epistemologically, experience is crucial to our ways of knowing and being within our Indigenous communities, whether in Aotearoa, Australia or elsewhere (Fredericks, 2009; James & Busia, 1993; Smith, 1999). It is the lives we live within our communities as Māori and Indigenous Australian women that strengthens our ability to theorise about our lives and take action (Fredericks, 2009; James & Busia, 1993; McIntosh, 2001; Moreton-Robinson, 2000). (56, p. 80-1) • Awatere raises similar objections with regard to left-wing academics: "Left-wing groups analyze the basic contradictions in terms of the class-struggle. In their analysis issues of sovereignty, race and culture fade into marginality" (Maori Sovereignty 51). Thus in privileging gender over race and culture, Dominy foregrounds one form of difference (between men and women) at the cost of glossing over another form of disenfranchisement, that of race and culture. Second, in this analysis the indigenous rights movement becomes framed within the feminist struggle. Dominy indicates the subordination of Maori nationalism to feminism (66, p. 60) Metaphor of weaving • Following in the same vein as other Māori women scholars (Hutchings 2002; Te Awakotuku 1991a; Yates-Smith 1998) I use the metaphor of weaving throughout this thesis (particularly in chapter 2) to weave together these objectives (strands), and various perspectives and herstories that can at times be complimentary but also contradictory. It is fitting that the harakeke plant be used as a metaphor because raranga has inextricable links to Papatūānuku. Furthermore, Jessica Hutchings (2004, 19) points out "like the herstories of Māori women, harakeke is diverse, with some varieties having drooping leaves, others growing leaves still and upright as spears. The texture also varies from a silky fineness to a waxy and coarse texture". (3, p. 2) Whakapapa as a model • Johnston and Pihama (1995, 84-85) argue: [a]s Māori women we have a relationship to the land, we are each connected to Mana Whenua. As Māori women we have a relationship to spirituality, Mana Wairua. As Māori women we are located in complex relationships within whakapapa, Mana Tangata. Each of these aspects of tikanga Māori are part of who we are as Māori women, whether or not we experience them in our day to day realities, as they originate from historical and cultural sources that both precede and succeed us. The complexities of such relationships extend into whānau, hapū and iwi, so no single expression is one, but that each may and do find a range of expressions. Hence, what may be viewed as an essence in cultural terms does not, in our terms, equate to essentialism, rather it expresses the historical and social construction of cultural relationships. (3, p. 10) • Whakapapa and whakawhānaungatanga are two specifically Kaupapa Māori concepts that are useful for maintaining ethical research practices (and that are useful in negotiating the complexities of this research). Woven together with qualitative methods, they provide me with a distinctive methodology. (3, p. 39) Language and Education Initiatives:
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		Te Wiki o te Reo Māori 1975 • In 1972 I became involved in Te Ra O Te Reo Māori, which became Māori National Language Week. One of the initiatives, spurred by two different sets of people working at different ends of the island, was the campaign to secure official status for the Māori language, to make Te Reo Māori the language of the courts and also to affirm the Māori language as a compulsory subject in schools. At the same time there was the Māori Language Petition, and the splendid spokesperson for that was Hana Jackson (now Te Hemara). Within the petition itself was a vast group of people all lobbying and collecting signatures. (72, p. 34) • Te Reo Māori was a strong action group of native speakers of the language, which made them, I think, quite different from Ngā Tamatoa, because we did not have very many native speakers. We hit the people of Auckland with National Māori Language Day, 14 September 1972. It was amazing. We did a whole series of Māori language commercials on Radio Hauraki, we launched a massive poster splurge throughout the land, we staged the most unbelievably bizarre guerrilla theatre, we took over Craccum, the student newspaper, we had speakers visiting schools. It has since become a yearly event so that now it is Te Wā O Te Reo Māori and takes up a couple of weeks in July. That was an initiative that can be traced back to the early days of Te Reo Māori society in Wellington, and Ngā Tamatoa in Auckland. (72, p. 34) Te Kōhanga Reo 1982 • About 13,000 Maori women are not in paid jobs. High proportions live on benefits, are involved in childrearing and work in voluntary capacities. More than half of Maori households are headed by a single Maori woman.¹² A range of social indices places Maori women in an ongoing tenuous social and economic position. The April 1991 changes in benefit structures have placed a further disproportionate burden on Maori women and on Maori children. Maori women's discourses he state have worked to resist and to transform the current social, political and economic position of Maori women. Some of the outcomes of these analyses, Te Kohanga Reo, for example, may at first glance seem unlikely approaches to this struggle. However, out of this movement there has emerged an active and politically aware generation of Maori women. (73, p. 48) Wānanga • Wānanga are cultural learning contexts and very different to other forms of Pākehā sites of learning. Wānanga provide a context that supports a holistic approach to the purpose of gathering together. This can be in a teaching and learning space or dissemination of research, or practitioners coming together. Through the methods of wānanga physical, spiritual and intellectual development can be sustained. Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal (2001) of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāpuhi talks about the term wānanga as referring to methods and processes that bring about the creation of new knowledge.... The wānanga process enables cultural pedagogy that facilitates the practice of tikanga Māori and is a powerful vehicle to learning and re-learning information. (4, p. 12) Health and Community Initiatives: Health Initiatives
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		• Another example is visionary and proactive, and chooses a gynocentric bias. Health Initiatives, like Maori Women's Welfare League, is Rapu Ora, and such marae based research projects like Toi Tu in Waikato illustrate this model. And they enhance, and empower, their communities. One more shape combines both, and can be done in an independent and funded university department, like the one we hope to see. Examples of such work include: Linda Smith on Smoking and Maori Women, Julie Park on New Zealand Women and Alcohol, and the many projects of Jane Ritchie.⁴ (71, p. 21) Marae Committee Policy / The Whare • Here was a small group of Maori women welcoming a larger group of white women who were cold and unsmiling, who did not seem to know or care to know what it was they were being given. One or two refused to hongi (traditional touching of noses) and several of them ignored the girls in the greetings. This experience was so clearly offensive to Maori women and Maori girls that a stronger policy was developed by the marae committee to exert more control over the ways in which the whare was used by outside groups. (76, p. 96) • The whare is an attempt to provide a solution within the framework of a state school. It is a visual representation of Maori cultural difference and by its presence it challenges the school at the day-to-day level of organization to acknowledge and cater for cultural differences. However, it is limited in its potential to transform the school in more radical ways because its presence is still marginal and dependent on the work of individual Maori staff to promote, contest and struggle for Maori issues to be addressed. (76, p. 99) • Māori law was based on the imperative to maintain balance within whānau, hapū and iwi, including balance between women and men. The charter for Māori life was laid down in Māori cosmogony, which established the centrality of female sexuality and reproductive capabilities in the creation of the world. (81, p. 9) Solidarity and Wider Connections: Pan-Pacific Solidarity • At the same time as Ngā Tamatoa was gathering strength, we began to liaise with another Auckland-based organization - also a key political group - the Polynesian Panthers. There was some fragile merging between the Panthers and Ngā Tamatoa, and we had lots of rather curious meetings where we acknowledged that we were Māori, tangata whenua, and they were our cousins from the Pacific. (72, p. 34) Te Kotahitanga (Māori Parliament) 1892 • In more recent times, this was expressed through the establishment, in 1893, of 'Ngā Komiti Wāhine' (Māori women's committees) within the political movement of Te Kotahitanga (Māori Parliament) as a means by which Māori women could deal with issues confronting them at the time. Ngā Kōmiti Wāhine dealt with key issues related to the well-being of Māori women and spoke freely about these issues whenever possible (Rei, 1993). We see it in their contemporary equal, 'The Māori Women's Welfare League'. More contemporary expressions include Māori women's involvement in Te Amorangi; the Black Women's Movement; Māori Women's movement; Wahine Mō Ngā Wāhine o Te Moana Nui a Kiwa (Māori and Pacific Lesbians) (Pihama, 2001). Even more recently we have seen the formation of Māori women's collectives that have been active in challenging sexism, homophobia, transphobia, cultural
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		appropriation and racism, including Ngā Wahine Tiaki o Te Ao (Māori Women Against Genetic Engineering), Te Wharepora Hou (Māori Women's Network) and the Taranaki Māori Women's Network (Taranaki Women seeking the return of stolen lands), to name just a few examples. (93, p. 194)
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