TE WHARE WĀNANGA O AWANUIĀRANGI

WHO HOLDS THE POWER AND WHATS COUNTS AS KNOWLEDGE: A STUDY OF POWER RELATIONSHIPS FOR MĀORI WOMEN POST-COLONIAL SETTLEMENT

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In some ways this is probably the hardest part of the thesis to write. You don't want to forget anyone, and you don't want to undermine the support that you have been given. If I offend anyone or forgot you, I apologise, it was never my intention.

To my husband - Mr Kelly Christopher Twose. Sweetheart, I have probably been the worst wife that a good man could want. I refused to take your last name just because I married you. I didn't think that was a valid reason for losing my own identity. For understanding that, I not only thank you, but I love you for understanding. Your support, help, patience, and belief in me has been the strength that I have needed to pursue this journey. Thank you for being the clam, whilst I have been the storm.

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To my dad – Sam Gemmell, words cannot express how much I love you. You have been there throughout everything. You are the Dad that all little girls dream of having, and I was lucky to have had that dream come true. I love you, and your support of me, and I love the support you have given mum. There isn't a greater dad, and I know my siblings would agree with that.

Figure 1: Mum and Dad with me

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my brother and sister – Natasha Gemmell Poynter and Quienten Gemmell. Love to you both and your whānau. Thank you for always being there and letting us all share our lives with each other. Love you Toddie n Jay Jay and all my nieces and nephews.

Figure 2: Me with my brother and sister

To my babies at the urupa – Baby Monique Kelly and Baby Sharon. There is nothing harder than saying goodbye to your babies. To lose you two little girls was the greatest pain I have ever experienced. When you went, you both took a part of my heart (don't you worry mumma is coming to collect that love).

My babies – Samantha, Victoria, Natasha, Isabella, and Anastasia. I have said this many a time, and I have seen all your eyes roll, but it's a lesson from the past for you:

>*"Be all that God intended you to be and you will set the world on fire"* (St Catherine of Sienna, 1347 – 1380)*.

Samantha, your name was a given, you were always going to be Granddads little protégé. You are my first born and will always be my baby. Victoria, you were always going to be our 'Tori' but we knew you were going to be strong like Queen Victoria.

Natasha when you were born nana Mary was there and she said you had lips like rosebuds. You acquired your name in two ways; one, you were named after your aunty, the other is Princess Natasha from Russia. After having Tori, you were so easy as a little girl, patient and quiet. My little Bell, you were named after the Disney

Princess Isabella. You will always be my reality, you are the bell that makes us all stand up and listen.

Stasia, Granddad named you. Having had seven daughters, Mum and Dad ran out of girl's names. Granddad got sick of you not having a name and gave you his babies name. Anastasia, you know the story of the Russian princess, we have raised you with this, you will always be my princess.

You girls are all princesses in your own right. May you all learn from your nan and your mum. I think there is a reason God gifted me only girls. You girls all have mana and the knowledge to do anything you want in life.

Figure 3: My girls

My babies, I want you all to remember something and that is that you can make a change in the world. Hopefully, this will help you all to remember why I wrote this thesis:

> "… *no matter what anyone tells you words and ideas can*
> *change the world*" (Robin Williams, in the movie, Goodwill
> hunting, 1997).

This thesis are my idea and my thoughts, and I hope it encourages you all to have your own thoughts and ideas and to create a difference in the world.

My grandparents – Sid and Mary Barcello and Betty and Tom Gemmell. I learnt so much from all of you. Both of my nans had the biggest hearts. Both of my

grandfathers, had hearts that you had to dig for, but once you found them they were amazing and intelligent people.

My moko – Samantha and Brooklyn. Sammie, like your mummy, you are named after an amazing man who has always shown love and respect for the wāhine in his life. Respect your naming, and the mana that comes with it. Be everything special that you are intended to be. To my grandson, I hope that you can be the very man that your father, Granddad, and great Granddad are. Be a man that has love and compassion for his wāhine, show her love, give her the respect she needs and honour her presence. This thesis is not just for the girls, boy it has lessons for you as well. Be a leader, show the world how Māori men should treat their wāhine.

Figure 4: *My moko, Sammie and Brooky*

My uncle – You know who you are. Words cannot explain how much I love you. You know how special you are in my life, I love everything you have done for me, and I thank you.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my daughters. Babies, don't ever let anyone stand over you and tell you what to do. If there is anything that I have taught you, let it be that you are strong and powerful wāhine capable of doing anything. I love you all with every breath I take.

Let this thesis be a tool for you all, and a reason to fight against injustices that portray you as inferior. I didn't give birth to you for that, I gave birth to strong girls capable of doing anything – always know that mumma is there for my princesses. Always know that you were born with mana. You can do anything. Kia kaha.

Figure 5: Our girls with Kelly and I

ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that the introduction of religion, politics and education positioned Māori women as subservient and silenced them through re-interpreting and invisibling their roles and positions within Aotearoa (New Zealand). Imperialism and colonisation created binary positions that negatively characterized Māori women in terms of race (Māori/Pākehā), gender (Women/Men) and matrices of Māori/Pākehā/Women/Men. Binaries of opposition allowed for Māori women to be identifiable as different, lesser, and often as the 'other', or his other. This has been causal to Māori women being marginalised within New Zealand.

Despite the imperial and colonial attempts to invisibilise Māori women, this thesis challenges the ideology that Māori women were not powerful and knowledgeable. Through an exploration of pre-colonisation and the early era of contact with the Western world, this thesis will demonstrate how Māori women were able to retain and utilise their positions of power and transmit mātauranga Māori.

This thesis contends that Māori women remain powerful and knowledgeable, despite the colonial and imperial attempts to silence them and challenges the dominant discourses of hegemony.

Mechanisms of colonial power privileged tauiwi (foreign and in this instance Western knowledge), thereby alienating and re-interpreting Māori knowledge (mātauranga Māori) particularly as it pertained to Māori women. The use of hegemonic binaries founded on Western, colonial, gendered and patriarchal ideologies such as 'the coloniser and the colonised' were instrumental in developing power relations that marginalised Māori women.

Understanding *how* power impacted on Māori women and in turn, *how* power contributes to self-determination, is a central tenet to this thesis. Attention is given to understanding how mātauranga-a-wāhine and mana wāhine, create possibilities and opportunities for *how* Māori women can transform histories misdoings.

An exploration of the narratives of Māori women who retained their rights as wāhine rangatira will be undertaken from within a kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine theoretical framework. In the light negating the impact of colonisation this thesis will investigate how Māori women executed their mana and disseminated mātauranga Māori using both a quantitative and qualitative approach.

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CHAPTER ONE - Introduction

My own subjectivity

A large part of my educational journey has entailed learning and understanding how colonisation and imperialism has impacted upon the livelihood of Māori women. Initially, my study was central to my employment and was focused on education. At some stage, I became very aware that Māori women were situated as different, this intrigued me and developed a desire to understand how and why Māori women continue to be undermined. This interest built a desire within me to challenge the imperialistic and colonist's hegemonic ideologies that undermined the knowledge base and power of Māori women.

As a Māori woman, and a mother of five daughters, I am very aware that being Māori is a disparity and as a woman the disparity widens. My journey to learn is enthused by wanting my daughters to never feel lesser or inferior. I am very much subjective within this thesis.

In the plight of producing credible research that is beneficial to Māori, I also acknowledge that my research training gives me the necessary skills to collate and analyse data qualitatively and quantitively in a professional and objective manner. This thesis is a challenge to my own lived reality and challenges the hegemonic discourses that have the potential to undermine my daughter's, grandchildren and future generations livelihoods, and the lived realities of Māori collectively.

Rationale and my position as a researcher

Under the supervision of Doctor Wally Penetito, in 2013, I completed my Master's thesis at Victoria University. The exercise of researching and writing 'A history of marginalisation: Māori women' provided me with an understanding of how Māori women were excluded, made to feel subordinate and often invisibilised through hegemonic practices associated with imperialism and colonisation within Aotearoa.

From a personal perspective, I can contextualise my research into my lived experience as both Māori and as a Māori woman. It became apparent that my lived realities are in fact a consequence of many things, but most assuredly of colonisation (governing after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi) and imperialism (at the time of contact with the European world and prior to colonisation). Through systems of politics and legislation (colonisation), education and religion (imperialism), Māori women were undermined through cultural systemic conflict.

Whilst my Master's thesis provided me with an understanding as to why and how Māori women were and continue to be marginalised within society, it also raised questions. Much of the literature talked from a deficit model, providing little regard for Māori women as mana wāhine (powerful and authoritative women) and preservers of mātauranga-a-wāhine (Māori women's knowledge).

As a child growing up and even as an adult I have been fortunate to have been surrounded by some very powerful and important Māori women. These women maintained their mana and continued to disseminate mātauranga-a-wāhine, regardless of the colonisers attempt to silence them. These very women and the case studies contained, provide a potential vehicle for a methodology that counters and disrupts the effects of hegemony and dominance within New Zealand.

Context for research

With the arrival of the Missionaries and traders (and thereafter British colonisation) in New Zealand, operations of power were executed over Māori women rendering them powerless and often invisible (Johnston, 1998). The ability to differentiate Māori women through gender, class and racial discourse was critical to the success of the colonial and imperialistic take-over within Aotearoa (Johnston, 1998; Seuffert, 2005). This permitted domination and power over Māori women and their knowledge base and the continuum of such practices (Staszak, 2008).

Many Māori women continue to suffer from the affects and consequences of systems which have pushed Māori women to the fringe of society (Pihama, 2001). This thesis

seeks to address the misconception of Māori women as being lesser, subservient, menial, or subservient. It intends to contribute to the movement of retelling Māori women's stories and acknowledging mana wāhine and mātauranga-a-wāhine as pivotal and existing components of society (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001).

Through re-examining the past and telling the stories of Māori women it is hoped that this thesis will contribute to mātauranga Māori for Māori collectively (Mikaere, 2003). In the light of resistance and transformation, this thesis is a challenge to hegemonic discourses that positioned Māori women on the periphery of society.

From the viewpoint of being a Māori researcher, I intend to unite kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine as academic frameworks to my role as an Indigenous researcher working collaboratively for the benefit of Māori, Māori women, Māori men, enabling an equilibrium (Mikaere, 2003). The intent of this thesis is not to alienate Māori men, but to unite us in a positive light that frees us from eurocentric ideologies that belittle us through our racism and gendering.

Mana wāhine as an academic research framework originated from within the development of kaupapa Māori (Pihama, 2001). Both mana wāhine and kaupapa Māori as theoretical frameworks, seek to challenge hegemonic and oppositional ideologies that have caused tension and inconsistencies within academia. These inconsistencies based on Western worldviews, have portrayed Māori as being savage, mythical, and peripheral (Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori as a research tool engages Māori in an Indigenous framework that legitimises the spirituality, tikanga, traditions and lived realities of Māori (Simmonds, 2014; Smith, 1999).

Mana wāhine as a research methodology generates space for Māori women to have their experiences, voice and narratives privileged (Pihama, 2001). Mana wāhine challenges ideologies of sexism, classism, and racism from inside both Western society and our own Māori society (Simmonds, 2009). Kathie Irwin (1992) goes one step further in defining mana wāhine, arguing that for Māori women to achieve self-determination, they need to stand alongside their Māori men, as mana wāhine in an

equilibrium. The role of mana wāhine, is not to alienate Māori men or to position them as lesser to their women, it is a theoretical framework designed to work alongside Māori men respectfully.

Like kaupapa Māori, mana wāhine is not new, it is a theory of knowing and understanding the world that Western academia has failed to acknowledge, because of the presupposing argument that Western knowledge is superior to Māori knowledge (Smith, 1999). Mana wāhine engages me subjectively within the research as a Māori woman seeking to address my research question.

Over-arching Research Question

As Māori women, it is vital that self-reflection through an analysis of how subjugation occurred, takes place to enable Māori women resistance and transformation (Smith, 1999). Today in the light of decolonisation, Māori women are seeking empowerment enabling them to take their 'place' in society without subjugation. The overarching questions, that this thesis seeks to address is:

Can understanding how power operates, its implications and functions aid Māori women in achieving their own empowerment on their own terms?

This research focuses on the multiple sites of power relations during pre and early colonisation and aims to provide a critical understanding of power (both in its negative context and more importantly to the direction of this research, how it can contribute positively). By understanding how power operates, Māori women can create and reclaim space, that challenges the dominant discourses that see Māori women as invisible, menial, subservient and as the other (Smith, 1993). The vision for this thesis, is that it will positively contribute to societal and internalised change through making aware the roles and positions of wāhine atua and wāhine rangatira as powerful, respected, and authoritative people competent as transmitters of Māori knowledge.

Part of the over-arching question seeks to determine whether Māori women of traditional times can offer an insight to assisting Māori women on their emancipative journey to being recognised as powerful contributors of mātauranga Māori with mana.

Research aims and questions

The aim of this research is to identify and provide examples of how Māori women maintained their power and mātauranga Māori, despite imperialism and colonialism attempts to eradicate the power and knowledge base of Māori women.

This thesis challenges early historians that saw Māori women as powerless, or of no significance. The binary of power/powerlessness and the positioning, role and knowledge base of Māori women will be explored in the light of privileging not only the voices of Māori women, but to rectify the misdoings of early historians that recreated, reinterpreted our history as Māori. These misdoings affected the Māori identity, ways of knowing the world, the tribal lore (law), the histories and the connectivity of Māori with their moral positioning, whenua, whakapapa, and culture.

This research asks the following questions:

1. Prior to colonisation, were Māori women seen to hold mana, and how did they convey mātauranga Māori?

2. In what ways did Māori women exercise power and transmit knowledge, even after encountering the European world?

3. How did atua and tūpuna demonstrate their mana and transmit mātauranga-a-wāhine?

The research questions set the platform for re-calling, re-writing and more importantly re-righting the narratives of Māori women. It is intended to be a contribution to the written research available on Māori women and mātauranga Māori. The thesis offers a platform for further research that empowers not only

Māori women, but Māori collectively and Indigenous women. It also seeks to challenge Western research methods and knowledge bases through offering an opportunity to see the world in an alternative light.

Key terminology

In providing context to this thesis, I have provided the following definitions for Māori concepts and words. While there can be varying translations of Māori words, it is intended that this will provide the reader with an outline for the usage of terms and the context within which this thesis has been written.

At the rear of the thesis a glossary of terms is provided to further assist the reader in some of the terminology used. The most prevalent words have been defined within this section to give the reader an understanding of the context, positioning and rationale for this thesis.

The term **Māori** was used by early European ethnographers who studied the Indigenous people of Aotearoa. As a binary, the Indigenous people of New Zealand are known as Māori, and the non-Indigenous people are recognised as Pākehā (Smith, 1999, p. 6). Binaries of opposition formed on systems that became naturalised created unequal relationships instigated through Western ideologies of hierarchical classifications were detrimental to Māori women. Today, numerous Māori continue to use the term Māori as an identity marker for the collective ethnic grouping of the Indigenous people of Aotearoa. In this thesis, the term **tangata whenua** (the people of the land) is used simultaneously with the term Māori. Given that Māori are not uniquely the same, many Māori identify themselves through their **iwi** (tribe), **hapū** (sub tribe, or extended whānau) and **whānau** (family) connections (Rangihau, 1975, p. 190). This was the traditional method of identity within Aotearoa.

Tauiwi is used simultaneously with **Pākehā** to indicate a person of European descent. Tauiwi is described as meaning – subject race or foreign. Pākehā is defined by King as "[people] that belong to New Zealand via one major stream of its heritage: people, manners, values and customs that are not exclusively Polynesian" (1991 p. 16).

Mātauranga Māori is "… a cultural system of knowing about everything that is important in the lives of the people (Mead, 2012, p. 13). As a body of knowledge, mātauranga Māori links customary and modern teachings and philosophies (Doherty, 2012, p. 19).

Māori women like their male counterparts were active sources of the Māori world view and knowledge base (mātauranga Māori). There were some forms of knowledge that were taonga (treasured) and tapu (sacred) presented to the elite few who had the mana and the ability to uphold and transmit it to later generations. Traditionally, Māori were raised to understand and lived by mātauranga Māori, Māori women transmitted **mātauranga-a-wāhine** and Māori men transmitted **mātauranga-a-tane** as specialised and specific forms of knowledge which each contributed to the sustainability and livelihood of Māori within Aotearoa.

Wāhine in its simplistic form means Māori woman, yet it is a term that is associated with the role, time, or space in which a Māori woman possesses. The identity of wāhine, does not exist statically, it is a process of evolution (Pihama, 2001, p. 265), involving time, space, and responsibility. By breaking down the word wāhine, **wa** means time and space and **hine** is the female essence (Pihama, 2001, p. 265). For this purpose, **wāhine atua** relates to the female essence in a time and space of the metaphysical realm, **wāhine tūpuna** relates to a female of the land of Aotearoa who has since passed over, and **wāhine rangatira** acknowledges tūpuna who were of stature, respected as a leader with mana. Elsdon Best (1934, p.88) provides an example of a rangatira being a chief of a hapū.

Whenua is both the land and the placenta (Smith, 1999, p. 100). It is the home of the unborn child; the place Māori return to in death and the land which sustains life. **Whare** is the word used by Māori to define their house or home. As **whare tangata**, or as translated, the housing of the human species, Māori women were respected for their ability to ensure the future of the iwi (New Zealand Law Commission, 1999). Māori women were whare tangata as they had the ability to house the people within

their womb. This was an imperative component to the sustainability of Māori livelihood.

As described by Manuka Henare (1998) and Rose Pere (1991) **mana** is not able to be translated into one specific term. Loosely defined mana means power, authority, status, prestige, and integrity (Winitana, 2013, p.170). Mana is not a possession, it cannot be possessed or generated by an individual; it is bequeathed upon an individual and/or group (Henare, 1998, p.18). Mana is a 'form of divine authority' derived from the atua (Pihama, 2001, p.81) which transcends from the spiritual world and is bequeathed through whakapapa to the tangata whenua. The power, and authority of Māori is gifted through the atua.

Mana atua is a form of spiritual power derived from ancient origins, conveyed to humankind (Winitana, 2013, p. 171). These atua could be both **tane atua** (male metaphysical ancestor's) or **wāhine atua** (female metaphysical ancestresses). From the realm of the atua, Māori women were gifted the theoretical framework – mana wāhine. It is both a localised and Indigenous forms of researching the world, it is a knowledge base and is both practical and theoretical.

In the context of this thesis **mana wāhine** is used to define the rights of Māori women's, their power, authority, or their right to challenge and gain back power, authority, status, and integrity (Pihama, 2001). Mana wāhine refers to the lived experiences of Māori women in accordance with a Māori worldview and value system. **Mana tāne** is used to define the mana of Māori men and their rights and power (Winitana, 2008, p. 2). As a collective **mana tangata** refers to the mana of Māori people (Winitana, 2013, p. 171).

Whakapapa is the genealogical and cultural identity which connect Māori to their ancestors, and the environment. While whakapapa is frequently affiliated with the Western notion of a family tree, whakapapa has a deeper meaning for Māori. As Mead states, "whakapapa is a fundamental attribute and gift of birth" (2003, p.42). Extending on this, **Papa** is our Earth mother who provided us with the capability to generate life in the human realm. Papa (Papatūānuku) provides Māori with the

foundation to exist within the world that we know as humans. Papa is the foundation for all life on Earth, without her there would be no existence.

Tikanga is derived from the word **tika** meaning correct or right. **Tikanga** is the customs, obligations, rules, ethical basis, and morals of Māori (Mead, 2003, p.11). Tikanga and its definition is derived from the atua. **Kawa** is the procedure (Mead, 2003, p.11-12) which each iwi or hapū undertakes so that they adhere to tikanga.

Other Key Terminology

The traditional cultural role of Māori women (circa 1700's – 1880's) within Aotearoa society was weakened in favour of the position of Māori men, Western men, and Western women. Through imperialism, the missionary women became the 'civilisers' of Māori women, charged with fostering the image of a Western women and her role within society (Seufferet, 2006, p. 95). The traditional positioning and roles of Māori women were destabilised. Māori women have been pushed to the periphery of society causing them to be the colonised other within New Zealand (Gemmell, 2013, p. 33). Today the impact of the imperialist and colonialist world views have tragically disrupted the traditional holistic way of life and perspective of Māori, causing many Māori to question their own identity.

Marginalisation occurs when the dominant group push a minority group to the outer boundary of society (Ormond, Cram, & Carter, 2006, p. 181). Within the context of this thesis, marginalisation refers to the pushing of Māori women to the periphery of society within Aotearoa. The concept of **'othering'** is parallel to marginalisation. Othering requires that there be an identifiable group known as the **'other'**. These 'other' are recognised as lesser and subordinate to those that were superior (Staszak, 2008, p.1). Othering created a system within Aotearoa for discrimination to take place. The construction of binaries (male, female; noa, tapu; Māori, Pakeha; black white; native, European) located the colonisers as superior, thereby justifying the subjugation of Māori (Pihama, 2001, p.180). This became an adopted reality within New Zealand through Western dominance. Binaries were both causal and crucial to

alienating Māori women to the margins of society and excluding the knowledge and role within the newly founded colony of Britain (Simmonds, 2009; Smith, 1992).

Colonisation is exercised when one nation assumes power over another. Colonisation requires an alien authority to establish itself as a governing body over an Indigenous people (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 1988, p. 189). As an example, colonisation took place in New Zealand when the Treaty of Waitangi was. The British assumed power over New Zealand and took control of the country (Seufferet, 2006, p. 12).

Similar and often associated with colonisation is the notion of imperialism. However**,** **imperialism** does not require the establishment of control over a country. Imperialism can be done through neighbouring countries (Said, 1994, p. 221), and is often the reason for legitimating colonisation (Seufferet, 2006, p. 5). An example of this was the arrival of the Missionaries and the traders to New Zealand prior to New Zealand being colonised. The process of **assimilating** and **alienating** Māori and their Māori cultural way of life commenced prior to colonisation and was in fact instigated through imperialism through structures of religion, education, and economics.

Chapter outline

The introduction - Chapter One outlines the research questions, the topic, and the objectives of the research. Also, in this chapter, an overview of the terminology was contextualised within the parameters of the thesis. As the researcher, I also position myself as a participant within the study.

The literature* review - *Chapter Two has been be written in four sections. The <u>first section</u> of the literature review explores the origins of mana and how Māori women were perceived within their own cultural epistemology. Here stories of wāhine atua are explored. Whilst there has been an increase in research that articulates the roles of wāhine atua, there remains space within research for further contributions. This section of the chapter will contribute to the analysis of the third research question; *How did atua and tūpuna demonstrate mana and transit mātauranga-a-wāhine?*

The second section of the literature review seeks to identify how power operates, the subjects of power, power and space and the levels of participation. Within this section an assessment of the literature will include connecting the relationship between power and knowledge.

Defining power continues to be a contentious subject (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). German sociologist, political economist and philosopher, Max Weber is well acclaimed for his early work on power, where he defined power as the "probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (1978, p. 53). Much of the criticism regarding Weber's work on power is attributed to his lack of attention to the inability of decision making or the non-decision making of the individual as a form of power (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 1988).

In considering this literature review, the subjects of power are Māori women, yet anyone who endures domination, oppression or powerlessness are subjects of power (Hayward & Lukes, 2008). The creation of binaries enabled an identifiable difference between Māori women, Māori men, Pākehā women and Pākehā men. The colonisers and imperialists used these matrices to exert their power over Māori women rendering them powerless (Johnston, 1998).

This section of the literature review aims to address the overarching research question; *Can understanding how power operates, its implications and functions aid Māori women in achieving their own empowerment on their own terms?*

The third section of the literature review looks to provide an understanding of what knowledge is from a Western viewpoint and a Māori perspective (mātauranga Māori). The document review will explore ideas of knowledge with a focus on what mātauranga Māori is, its origins and how it operates.

The final part of the literature review examines the concept of mana wāhine and how Māori women transmitted mātauranga Māori. The first part of this section of the literature review will explore what mana is, how it is acquired and how it is used. The

second part will investigate how mātauranga Māori is conveyed by Māori women. This section of the literature review seeks to address both the first and the second research question; *Prior to colonisation, were Māori women seen to hold mana, and how did they convey mātauranga Māori?* And *In what ways did Māori women exercise power and transmit knowledge, even after encountering the European world?*

The methodologies and methods – Chapter 3 provides the framework for the research. Primarily a qualitative approach to the research was used in this thesis to provide richness and depth to the descriptive narrative of the social and historical setting that have affected Māori women. Central to the research is Māori women and honouring their voices. Based on the questionnaires and interviews, there is a small quantitative analysis in the findings presented in graphs. Kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine theoretical frameworks are applied as Indigenous methodologies.

Chapter 4 - is the first of two case studies within this thesis. The first case study is an exploration of three generations of Māori women, who were wāhine rangatira. Here their lived experiences through the time span of pre-colonisation and the early stages of colonisation is explored to provide an understanding of their roles as transmitters of mātauranga Māori and as wāhine with mana.

This chapter pursues to address and acknowledge the mana of Māori women as rangatira and as repositories of mātauranga Māori. Through retelling the story of three generations of Ngāti Toa Rangatira Māori women, who were present before and during early colonisation, this chapter of the thesis seeks to address the second research question; *In what ways did Māori women exercise power and transmit knowledge, even after encountering the European world?*

The second case study in this thesis is situated in ***Chapter 5***. This chapter is not too dissimilar in nature and intent to the previous chapter and its case study. Where there is a difference is that the subject of this case study is pre-colonisation. This case study looks at the role, position, and life of Rongomaiwāhine as a wāhine rangatira with mana. This chapter seeks to contribute to the analysis of the first research

question; *Prior to colonisation, were Māori women seen to hold mana, and how did they convey mātauranga Māori?*

***Chapter 6* -** In this chapter, the findings of the research will be presented using thematic analysis and triangulation to verify the data. Each part of this chapter will be themed by the research questions.

The findings will analyse the data collected and examines whether Māori women transmitted mātauranga Māori and maintained their roles as mana wāhine prior to colonisation, pre/during colonisation and today, a time assumed to be 'post colonialism' (Smith, 1999).

As part of triangulation, the interviews will be presented within this chapter to inform and give voice to the participants. The other two components to triangulation is the analysis of the document review and the case studies presented earlier in this thesis.

***The Conclusion* -** This final (Chapter 7) component of the thesis will look at the research to identify potential areas for further research, any implications of the study and any new findings.

Conclusion

For far too long, Māori women have been alienated through the ability to distinguish them and categorise through gender, economic disparity, and cultural difference (Johnston & Pihama, 1994). This became successful within New Zealand through imperialism and colonisation imposed upon Māori women through dominant patrilineal paradigms.

In the light of self-determination, Māori women need to articulate their own political, social, and economic destinies and reclaim their identity's as powerful women with mana and competent in transmitting mātauranga Māori (Smith, 1992). Through identifying the power, strengths, and potential that Māori women possess enables them to engage in changing the oppressive nature of society within New Zealand.

The greatest challenge is the restoration of practices and knowledge entrusted upon Māori women by their wāhine atua and whaea tūpuna. Through their spiritual and physical whakapapa, Māori women have a noble, heroic, and intellectual competency that defies Western notions of theory. Pivotal to the restoration of these ways of thinking and understanding the world is reconnecting with our own identities as mana wāhine and its associated knowledges bases for the benefit of whānau, hapū, iwi and future generations.

As a Māori woman writing this thesis, it was important that I used theoretical tools that enabled both myself and my research an idiosyncratic voice that privileged mātauranga Māori. Kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine are used as research methodologies to construct this thesis.

This thesis challenges ideologies that have delegitimised and dehistoricised Māori women. The study seeks to reminds us of our abilities of how to maintain our own cultural methodologies, as we seek to preserve and maintain our cultural identities in the 21st century.

Remembering our wāhine atua and whaea tūpuna and their practices, roles, and responsibilities as mana wāhine who were gifted with the role of conveying mātauranga Māori engages us in opportunities. Opportunities for change. It is through them that we as Māori can challenge the hegemonic discourses that prejudiced Maori, through racism, gendering, ultimately made Māori socially inferior economically.

CHAPTER TWO - The literature review

Introduction

This chapter introduces the topic and provides both the historical account (1700's to the late 1800's) and context for the thesis. The aim of the research is to identify how Māori women exercised their power and transmitted mātauranga Māori, despite the imperialist and colonialist's ideologies that sought to marginalise Māori women by ignoring their cultural values, knowledge base and world views.

Today Māori women continue to battle with the disparities imposed upon them within New Zealand through both male and white societal ideologies that saw Māori women as inferior and often silenced to not only white men, but Māori men and European women (Johnston, 1998; Pihama, 2001). Whilst this remains a struggle that Māori women continue to endure, they have also begun to re-think, re-member and re-define their own identities and positioning within society (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Smith-Henry, 2015).

This document review is written in four sections which align with the research questions and seeks to explore the roles, practices, and positioning of Māori woman pre/post colonisation, in the light of understanding how they contributed to mātauranga Māori and their roles as mana wāhine.

The _first section_ explores the origins of mana and provides examples of how Māori women acquired their mana through their atua wāhine. The _second section_ details what power is, how it operates and the relationship that power has with knowledge. The _third section_ presents an overview of Western philosophical knowledge beliefs and the origin and definition of mātauranga Māori. The _final section_ addresses the role of Māori women as mana wāhine from within both a theoretical framework and a cultural viewpoint. Part of this final section is a description of how Māori women transmitted mātauranga Māori.

Through imperialism and prior to colonisation, the Māori world view was undermined through institutions such as religion, education, and the newly acquired economy of the traders. The Missionaries and the traders unfavourably undermined the traditional whakapapa of Māori to suit the ideologies of the imperialist that sort to identify, classify, examine, and record Māori and their livelihoods (Te Awekotuku, 1991). These ideologies continue to plague Māori and distort the factual authenticities of Māori and more importantly to this thesis, Māori women. The exercising of cultural domination, control and power, and economic expansion within New Zealand distorted, misinterpreted, and voided much of the historical accounts of Māori in favour of a western ideology. The imperialists activities within New Zealand, enabled the colonisers to exercise domination and power over Māori almost instantaneously (Fitzpatrick, 2015).

Upon the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the colonisers used legislation and the acquisition of land as tools to alienate and hegemonically destroy the Māori spirit (Seufferet, 2006). Australia, like New Zealand is the product of British colonisation. Māori women were not the only Indigenous people to suffer the consequences of colonisation. As voiced by Doctor Aileen Morton-Robinson, an Indigenous Australian woman:

> *Political and legislative control by the state, informed by racist ideology, influenced public dicourse, which in turn impacted on the private convictions and personal beliefs of white middle-class women about true womenhood and the biological and cultural inferiority of Indigenous women (Morton-Robinson, p. 24-25).*

Indigenous women who have encountered colonisation have had similar experiences to Māori women. This section of the literature review provides a background to the tradtional roles of Māori women and their acquisition of mana through their atua wāhine. Part of the proces is to look at the impact that legislation and christianity has had upon Māori women.

SECTION 1 - Atua wāhine

Introduction

Christian views of how mankind was created has literally created a one-sided version of life that have been influenced by Western ideologies. The inaccurate historical records of New Zealand portrayed through the paternalistic and Eurocentric lenses of historical researchers have been detrimental to Māori women. Through the introduction of colonisation and imperialism, Māori women were subjected to hierarchical classifications, that delegitimised their positioning and roles within Aotearoa, and in the metaphysical realm (Gemmell, 2013; Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001).

By distinguishing Māori women through classifications, and differentiation, Western ideologies of dominance became an accepted norm. The unequal relationships created binaries that have become a normalised opposition. These binaries and hierarchical systems of oppression have positioned Māori women on the outer fringe of society through the naturalisation of Western ideologies and ultimately to succumb to an unequal relationship.

To understand the mana which Māori women have acquired and to gain an insight into it, it is essential that an analysis of the metaphysical stories of Māori women be undertaken. It is within this realm that Māori women, like their Māori men acquired their mana (Mikaere, 2003; Yates Smith, 1998).

Pūrākau (traditional stories) tell of the close relationships between atua and nga tangata whenua (people of the land) and links the spiritual world to the physical world through whakapapa and evolution (Jenkins & Mountain Harte, 2011; Smith-Henry, 2015). This relationship provides Māori with their origins of whakapapa; the beginnings for all Māori within Aotearoa, a story that starts from Te Kore (a place of space).

The cosmological history and whakapapa of Māori was redefined by both the colonists and the imperialists. The history within Aotearoa was recorded subjectively

through the blurred lens of predominately Western male researchers (Mikaere, 1994; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1992). Māori women were renounced from their cosmological role through dehistoricising them and making their existence invisible. The significance of Papatuanuku, Hine Ahu One and Hine Timata were portrayed as demonic and heathen women. Eventually the stories and whakapapa of Māori women as strong Māori women became insignificant and worthless of print.

This impacted on the equilibrium between Māori men and Māori women (Mikaere, 2003; Ruwhiu, 2009). Through writing Māori women out of history or inaccurately re-interpreting their role, Māori shortly became accustomed to the silencing of Māori women and conformed with the newly introduced systems of hierarchy. Māori men became more important than their equals; Māori women. Legislation legalised the ideology that Māori men were superior to their Māori women; the bible accorded men as superior.

Within the confines of hierarchy, Māori women became lesser than the newly settled people within Aotearoa. They became subservient to Māori men, Pākehā men and Pākehā women.

In becoming decolonised it is important that imperialistic and colonial ideologies are identified and challenged, permitting transformative action (conscientization) to take place (Smith, 1999). For Māori women part of this process requires making visible and giving voice to the roles, experiences, and lessons of atua wāhine (Yates Smith, 1998). Such narratives can be applied as a counter methodology that contests hegemonic discourses that framed Māori women as invisible, inferior and lesser.

Part of the process for writing this literature review is to reclaim the position of atua wāhine from a Māori woman's perspective (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Yates Smith, 1998). The intention of this thesis is not to standardise the history of atua wāhine (through assuming all Māori are the same), but to offer a contribution for further research to take place that unshackles Māori women from hegemonic discourses that have marginalised them (Gemmell, 2013).

The creation story

In accordance with mātauranga Māori and as reflected in our pūrākau (narrative or stories), Māori believe that they descend from the atua (gods). These stories of creation are not fixtures of the past, they remain significant and are conveyed by Māori as a way of life (Mikaere, 2003). The creation story provided offers one example (the process of birth) in which Māori continue to see pūrākau as active today.

In the beginning the world sat in a space called 'Te Kore' (the void, nothingness, the realm of potential). Te Kore is representative of 'space' and held within this space was the necessary seeds of life and the potential of being (Smith-Henry, 2015).

After some time, the world transitioned to 'Te Po' (the dark, or night), here the world entered 'the realm of becoming'. Within the state of Te Po, and with the seed of life within Te Kore, Ranginui (Sky father) and Papatūānuku (Earth mother) were conceived (our primal parents).

After Te Kore (the void or nothingness), Papa and Rangi lived together in Te Po (the darkness). The close embracement of Papa and Rangi prevented Te Ao Marama (the light) from entering the world (Mikaere, 2003). In Te Po (the darkness) Rangi and Papa produced and raised their multitudes of offspring (Mikaere, 2003), each with a unique quality and responsibility (Jenkins & Mountain Harte, 2011; Smith-Henry, 2015).

Eventually after some time in the darkness the world progressed to 'Te Ao Marama' (the light, emergence, the place of humankind). In Te Ao Marama the world emerged into the light and became the dwelling of humankind (Royal, 2003).

Robinson (2005) and Mikaere (2003) both provide an analysis of how this pūrākau is used within a contemporary framework. Both accord this pūrākau to the stages of pregnancy, where the child lies in the ovaries of darkness as a potential, then lay in the womb until their birth.

Women initially enter Te Kore (or as Robinson refers Te Korekore), the age of nothingness, the phase of potential, to the stage of growth and development. The seed of humankind is fertilised, in Te Po (or as Robinson refers Te Po Tipu), until it reaches the stage of birth. At this stage of growth and development, the seed of life enters Te Ao Marama (the birth canal), here the baby enters the world of light (Smith-Henry, 2015).

Through the pūrākau of Te Kore, Te Po, and Te Ao Marama, we as Māori gain an understanding of conception, development, and the birth process (Mikaere, 2003). The pregnancy process is a representation of the unfolding universe, with the child being the taonga. In analysing the early translated work of Percy Smith (1913, p. 61, as cited in Robinson, 2005), Robinson articulates the role of Māori women in child birth through the words of Matorohanga (Takitimu tohunga); "*all of these Po have been assigned to womankind, when they give birth to the germ to man to the world*" (as cited in Robinson, 2005, p. 308).

Māori are not unitary, each iwi (tribe) may have a varying story of the evolution period, yet there are some consistencies. Māori life began in a world of nothingness where no life existed, after some time the world entered a time of darkness. In Te Po life on Earth and all living things descended from the cohabitation of *Papatūānuku* and *Ranginui*.

Rangi (Sky father) was the male essence, and Papa (Earth mother) the female essence were the procreators within the cosmological realm (Mikaere, 2003; Smith-Henry, 2015). They lived in harmony creating the world to enable human life to exist.

Pūrākau accord that Papatūānuku was a significant atua for Māori, like many of the other female atua. The pūrākau handed down throughout time details the prevalence of Māori women within the traditional creation story of Māori (Wirihana, 2012). Their metaphysical role informs of the basis of life on Earth for Māori. On an International scale, Morton-Robinson articulates the relationship between the spiritual world and the physical world:

> *Through the use of oral histories and collective memories Indigenous women's narratives make visible and affirm the continuity and persistence of Indigenous subjugated knowledges in spheres of interdependent cultural domains which are peopled by both spiritual beings and human beings (2000, p. 16).*

Papatūānuku - The female essence

"Papatūānuku te whaea o te tangata"

Mother Earth is the parent of humankind

After some time in Te Po (the darkness), the children of Rangi and Papa outgrew their living conditions and wanted to enter the world of light (Te Ao Marama). Papa and Rangi's children discussed their options and decided that they needed light in the world so that further growth and development could take place.

Subsequently, and after much squabbling and debate, Tane Mahuta (Atua of the forest) [1] was quested with the role of permitting light into the world. Tane, the son of Papa and Rangi is referred to as the first born (Heuer, 1969), yet Reed (1983) has a somewhat different view, stating that Tane is one of the younger siblings of Rangi and Papa.

In order to fill the world with light, Rangi and Papa had to be separated. Under the instruction of his brothers and sisters, Tane pushed his parents apart (Orbell, 1995; Reed, 1983). Upon entering Te Ao Marama, light flooded into the world and now the children of Papa and Rangi had space and light to grow.

Rangi became disheartened with his children's choice to separate him from Papa, and sort revenge (utu) to restore the balance of mana and to enable him to return to

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[1] Māori are not homogenous (the same), this is one story of the separation of Rangi and Papa. Charles Royal infers that it was Tawhiri-ma-tea (Atua of wind and weather) that separated his parents, not Tane (Royal, 2003).

Papa. Rangi called upon his son Tawhiri-ma-tea (Atua of the wind and weather) to challenge the actions of Tane. Whilst Papa was also upset with her children's decision to separate her from Rangi, she reacted differently and sort not to seek revenge but to show aroha and to protect her children (Mikaere, 2003). Papatūānuku chose to stay and await the return of her children, rather than punish them for their actions. Through her actions and choices Papatūānuku ensured the survival and sustainability of the whenua and its resources for future generations (Mikaere, 2003).

Hine Ahu One - The creation of humanity on Earth

"Me aro koe ki te hā o Hine Ahu One"

Pay heed to the life force of Hine Ahu One

(Mikaere, 2003, p. 25)

There are several whakatauāki, waiata, karakia, kōrero and moteatea that support the role and position of Māori women within the metaphysical realm (Yates Smith, 1998).

Whether it is a consequence of colonisation, or an example of difference between iwi, hapū and whānau, the story of human life on Earth is varied. There are writers who accord the first human being to be Tiki, a male figure (Orbell, 1995), who went on to marry Marikoriko (White, 1887-1891). Yet, there is sufficient evidence in both the recorded and oral history of Māori that contest that Tiki was the first human (Mikaere, 2003; Royal, 2003). It is plausible that this could have been misconstrued by the fact that Tiki is also said to be the male sexual organ (Mikaere, 2003). Other authors who have written on this subject such as Heuer (1969) narrate that Tiki is not of the physical realm, but that of the spiritual realm. Other authors refer to Hine Ahu One as the first human (Evans, 1994; Mikaere, 2003; Royal, 2003; Smith-Henry, 2015). There is adequate literature in both written (Western knowledge) and oral form (Māori knowledge handed down through pūrākau) to suggest that Tane carved from the Earth, a female called *Hine Ahu One* (Evans, 1994; Mikaere, 2003; Royal, 2003; Smith-Henry, 2015).

Whilst there are some variances between iwi, the most commonly recorded version of the formation of human life is that of Tane (Atua of the forests and birds) and Hine Ahu One (the Earth formed maiden). After Tane divided his parents, he relished his peaceful life in Te Ao Marama (light filled) and began to procreate forming new life capable of sustaining human life on Earth (Royal, 2003). After searching the world of Te Ao Marama and breeding with all existing life forms, Tane was still not successful in fulfilling his desires for companionship.

Tane had an epiphany and thought to ask his mother for advice. Tane turned to his mother and asked Papatūānuku for help in seeking human life within the light filled land (Mikaere, 2003; Reed, 1983; Royal, 2003; Smith-Henry, 2015). Tane was advised by Papatūānuku to return to his origin of birth, a red clay area of the Earth, called Kura-waka (fertile soils), a sacred place (tapu) of virgins, a place where the seed of humankind is held (Reed, 1983; Yates Smith, 1998).

Papatūānuku had protected the uha (vulva) until human life on Earth could be sustained (Wyse, 1992). Under the guidance of his mother, Tane fashioned his vision of a wāhine into the red clay earth at Kura-waka, his mother's (Papatūānuku) pubic region (Mikaere, 2003; Wilson, 2017). Through the craving and desire within Tane and with the support of his mother, Tane created the mould of the first human, a woman named *Hine Ahu One.* Yet, Hine Ahu One remained lifeless, she was merely a piece of clay (Mikaere, 2003).

Under the guidance of his mother, Tane proceeded to give Hine Ahu One the ability and function of life. Tane bent down and breathed life into Hine Ahu One, Hine Ahu One sneezed[2] (Mikaere, 2003; Royal, 2003; Smith-Henry, 2015; Wilson, 2017). This sneeze signifies the first breath, and the connection between the spiritual realm and the physical realm. Through her actions and guidance, Papatūānuku "… gifted to iwi the power of birth" (Kupenga, 1990, p. 8). Tane could not have created human kind in solidarity, as his search was unsuccessful until he approached his mother, who

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[2] a process which is known as 'Tihei Mauriora'

directed Tane to return to his own origin of birth (Yates Smith, 1998). In doing so, Papatūānuku granted Hine Ahu One with 'ira tangata' (the human aspect) (Smith-Henry, 2015; Yates Smith, 1998).

Early authors did not only question Māori cosmology, Christian depictions and worldviews ridiculed it (Mikaere, 1994; Yates Smith, 1998). Elsdon Best (1954) was conversant in writing from a Western male viewpoint and was complacent in undermining Māori cosmology, values, behaviours, and attitudes in favour of Christianity and Western ideologies. The omission and defamation of Māori women within the cosmological history by ethnographers exhibits the oppressive and domineering impact that Christianity had on Māori women (Mikaere, 1998). This is exampled by Best's where he depicts Papatūānuku and her sexual organs as 'destructive' and "… associated with misfortune and inferiority" (Best, 1954, p. 47). His interpretation of Papatūānuku is one of many examples of how Western approaches to literature undermined the role of Māori women and mātauranga Māori. Mikaere provides another example of how the metaphysical position of Māori women was derogated by stating, "… man descended directly from the gods, while women had to be created from earth!" (Best, 1934. P. 93, as cited by Mikaere, 2003, p.86). This Western, male centric attitude is further supported by James Cowan who explains the creation of Hine Ahu One in the following manner:

> *Tane the god created the first woman out of the earth; he formed her by scraping up the earth into human shape and endowed her with life. He lay on her and breathed life into her and called her Hine Ahu One (1930, pg. 8)*

Both Best and Cowan see man as God and woman created by man and dirt. Each author undermines Papatūānuku as the mother of Tane and as an atua in her own right, and each one undermines the sexuality and power that Papatūānuku possesses and in turn the power and ability to produce human life that she gave to Hine Ahu One. Instead the colonial literature recorded women as subordinate subjects (Pihama, 2001; Wyse, 1992; Yates Smith, 1998). This is further exampled again by

Best who states in his written account of the Māori creation of life "… Hine ahu one was inferior to Tane" (Best, 1954, p. 120).

Hine Titama

> *"Ko Hine Titama koe, matawaia te whatu I te tirohangā atu"*

> The eyes water to behold the dawn maiden Hine Titama

Later and after Papatūānuku showed Tane how to find Hine Ahu One, Tane and Hine Ahu One conceived a child, a female named Hine Titama (child of the dawn, or the dawn maiden) or as she is sometimes referred to, Hine-ata-uira, a child born from both the atua and human kind (Mikaere, 2003; Murphy, 2011). The creation of Hine Titama solidified the whakapapa connection between the spiritual realm and the human realm.

After some time, and having conceived many children with Tane, Hine Titama began to question who her father was. Hine Titama was instructed to search for the answer by asking the pillars of the whare (house). It was in the whare that Hine Titama learnt that her father was from the atua world, and her mother was created from the sacred area of Papatūānuku. In the whare, Hine Titama learnt her reality, her father Tane Nui a Rangi had taken on the personification of Tame Nui Te Raa and became her husband (Wyse, 1992).

After Hine Titama learnt that her husband had disguised himself and was in fact her father, Hine Titama exercised her mana and used her strength and power choosing to not continue in an incestuous relation with her father (Wilson, 2017). Hine Titama left Te Ao Marama and fled to the Underworld, where she is known as Hine Nui Te Po (The great mother of the night and guardian of the spiritual world). It is here that we are educated as Māori to understand the cycle of life and death (Mikaere, 2003; Wyse, 1992). Hine Titama executed her mana and returned to Te Po, enabling the pathway for death to be established for human kind (Wyse, 1992).

Tane sort to find Hine Titama and to bring her back to the light of the world, but with the thought of her children at the forefront, Hine Titama 'directed' Tane to return to the world of the light and to protect her children. Hine Titama advised Tane that she would sit in Te Po and await the return of her children where she would later protect and nurture them (Mikaere, 2003).

Hine Nui Te Po and Maui - The trickster

The story of Maui and his endeavour to become immortal is linked to Hine Nui Te Po. Maui was one of the well acclaimed demi gods of Aotearoa (Kohu-Morgan, 2010). His stories are well recorded in the history of New Zealand. This is one story about Māori and how he tried to defy death. Maui crafted a plan where he would enter Hine Nui Te Po, traverse through the womb and exit through the mouth of Hine Nui Te Po. By undertaking this journey, Maui believed that he would be re-birthed and defy death, becoming immortal (Kohu-Morgan, 2010).

Maui being the trickster that he was, disguised himself and slowly moved up the leg of Hine Nui Te Po. Hine Nui Te Po was aware of Maui's plan and crushed him between her thighs prior to entry (Kohu-Morgan, 2010; Wilson, 2017). Through his attempts, Maui is recorded as the first Māori to die. It is said that by the actions of Hine Nui Te Po, wāhine are charged with the dual responsibilities of both whare tangata (house of life) and whare o aitua (house of destruction) (Wilson, 2017). The actions and narrative of Hine Nui Te Po (aka Hine Titama) exemplifies the mana in which Māori women possess, from the cosmological realm of the atua (Murphy, 2011; Yates Smith, 1998).

From this story, the history and pūrākau of Māori are recorded within marae. When you enter the whare nui (big house, commonly referred on the marae as the meeting house), there is a wāhine of significance that stands over the pare (door lintel). Her role is to protect the people within the whare. Upon entering the whare, you acknowledge this ancestress and her mana. She is symbolic of Hine Nui Te Po and is there to safeguard her people (Mitchell, 2011; Wilson, 2017).

In death Māori return to Te Po, where Hine Nui Te Po welcomes them (Mikaere, 2003). In conception Māori wait in Te Po (darkness) until birth where they enter Te Ao Marama (coming into the light). Often when a Māori child is born, the whenua (placenta) is returned to Papatūānuku (Earth mother), here Papatūānuku nurtures it until the child returns to Te Po in death (Gemmell, 2013; Murphy, 2011). At this stage of an unfolding universe, Hine Nui Te Po resides with her children.

Hine Te Iwaiwa - Her role in child birth

Whilst there has been a wealth of knowledge regarding atua wāhine being retrieved, there continues to be limitations in the literature pertaining to many of the atua wāhine. One such atua is Hine Te Iwaiwa (Yates Smith, 1998). Hine Te Iwaiwa (who is also referred to as Hina or Hinauri) is one of the many daughters of Tane and Hine Titama (or Hine Nui Te Po, as she was later known as). Hine Te Iwaiwa is one of the atua wāhine who presides over child birth, and is recognised in relation to haka, weaving as well as her abilities and legacy to avenge the death of her husband's pet whale and the death of her son.

Hine Te Iwaiwa's significance to birth stems from her own experience in giving birth to her son, Tuhuruhuru where she encountered difficulties. In search for help, Hine Te Iwaiwa turned to her atua tūpuna and recited a karakia, today known as Te tuku o Hine Te Iwaiwa (Simmonds, 2014). This karakia was recorded by Edward Shortland (1882, p. 110):

> *Raranga, raranga tăku takapau,*
> *Ka pukea e te wai,*
> *Hei moengā mo aku rei.*
> *Ko Rupe, ko Manumea,*
> *Ka pukea: ē! ē!*
> *Mo aku rei tokorua ka pukea.*
> *Ka pukea au e te wai,*
> *Ka pukea, ē! ē!*
> *Ko koro taku tane ka pukea.*
> *Piki ake hoki au ki rungā nei:*
> *Te Matitikura, ē! ē!*
> *Ki a Toroa irunga,*
> *Te Matitikura, ē! ē!*

Kia whakawhānaua aku tama
Ko au anake ra.
Tu te turuturu no Hine-rauwharangi;
Tu te turuturu no Hine-te-iwaiwa.
Tu i tou tia me ko Ihuwareware;
Tu i tou kona me ko Ihuatamai.
Kaua rangia au e Rupe.
Kei tauatia, ko au te inati,
Ko Hine-te-iwaiwa.
Tuku iho irungā i tou huru,
I tou upoko,
I ou tara-pakihiwi,
I tou uma,
I to ate,
I ou turipona
I ou waewae.
E tuku ra ki waho.
Tuku ewe,
Tuku take,
Tuku parapara.
Naumai ki waho.

Traditionally and still to this day, the karakia continues to be recited by Māori in the birthing process. Upon birth female children are dedicated to Hine Te Iwaiwa.

Māori women are recognised for their role as whare tangata (house of humankind) and this positioned them as tapu (sacred). Their ability to maintain and produce whakapapa was and continues to be crucial to the sustainability of whānau, hapū and iwi. Whilst pregnant and during the birthing process rituals were undertaken to protect the mother and her baby (Mikaere, 2003). When the time came for wāhine to give birth, they were often taken to a whare kōhanga (nesting house) or out into the open, where the kuia and tohunga would recite karakia, whakapapa, waiata and chant over the mother until she delivered her baby. Once the baby was delivered the mother and child would stay within the whare kōhanga and karakia and chanting would continue (Jenkins & Mountain Harte, 2011).

When the time was right, and under the guidance of the kuia, tohunga and/or ruahine[3], the mother and child through certain protocols were removed from their state of tapu. The mother and child became 'noa' (free from restrictions) and were permitted to leave the whare kōhanga (Gemmell, 2013; Heuer, 1969). Hine Te Iwaiwa was an important atua wāhine that demonstrated and guided ruahine in the processes of lifting tapu (Simmonds, 2014).

Legislation was instrumental in alienating Māori from practicing their traditional birthing techniques (Mikaere, 2003). Both the 1904 Midwives Registration Act and the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act are examples of how tohunga were prevented from engaging in traditional Māori methods of child birth and saw Māori having to adhere to Western structures and methods for giving birth. The use of legislation to undermine Indigenous peoples was not uncommon within colonised countries. The impact of legislation is conferred, by Aboriginal author, Aileen Morten-Robinson:

> *The control and subordination of Indigenous women and*
> *their families was legally sanctioned and reinforced*
> *through policies of assimilation …* (2000, p.13)

As exampled in New Zealand, the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act, was explicit in denouncing the role of the tohunga. This Act also found many Tohunga imprisoned or punished. The legislation stated that this could take place under the following conditions:

> *Every person who gathers Māori around him by practicing*
> *on their superstition or credulity, or who misleads or*
> *attempts to mislead any Māori by professing or pretending*
> *to possess supernatural powers in the treatment or cure of*
> *any disease, or in the foretelling of future events, or*
> *otherwise is liable on summary conviction before a*

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[3] A *ruahine* usually refers an older Māori woman (Simmonds, 2014), usually that is no longer bearing children.

> *Magistrate to a fine not exceeding twenty-five pounds or*
> *to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months*
> *(*Stephens, 1997, p.437-438*).*

Because of both Acts listed above, most Māori women were having their babies in hospitals, where the practice was to burn the whenua. This practice fractionised the relationship that Māori have with their whenua (Mikaere, 2003). Through the lessons of the atua, Māori learnt that they are a part of the land, and when they are born their whenua (placenta) returns to the land, followed by their death, where they once again return to the atua and the Earth. Ultimately, this legislation affected the relationship which Māori have with the spiritual world, the land, and the physical realm. This fractionization is consistent amongst Indigenous peoples across the world and is well articulated by Morton-Robinson:

> *Unlike white constructions of Christian spirituality,*
> *Indigenous sprituality encompasses the intersubstantiation*
> *of ancestral beings, human and physiography. The spiritual*
> *world is immediately experienced because it is synonymous*
> *with the physiography of the land* (Morton-Robinson, p. 19).

Part of the process that Māori undertook, was the ritual of returning the whenua (after birth) to the whenua (land). This was a crucial component to the traditional birthing practices as it connected the child to Papatūānuku and provided the child with connectivity to their tūrangawaewae (place to stand) (Gemmell, 2013; Mikaere, 2003).

'Whenua ki te whenua' is a whakatauāki that Māori have which encapsulates the idea that the whenua (placenta) of a baby returns to the whenua (land) in which they whakapapa to. Legislation severed this practice and created a disconnection for Māori to the spiritual world, causing a loss of identify and for many a loss of belonging (Gemmell, 2013).

These Acts and actions affected the transmission of mātauranga Māori and the protocols (tikanga) that governed the birth process, thereby marginalising the position and knowledge base of Māori women (Fitzpatrick, 2015; Simmonds, 2014). It is plausible that the limitation of information relating to Hine Te Iwaiwa is one of the many examples of how colonisation has affected mātauranga Māori specific to mana wāhine and the positioning and roles of Māori women (Yates Smith, 1998).

Hinauri (Hine Te Iwaiwa) - Her role in dance

Hinauri, was the sister of Maui, who was initially married to Irawaru. Maui in a rage, and in one of his cruel moods, turned Irawaru into a dog (Kohu-Morgan, 2010). On hearing of her husband's fate, Hinauri jumped off the cliff into the sea and washed up at Motu-tapu where she meant her new husband Tinirau (Kohu-Morgan, 2010).

Hine Te Iwaiwa who was also known as Hinauri married Tinirau, the son of Tangaroa (Atua of the sea) and chief of Motu-tapu. Through his lineage, Tinirau was given the responsibility of being the guardian of fish. Within the waters of Motu-tapu Tinirau had many fish and pet whales.

As part of the traditions associated with birth, Tinirau called upon Kae, a tohunga from a neighbouring island to perform the rituals associated with the naming of their son, Tuhuruhuru[4] (Simmonds, 2014). After the festivities and rituals were performed, Kae was provided with one of Tinirau's pet whales (Tutunui) to enable him to return to his home. Kae promised Tinirau that he would take care of Tutunui and that he would return Tutunui back to Tinirau. When Kae arrived at his home, he beached Tutunui and left him to die. Upon his death Kae placed Tinirau's pet whale, Tutunui in the hangi pit (Gemmell, 2013).

Tinirau became concerned for his pet whale and was worried why Tutunui had not returned to Motu-tapu. When the wind lifted, Tinirau smelt the flesh of his pet whale

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[4] Purakau can differ between iwi, and hapū, it is also inferred that Kae was at Tinirau village because his people saved Kae from a storm that ruined his waka (canoe), (Mikaere, 2003).

and knew immediately the fate of his pet whale. Kae had cooked Tutunui (Mikaere, 2003). In revenging his pet whale's demise, Tinirau sent a party of women under the charge of his wife, Hinauri to seek out Kae who was only known for his crooked teeth. The party of women arrived at Kae's village and begun to perform various forms of dance, but to no avail were they able to identify Kae. In an attempt to lure Kae out, the women performed a sexually explicit haka. This saw the men in the village laughing, it was with laughter that Kae was identified. Kae was captured by the women and returned to Tinirau where he met his fate (Mikaere, 2003).

Through the leadership of Hinauri, it is thought that this visit to Kae's village was the first haka ever performed by Māori women (Murphy, 2011). It is also an example of the ability of Māori women to seek revenge (utu). In this instance, Hinauri went out in search for her husband's eminence, and ultimately brought back her prize. Kae's life was concluded (Mikaere, 2003).

Today there continues to be inconsistencies in the role of the haka, with many taking a male centric position, and believing the haka can only be performed by men. This is an unfounded assumption, with some haka being performed by both men and women, and some haka such as the Ngāti Porou haka, 'Ka panapana' being exclusively performed by women (Gemmell, 2013).

Even the origins of 'ka mate ka mate', the infamous haka of the All Blacks belittles the position and role of Māori women. Te Rauparaha sort the assistance of Wharerangi, the chief of Motuopuhi to hide him from the warfaring people of the Waikato. Te Rauparaha was told to sit in the kumara pit, under Wharerangi's wife, Te Rangikoaea. Being positioned under Te Rangikoaea, Te Rauparaha was protected. The powers of Te Rangikoaea's sexual organs protected Te Rauparaha, who recited 'Ka mate ka mate' in the kumara pit (Mikaere, 2003). Here Te Rauparaha was protected by the mana and tapu of Te Rangikoaea.

Hine Te Iwaiwa - Atua of Te Whare Pora

Hine Te Iwaiwa who is also referred to as Hinauri was a prominent atua wāhine with many responsibilities. Her roles are integral to the way in which Māori women transmit mātauranga Māori. Another of Hine Te Iwaiwa's roles was as the atua wāhine of Te Whare Pora (the house of weaving). It is considered that Hine Te Iwaiwa's roles were privileged to her through her relationship with Tane and Papatūānuku and that her roles possess both practical and ethical responsibilities.

Niwareka and Mataora

The chief, Mataora (the face of vitality, or the living face) was visited by the people of the Underworld, known as Turehu and their chief, Uetonga (Te Awekotuku, 2006). Whilst there, Mataora and his people were very hospitable to the people of Turehu. In response to the manaakitanga shown by Mataora, the Turehu people returned the gesture and the young maiden, Niwareka stood and danced for Mataora (Higgins, 2004). Mataora was enchanted by Niwareka and fell in love with her. Mataora soon married Niwareka, the daughter of the chief, Uetonga.

Mataora was a very jealous chief from the mortal world (Te Awekotuku, 2006). One day, after a volatile disagreement with his wife, Mataora beat her. Niwareka chose to return to her father and his people (Turehu) in the Underworld, where she would be protected from Mataora and his jealous and abusive actions (Te Awekotuku, 1997).

Mataora was ashamed (whakamā) and filled with grief. He decided to follow Niwareka back to the Underworld in the hope of gaining forgiveness for his actions. He dressed in his finest attire and adorned his face with pigment before setting off on the journey back to the Underworld. Upon his arrival Mataora was exhausted, the pigmentation on his skin was smeared from the tiresome journey (Te Awekotuku, 1977).

The people (Turehu) of the Underworld laughed and mocked Mataora's appearance, for Uetonga and his people were permanently decorated with chiselled patterns on their faces (Higgins, 2004). Regardless of the mockery, Mataora sort forgiveness from both Niwareka and her people. Eventually his apology was accepted.

Whilst staying in the Underworld, Mataora was taught the art of tā moko (practice of tattooing), and Niwareka was shown the art of tāniko (weaving with coloured fibres). Mataora and Niwareka journeyed back to the world of light, bringing their knowledge and experience from the Underworld to the mortal world (Higgins, 2004; Te Awekotuku, 1997).

Another rendition of this pūrākau, is that Mataora was shamed from society for beating his wife. In accordance with this pūrākau. Mataora acquired his moko, it was a representation of his ill doings and an eternal imagery of his doings towards his wife (Pihama, 2001).

Section 1 – Conclusion

The misinterpretation of the metaphysical world and the historical literacy regarding Māori remain to be concerning for the Indigenous people of Aotearoa (Mikaere, 2003; Yates Smith, 1998). Today there are many Māori researchers that are calling into question the culturally biased literature written by the early ethnographers, missionaries, traders, and historians that have distorted, misinterpreted, and misunderstood the history of Māori. The role of these historians who manipulated the Māori culture and spirit is well articulated by contemporary Māori researchers, working to rectify the injustices. Mikaere describes historians as:

> *... a breed of people who have played a crucial role in the colonization of the indigenous mind and spirit.* She adds ... *historians [are] intellectual colonizers whose work rationalized Pākehā ascendancy by degrading Māori* (2017, p.2).

Christianity and patriarchal values were influential in displacing the position of Māori women, and remain problematic still to this day (Mikaere, 1994; Pihama, 2001). The inconsistencies regarding the positioning, roles, status, and knowledge base of Māori women within pre-colonial society continue to plague Māori. These inconsistencies are founded on the earlier literature being both Eurocentric and male orientated. The recorded histories of New Zealand were prejudiced by Western patriarchal worldview's that undermined, re-interpreted and re-wrote the traditional history of Māori woman. Māori women were recorded in the historical literature as subservient, inferior, and often silent members of Māori society (Fitzpatrick, 2015; Gemmell, 2013).

The Western religious view of women and the imposition of Christianity within New Zealand saw Māori women being portrayed as less important than their male counterparts (Mikaere, 2003). Even more significantly disturbing; Māori women were seen to be lesser than White men and White women (Johnston, 1998). The adverse effects of imperialism saw Māori women sitting on the periphery of society in New Zealand, in favour of an idealised superior being that saw Māori men, and Western men and their women as religiously and culturally superior (Mikaere, 2003). This raises into question the roles of the atua and their narratives. Such questioning saw the Māori way of life and worldview as a jovial myth open to ridicule.

The mana and knowledge base acquired by Māori women cannot be culturally understood without investigating the role and positions of atua wāhine (Mikaere, 2003; Yates Smith, 1998). The cosmological narratives of atua wāhine provide a platform to understanding the rituals, processes and practices assigned to Māori women (Murphy, 2011). Pūrākau (narratives) handed down throughout the generations are treasures (taonga) that link the spiritual and physical realm. These pūrākau are not static, they are a lived taonga recited through karakia, whakapapa, pōwhiri and waiata (Jenkins & Mountain Harte, 2011; Mikaere, 2003; Smith-Henry, 2015). The narratives handed done from the atua wāhine provide for a counter analysis of the historical research that undermined Māori women. Through the pūrākau Māori have the capacity to decolonise themselves by applying the

knowledge base of the atua wāhine as a counter methodology to Eurocentric and hegemonic ideologies.

SECTION 2 - Power

Introduction

Power remains to be a contentious and contestable subject to explicitly define (Lukes, 1974; VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). This section of the literature review seeks to identify how power operates in the light of challenging the dominant and oppressive actions of the colonisers (Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2009).

Power is often associated with terms such as domination, oppression, marginalisation, and hegemony. Each of these processes engage people in an unequal relationship which undermines minority groups, thereby privileging others (Arendt, 1970; Dahl, 1957; Gaventa, 2006; Giddens, 1984; Johnston, 1998; Nash, 2008; Young, 2004). The domination, marginalisation, and oppression of Māori women are all examples that confirm that Western hegemonic ideologies have been adopted in New Zealand.

In understanding how power operates, there is the potential that power can assist Māori women in challenging and resisting hegemonic forms of power that silence them. Gaventa articulates that, "Discourse can be a site of both power and resistance, with scope to evade, subvert or contest strategies of power" (2003, p. 3).

Through the introduction of binaries within Aotearoa, Māori women became 'different'. The ability to distinguish Māori women formed a system of hierarchy that enabled Māori women to become underprivileged members of society within their own country (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Simmonds, 2009). The coloniser's privileged positioning permitted them to exert their power over Māori women, rendering them inferior and powerless (Johnston, 1998; Simmonds, 2009). This was not uncommon across colonised countries:

> *Indigenous people and white colonists came from diametrically opposed cultural backgrounds* (Morton-Robinson, 2000, p. 5) … *The fact that they were clearly not in an equal position as a result of colonisation and domination often served as evidence of their supposed intrinsic inferiority as human beings* (Morton-Robinson, 2000, p.10).

What was happening across the world of colonised peoples was a system of differentiation, which created through dualism. Dualism created a recognizable difference forming binaries such as superior/inferior. In her chapter, what counts as difference, Patricia Johnston (1998) informs that there are a multitude of ways to define difference. The literature review will investigate how difference privileges certain people/s enabling power to be exercised over others causing them to be 'othered'.

Defining power

Steven Lukes, a political and social theorist and currently a Professor of politics and sociology at the New York University has been instrumental in defining what and how power operates. Lukes informs that "power is essentially contestable" (1974, p. 26). In his later revised edition of his own work Lukes (2005) extends his definition one step further, "[Power]…is a potentiality, not an actuality - indeed a potentiality that may never be actualised" (Lukes, 2005, p. 69). This is a huge move forward in Lukes thinking and it is likely to be attributed to the early work of Max Weber where he states that power is the:

> *… likelihood that one actor within a social relationship will be able to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests* (Weber, 1978, p. 53).

Within this definition of power, Lukes (2005) and Weber (1978) offer an opportunity for power to be dormant and not exercised.

Another critique that Lukes offers in his second edition of his book, *Power: a radical view* is his acknowledgement that power can be both dominating and transformative. In his latter edition (2005) Lukes presents two extra chapters where he reviews his own earlier research, which focussed solely on power as domination. One of the critiques of his work is that whilst he acknowledges transformative forms of power, he does not extend his three-dimensional model any further to encompass transformative and empowering forms of power (Gaventa, 2006; VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002).

John Gaventa who has been very critical of much of Luke's work, has built on Lukes work and made some successful contributions to the operations of power. Gaventa informs that power is both negative and positive, it can be repressive and transformative, it does not have to be exercised exclusively as a mechanism to control and dominate (Gaventa, 2006). Giddens (1984) concurs with Gaventa that power is both a negative and a positive.

VeneKlasen and Miller go a step further with their definition of power, informing that it can be "… both dynamic and multidimensional, changing according to context, circumstance, and interest. Its expressions and forms can range from domination and resistance to collaboration and transformation" (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002, p. 39).

In reviewing the latter work of Lukes, Peter Morriss (2006) denounces Lukes work and definition of power stating that it is flawed. The basis for Morriss' objection is founded in the idea that Lukes is not discussing the concept of power, but rather the notion of domination.

The separation between power and domination is concurred by theorist Johanna Arendt (1970) and Jurgen Habermas (1994), a German sociologist and philosopher who dismisses the Weberian definition in its entirety as a dimension of power. Their reasoning for excluding Luke's dimensions of power is that they believe his model is

domination, authority, strength, or force – not power. Arendt (1970) and Habermas (1994) believe Luke's theory on power is flawed as it is not defining power, but the instruments of power.

This is not too dissimilar to the work of Gajewska, where he states that power is used as a tool enabling domination to occur. In clarifying his point, domination can only occur when the dominator possesses power over the dominated. Relationships that are dominative in nature are structures of hierarchical power bases (Gajewska, 2013). In relation to the work of Lukes, Gajewska (2013) concurs with Arendt (1970), Habermas and McCarthy (1977) and Morriss (2006), and voices that Lukes one dimension is domination - not power.

Difference and privilege

Western cultural and religious worldviews and knowledge bases were and continue to be perceived as superior within Aotearoa and have become a lived reality for the people of Aotearoa (Johnston & Pihama, 1994). Using gendered and racist binaries such as male/female, Pākehā/Māori, Pākehā women/Māori women, and even Māori men/Māori women. Through binaries of oppression Māori women became identifiable as different (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Smith, 1992). Through normalising these binaries, Māori women became the 'other' (based on colonised othering) within their own country (Smith, 1999). The adverse effects of binaries created images of difference allowing power to be exercised forming a multitude of dominant/subordinate relationships in New Zealand (Bidois, 2013).

Being Māori created a distinguishable difference. Being a woman created a distinguishable difference. Being a women of Māori descent, positioned Māori women as insignificant, inferior, and often invisible. Māori women were positioned even lesser than Māori men, Pākehā men and Pākehā women (Gemmell, 2013; Johnston & Pihama, 1994). Linda Smith argues that:

> *[as Māori] 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. (Smith, 1992, p.33)

Iris Young (1992) refers to the positioning of 'Other' as those that are excluded from the dominant group because they are different. Today, the differences established through the arrival of the Missionaries and the traders, coupled with British sovereignty, continues to plague Māori women socially, economically, and culturally (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Smith, 1992).

The ability to identify 'difference' permits one group to become the norm, and the other group to be measured upon such norm (Young, 1990). These differences exploit minority groups by reducing their potential and limiting their participation and capacity within society (Smith, 1992). Ultimately, identifying difference, enables certain groups (those of the norm) to become superior, and those that are different are identifiable as being of lower rank, inferior and often silent members within New Zealand (Johnston & Pihama, 1994).

In her article 'Five faces of oppression' Young (2004) provides an analysis of how groups become oppressed. She provides five categories to understanding how minority groups are affected by the social injustices associated with being oppressed, and identifiable as different. Exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence perpetuate differences that reduce and immobilise groups (Young, 2004).

Exploitation (Young, 2004, p. 1) is associated with the economic theory of capitalism and differentiates between the poor and the wealthy. The ideology of people being free to trade is exploited. This distinction perpetuates systems of difference through classism where the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Marginalisation is used to oppress people through excluding or relegating lesser peoples to the outer margins of society (Young, 2004, p. 2). Oppression is usually

associated with racism as evident with the Aboriginal communities, (like Māori communities) that were pushed to the periphery to meet the growing needs of colonial British society. Within Australia, the Aborigines were pushed from their lands to the outer periphery where they could no longer sustain their natural livelihoods (Morton-Robinson, 2000). Marginalisation can also take place through other forms of identification such as gendering, and classism.

Powerlessness in accordance with Iris Young (2004, p. 2), is where certain groups have power and other groups have no power, rendering them powerless. Powerlessness is created through a powerful group dominating another group. Consequently, this form of oppression limits or eliminates their freedom and rights, and their ability to decision make as a causal component that affects their level of participation. Freire (1983) concurs, powerlessness creates a 'culture of silence' where the oppressed are silenced and have no voice even when they know that they are being oppressed. On a deeper level, powerlessness can often become indoctrinated into the minority group causing them to internalise the ideas of the oppressor. The powerless, "… lack the authority, status, and sense of self" (Young, 2004, p.53). The early written research regarding Māori women were critical tools used by the powerful to render Māori women powerless:

> *History is also about power... It is the story of the powerful and how they became powerful, and then how they use their power to keep them in positions in which they can continue to dominate others. It is because of this relationship with power that we have been excluded, marginalized and 'Othered'*(Smith, 1999, p.34).

The fourth face of oppression is - *Cultural imperialism* (which is evident in most countries which the British colonised), is the process of establishing a superior cultural norm within a society that see's one group as 'the ruling group' and the other group as 'inferior'. This system of oppression is maintained through disseminating the belief systems, values, and practices of the superior group as factual, ethical, and

morally correct. In undertaking this, the culturally insignificant group's belief systems, values, and practices are deemed as mythical, immoral, and savage. This is referred to by Young as "... the universalization of a dominant group's experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm" (1990, p. 59).

Young's (2004, p. 4) final system of oppression is *Violence.* It is probable that violence is the most apparently evident form of oppression. Violence is not necessarily physical, it occurs when there are threats of harm to a group as a means of control that demoralises and humiliates the subordinate group in favour of the superior group. Violence as a form of oppression is systemic and often contributes and is causal to the result of cultural imperialism. Mikaere provides an example of violence, through the negligence of authentic research:

> *... to neglect or forget history ... is to do violence to the identity of communities, undermining and insulting the individuals who belong to them* (Mikaere, 2017, p. 13).

Māori women have been subjected to exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. The Eurocentric values and beliefs associated with patriarchy were bought to New Zealand with the missionaries, traders, and colonisers (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1992). Within New Zealand the Western concept of men having power over women created an identifiable system of superiority and privilege (Johnston, 1998; Simmonds, 2009; Smith, 1992). Māori women are not unique in their positioning, these ideologies have been felt globally amongst, many women of indigeneity and colour.

> *Ideology refers to the body of ideas reflecting the interests of a group of people. Within U.S. culture, racist and sexist ideologies permeate the social structure to such a degree that they become hegemonic, namely, seen as natural, normal, and inevitable. In this context, certain assumed qualities that are attached to Black women are used to justify oppression* (Collins, 2000, p. 5).

Now we begin another discussion regarding how Indigenous people were differentiated, which enabled power to be exercised over them. Racism, sexism, and classism are all discourses used to distinguish and alienate Māori women, coloured women and Indigenous women on a global scale, which rendered them subservient (Collins, 2000; Morton-Robinson, 2000; Pihama, 2001). Within New Zealand, this became normalised through Western ideologies that formed binaries that oppressed Māori women (Pihama, 2001). Normalisation was so prolific that Māori women begun to internalise their demise and accepted their new subservient reality. Racism, sexism, and classism are discussed as mechanisms used to oppress Māori women.

Racism –a complex term to define, but within this thesis it is the belief that one race is superior to the other, therefore deducing the other race as lesser (Johnston & Pihama, 1994). This construct offered the colonisers both the rational and motivation to dominate and control Māori. The colonisers used their political and institutional power and resources as mechanisms to culturally invade Māori within Aotearoa (Johnston, 1998).

Sexism - another of the Eurocentric beliefs of patriarchy used within Aotearoa to distinguish people giving power, rights, and privilege to men. The system of hierarchy embedded in patriarchy saw women as lesser and men superior, justifying the actions of men to control and dominate women in New Zealand. Societies formed on paternalistic ideologies have rendered women as the 'other, as objects and as bodily objects (Young, 1990).

Classism – upon their arrival, the imperialists, and colonisers sort to assimilate Māori. Classism bought the belief that power, and privilege of the wealthy was superior to those of the lower-class people. Capitalism brought about the master/slave relationship between Māori/Pākehā as an accepted norm within Aotearoa. On an International scale, Black feminist theorist, Patricia Collins refers to the imagery of capitalism as:

> *... the exploitation of Black women's labo[u]r essential to*
> *U.S. capitalism—the iron pots and kettles" symbolizing*

> *Black women's long-standing ghettoization in service occupations—represents the economic dimension of oppression (Collins, 2000, p. 4). "Exploitation uses capitalism to oppress" through binaries such as the wealthy and the poor* (Young, 2004, p. 1)*.*

When relationships operate due to identifiable differences, those that are privileged engage in relationships of dominance and control at the demise of the minority group (Young, 2004). This equates to relationships that are unequal. These relationships have created "… a cultural framework that establishes a hierarchy of power and dominance between two racialized ontologies" (Bidois, 2013, p. 143).

In his book, Privilege, Power and Difference, Allan Johnson (2001) attempts to unravel the disparities associated with being identified as different. An important topic within his book is the difficulties that oppressors have in confronting their own oppressive and dominating natures. Whilst many people are prepared to accept that that racist and sexist exists, they do not feel that they are part of the process which maintains it.

Johnson is a male, heterosexual, middle class Sociologist whose opinion is that many people put defence mechanisms in place to prevent them from taking ownership of the problem. People of privilege are "… stuck in our current paralysis by preventing each of us from taking the steps required to become part of the solution" (Johnson, 2001, p. viii). His voice is one that acknowledges that "… my whiteness and maleness are sources of privilege" (Johnson, 2001, p. 7). Johnson further comments that the undermining of women is attributed to his maleness, and societal positioning "… [women's] misfortune is connected to my fortune, the reality of her having to deal with racism and sexism every day is connected to the reality that I don't" (Johnson, 2001, p. 9).

Johnson informs that difference by itself is not the concern, the ignorance of accepting privilege should be the primal focus to understanding the disparities associated with racism and sexism. He is very vocal in stating that the problem is the

maintenance of privilege through the ignorance of the privileged believing that they are part of the problem. He contends that, "[t]he trouble around difference is really about privilege and power – the existence of privilege and the lopsided distribution of power that keeps it going" (Johnson, 2001, p. 15). Or as Iris Young states, "the conscious actions of many individuals daily contribute to maintaining and reproducing oppression, but those people are usually simply doing their jobs or living their lives, and do not understand themselves [that they are] agents of oppression" (Young, 2004, p. 40).

Johnson's concerns are not related to 'identified differences', but the social realities that are constructed and maintained within systems of privilege and oppression (Johnson, 2001). Peggy McIntosh a well acclaimed feminist and anti-racism author is in agreeance. Privilege engages people in systems of racism and sexism. By diminishing the privileging of whiteness and maleness, people who sit on the margins of this classification may benefit (McIntosh, 1988).

McIntosh's earlier discussion on privilege are echoed in the work of Johnson. Johnson believes that much of the issue with privilege is that those with privilege do not want to accept that they are part of the problem. This is voiced by McIntosh who states "… an invisible package of unearned assets which I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I am meant to remain oblivious" (McIntosh, 1988, p. 1). Here, McIntosh, voices that people of superiority are happy to accept their privileges and ultimately, when it suits them, they will cash in on their privileges, but they would rather continue to be ignorant to such privilege, rather than acknowledge how their actions contribute to oppression.

Being in the position to identify difference, the colonisers had the privileged capacity to apply power over Māori women to further their own interests (Johnston, 1998; Simmonds, 2009; Smith, 1992). This is supported by Luke's theory on what power is and how it operates. Lukes states that power gives "… agent's abilities to bring about significant effects, specifically by furthering their own interests and/or affecting the interests of others, whether positively or negatively" (Lukes, 2005, p. 65). This is

consistent with what has happened in New Zealand, the colonisers furthered their own interests affecting the interests of Māori women.

Subjects of power

Given that power requires relationships, it is important to discuss who are the 'subjects of power' and who are the 'source of power' within the relationship (Hayward & Lukes, 2008). Once the subject and source are defined it permits an investigation into the interests and reasons for the power relationship.

'Subjects of power' are defined as "… those actors or agents who are subject to it" (Hayward & Lukes, 2008, p. 6). The next step to understanding the relationship is identifying the 'source of power'. This is defined by Lukes' as "… the sources of power; that is, those agents or actors who have or who exercise power" (Hayward & Lukes, 2008, p. 6). Yet, in their jointly written article, Hayward raises a concern with Lukes' definition of source, claiming that Lukes' approach to 'source' is too agent-centred or individualistic and does not permit structures or institutions to be the 'source' (Hayward & Lukes, 2008). This is an important critique that Hayward makes as the source can be an agent, or agents (which Lukes did acknowledge in his second edition), institutions and structures (Gaventa, 2006; Swartz, 2007).

Within the context of this literature review, the 'subjects of power' are Māori women. The 'sources of power' are the colonisers and imperialists who used their agents, structures, and institutions to execute their power over Māori women to dominate the relationship (Fitzpatrick, 2015; Simmonds, 2009; Smith, 1992). On a note of resistance, Gaventa (2006 p. 23) reminds us of the potential of power "… everyone possesses and is affected by power, the meanings of power - and how to understand it - are diverse and often contentious".

Through the process of gaining critical consciousness or 'conscientization' (Freire, 1983), Māori women have the capacity to free themselves from the oppressive indoctrination of colonisation. On an International level, it is expressed by Collins (2000) that the awareness of oppression fosters activism:

> *… for African-American women, the knowledge gained at intersecting oppressions of race, class, and gender provides the stimulus for crafting and passing on the subjugated knowledge of Black women's critical social theory* (Collins, 2000, pp. 8,9).

Becoming aware of how Māori women were marginalised provides Māori women with stepping stones towards regaining their own position and identity. In understanding how power operates, how it affects Māori women and utilising their power to improve and restore their own well-being and identities, Māori women have the capacity to transform their position in society (Simmonds, 2009). This consciousness is the first step to creating change and freeing ourselves from hegemonic relationships.

Expressions of power

There are four distinctive forms of power. Theorists widely use these expressions today (Gaventa, 2006; VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002):

- Power Over,
- Power With,
- Power To and;
- Power Within

Power Over, is a form of power commonly used to dominate or repress people through influencing or controlling their behaviour (Gaventa, 2006; VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). This is achieved through ideologies that are disseminated in social and political arenas (Karlberg, 2005). It is a form of power that creates disparity through perpetuating inequalities and social injustices (Monture-Angus, 1999; VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). Negative forms of power over, enable the 'source of power' to dominate the 'subject of power' positioning them in situations of oppression.

Western patriarchal culture, its actors, and its institutions used their social, economic, and political power over Māori women. Through the execution of classist, racist, sexist binaries hegemony was imposed over Māori women (Johnston, 1998; Smith, 1992). Power was exercised over Māori women and became normalised within New Zealand. This was not an uncommon exercise amongst colonised peoples, native women of Australia also endured this form of domination through the execution of similar power systems (Morton-Robinson, 2000).

Power over in its most common use, requires one person or group to lose power so that another can gain power (Lukes, 2005), or as put by Philosopher Michel Foucault, "… certain persons' exercise power over others" (Foucault, 1975, p. 217). Freire (1983) likens the process to what he terms 'dehumanisation', a system of oppressing people by exerting power over a group to make them feel less valued, substandard, and often invisible.

Foucault (1975) uses the term 'othering', to mean that a dominant group pushes the less dominant group to the outside boundaries of society (marginalisation), rendering them powerless. The terms of other and othering are defined by Staszak:

> *Other: member of a dominated out-group, whose identity is considered lacking and who may by subject to discrimination.*

> *Othering: transforming a difference into otherness so as to create an in-group and an out-group (2008, p.1).*

Through 'dehumanisation' or 'othering', power was applied over Māori women to dominate them, impacting on their cultural ways of being and knowing the world in favour of the perceived dominate group's cultural ways (Staszak, 2008). The effects of 'othering' is explored on an International scale by Morton-Robinson (2000, p.179):

> *Indigenous women's experiences are grounded in a different history from that which is celebrated and known*

by those who deploy the subject position middle class white women. We know and understand the practical, political, and personal effects of being 'Other' through a consciousness forged from our experiences and oral traditions (As cited by Jenkins & Pihama, 2001, p. 294).

For many marginalised people who have had power negatively exercised over them, the learnt patterns of behaviour are often repeated. Throughout their livelihoods many marginalised people have formed an internalised belief system through social conditioning (Gajewska, 2013; Giddens, 1984; VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002).

Arendt (1970) informs that power can cause a of 'blindness' to social realities, where people become blind and accepting of the conditions imposed upon them. In this regard, the 'internalising' of the oppressed sees them unknowingly complying or imitating the dominator (Lukes, 2005; Swartz, 2007). For many Māori women, this has left them feeling disconnected and 'powerless' (Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2009).

Caution must also be given to not seeing *power over* only as a negative form of power. As an example, the relationship of the teacher (source of power) and the student (subject of power). A good teacher will not dominate the student, even though they have the power to. A good teacher will use their position of power to engage the student in productive learning that is beneficial to them. Lukes (1974) earlier claim that *power over* is coercive and always negative is refuted by other theorists, who state that *power over* can be used to protect people and their interests (Gajewska, 2013).

In responding to *Power Over* as a negative form of power used to position Māori women at the periphery of society, the following three forms of power offer an insight into how Māori women can use power to confront oppression and domination (Nikkhah, Redzuan, & Abu-Samah, 2012).

Power With is a collective, collaborative, and partnership based form of power. When applied proactively, it can reduce inequalities and disparities in which groups of

marginalised people endure (Gaventa, 2006; VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). It is a form of power that recognises that the collective approach to empowering people can be more powerful than an individual approach. It requires organising people who have a common interest and common goal (Nikkhah, Redzuan, & Abu-Samah, 2012).

Colonialism and imperialism worked hard to 'culturally silence' Māori women and to impose power over them. Whilst this was happening, Māori women demonstrated their ability to effectively initiate *power with* (Mikaere, 2003; Rei, 1993). Māori women formed partnerships amongst themselves that enabled them to exercise their collective and collaborative power.

Māori women have several examples of how they have used *power with.* One of the many is when Māori women met as a collective in 1895 at Te Hauke to discuss matters that affected them, such as matters regarding their tribal lands (Coney, 1993; Rei, 1993). In 1897 Māori women established a collective group called 'Nga Komiti Wāhine' to converse about national and cultural issues (Rei, 1993). Within this collective, Māori women won the right to vote (Coney, 1993).

Another example of Māori women using their collective and collaborative power base is that of the development of the Māori Women's Welfare League in 1951 (Coney, 1993). The Māori Women's Welfare League was established under the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945 as an incorporated society for the advancement of education, health, and overall welfare of Māori (Coney, 1993; Mikaere, 2003).

Johnston (1998) calls attention and highlights concerns to the use of *Power with* as a collaborative approach. The concern is voiced because some collective forms of *power with,* such as some feminist frameworks are situated exclusively to challenge patriarchy, and ignore the multiple sites of domination such as the oppressive nature of racism (Johnston, 1998; Nash, 2008). As discussed earlier in differences and privileges, whilst binaries exist, power can be exercised multi-dimensionally and can involve more than one binary. The position of *power with* as a caution that Johnston

(1998) talks about is elaborated further in this chapter under the heading feminist theories on power.

Power To, is another democratic form of power that recognises the power of the individual to transform their own livelihood (Nikkhah, Redzuan, & Abu-Samah, 2012). When the personal potential of *power to* becomes a mutual mechanism, this can lead people to *power with* (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). This has been demonstrated in the history of Māori women. A brief analysis is provided to contextualise Māori women engaging with *power to* and how this was applied to exemplify how *power to* leads to *power with*.

Te Puea was crucial to the development of social and economic services that aided the people of the Waikato in sustaining their cultural, social, and economic viability. Her actions were beneficial for both iwi and Māori collectively and are an example of how one Māori woman exercised her *power to*. In the 1920's Te Puea was pivotal to the revitalisation of the Kīngitanga and the establishment of Ngāruawāhia (Firth, 1972; Rei, 1993). She also reintroduced the Pai mārire[5] religion to her people.

Te Puea was a Māori woman of political stature recognised for the re-instatement of her people at Ngāruawāhia on Tūrangawaewae marae (Rei, 1993). Te Puea was both a political and social leader that challenged the government's military assaults and land confiscations. As a leader, Te Puea exemplifies how *power to* and *power with* can be both positive and transformative. Her mana as the Queen of the Kīngitanga was recognised by her people, she was and remains to be held in high regard.

The final expression of power is *Power within,* which is a form of social justice. It is intangible and an internal form of power associated with the individuals own sense of self-worth and self-esteem (Nikkhah, Redzuan, & Abu-Samah, 2012). It is expressed as opportunistic, as being "… the capacity to imagine and have hope; it

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[5] Pai mārire is an independent Maori christian religion which is founded on goodness and peace. When the land wars were taking place, the founder of Pai mārire, Te Ua Haumēne was activley involved in opposing land sales.

affirms the common human search for dignity and fulfilment" (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002, p. 39).

The basis of *power within* requires an ethical base, which fosters human rights. *Power within* is valuable in the sense that it offers the individual the capacity and ability to act in the light of change, therefore enabling the potential for *power to* and *power with* to be expressed. Both *power with* and *power to* are potential agents for change and empowerment (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). It is certain that Māori women such as Whina Cooper, Kathie Irwin, Linda Smith, and Te Puea are all women who used their internal power to give voice to the challenges that Māori women have endured.

The spaces for participation

The difficulty in analysing the application and effect that power has is complicated by the fact that there are multiple levels of participation that can be shaped by political, structural, and social agendas (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). These levels of participation shape the dynamics of power:

- Visible power (*observable conflict*),

- Hidden power (*control of agenda*) and;

- Invisible power (*power through domination*)

(Gaventa, 2006; VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002).

Visible Power (observable decision making) is apparent and often exercised in biased laws, within structures and institutions. Visible power favours the 'elites' at the decision-making table. Power is used to control and dominate the decision making process (Gaventa, 2006; Lukes, 2005; VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). This form of power can be likened to Young's (2004) idea of oppression through 'powerlessness' or Freire's (1983) idea of 'culture of silence' where minority groups are not part of the decision-making process and have no voice.

Lukes' one dimensional view of power is attributed to the pluralist view which only permits for visible conflict to exist. Borrowing the work of Lukes, Johnston in her PhD thesis informs that *power over* is visible through:

Coercion –A secures B compliance by the threat of deprivation,

Influence – A resorts to either a tacit or an overt threat of severe deprivation causing B to change their course of action,

Authority – B complies because they recognise that A's command is reasonable,

Force – A achieves their objective in the face of B's non-compliance by stripping them of the choice between compliance and non-compliance and;

Manipulation – compliance is forthcoming in the absence of the complier (Johnston, 1998, p. 72).

This is evident within New Zealand, as much of the legislation made Māori women chattels, or void within society, with no identity. Such examples to mention a few include:

The 1867 Māori Representative Act - defined Māori as "A male aboriginal native inhabitant of New Zealand". This Act saw Māori women being voided from society, they were non-existent and not even recognised as Māori, simply because they were women. The lack of need for an identity and the invisibility of Māori women is rationalised by Mikaere:

> *The lives of the colonized, in a specific sense, are of no interest to the colonizer; they are not entitled to their own identity* (Mikaere, 2017, p.5).

Another Act, that disparaged Māori women was; The Matrimonial Causes Act 1857. This Act saw Māori customary marriages as illegal. An additional disparity that Māori

women endured through this Act, was that Māori women who married (in accordance with Pākehā practices) lost title to their lands and her husband acquired the title. Under this legislation, Māori women not only lost their own identity, they became chattels or possessions of their husband, and became landless. This Act made Māori women landless, and invisible.

Even whilst these forms of oppression were being exercised over Māori women, there remains many Māori women who were active on the marae and in the kauta. Behind these doors, the mana of Māori women continued to be maintained along with traditional methods of knowing and being, in spite of the oppressors.

Hidden power (Control of the agenda) is not as easy to identify. Brahm (2003) informs that often the effect's associated with mechanisms of power are not visible and are covert. Hidden power can sit latent, becoming visible at any time and then escalate and become obvious. Hidden power can be exampled by controlling who gets to make decisions and what counts as being information that is disseminated (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002).

This is well exampled in the history of Māori women and is evident in their lack of participation through the controlling of agendas. Māori women were manipulated through various legislation in New Zealand. This was not dissimilar to other colonised groups of Indigenous people:

> *White race privilege and the oppression of Indigenous women, men and children were legitimated by the state and were connected to property and power* (Morton-Robinson, 2000, p. 26).

Invisible power (shaping meaning) influences belief systems and causes those that are marginalised to internally discriminate against themselves through reinforcing the bias of the dominator's ideologies (Gaventa, 2006; Monture-Angus, 1999). Graham Smith asserts that:

> *Hegemony [as] a way of thinking – it occurs when oppressed groups take on the dominant groups 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 (Smith, 2003, p.3)*

Lukes states that invisible power is "… the most insidious exercise of power" (1974, p. 24). Lukes adds that the latent or dormant effects of power can cause people to struggle to make decisions and, in some cases, they simply don't make decisions.

Lukes (2005) concludes that internal discrimination is evident when an individual unintentionally follows the dominator's quest for power, even when it is against their best interest. Bourdieu (1998) pays reference to internal discrimination through domination in his use of 'naturalisation' and 'structures of habitus' where actions become perceived as the natural order.

Space and power

Linda Smith (1993) has been instrumental in reminding Māori women that the struggle is about gaining space. The creation of space enables participation and voice, or as Smith advocates a forum that is transformative and privileging of "Indigenous knowledge, voice and experiences" (Smith, 2006 p.87). Johnston (1998) asserts that Māori women need to identify space enabling them to centre and reassert themselves.

Positive forms of power that assist minority groups to re-position space in the light of creating opportunities for participation to the fullest capacity (Cornwall, 2002) are important to this thesis. Yet part of the process for becoming conscious to the disparities faced by Māori women is to become aware and alert to power as a tool used to undermine the mana of Māori women.

International author, lawyer and activist of Canadian Mohawk descent, Patricia Monture-Angus (1999) investigates the role of power within frameworks, such as legislation, the state, the education system, and social norms. Monture-Angus (1999) concludes that they were structures used to redefine the native Canadian identity, creating invisibility, inequality, control and of the most insidious of mechanisms of power; internal colonialism. The structures of power form a system where Indigenous people colonise themselves.

Resistance is deemed as a limited solution by Monture-Angus, as it does not provide freedom from oppression. Monture-Angus informs that resistance is not transformative as it is merely a response to oppression and calls for the "… rethinking of strategies such as resistance" (1999, p. 63). As an academic contribution focussed on ending colonising patterns, Monture-Angus further analyses 'decolonisation' and argues that it falls short, as only a partial remedy merely focussed on freeing people from responding to colonisation. Yet the author does hold hope that decolonisation could be a success if it was a collective commitment of both the colonised and the colonisers.

Monture-Angus seeks freedom that permits both the space and place to encourage and reclaim the right to exercise the full capabilities of being a Mohawk woman. Whilst engaging in transformation, Monture-Angus holds onto a 'dream' of free choices and independence. This 'dream' of free choices and independence, is concurred by Māori theorists who voice that Māori women need the space, place, time, and resources to reclaim, and re-story their histories in the light of challenging hegemonic discourses (Irwin, 1992; Simmonds, 2009).

Gaventa (1980;2006) was instrumental in further developing the work of Lukes. He saw a need to identify and create space that challenged power relationships. This ideal is in consensus with Linda Smiths (1993) theory on the need for Māori women to regain space to participate and give voice to their own emancipation. In relation to the social construction of space, Cornwall (2002) provides three levels of participation:

- Closed space

- Invited space

- Created or Claimed space

Closed space is space controlled by the oppressor enabling them to impose power over the suppressed. This space and the level of participation (or the lack of) can be used to execute control and domination in to order to exercise power over these that are 'othered' (Cornwall, 2002; Lefebvre, 1991). Closed spaces have alienated Māori women from society. Their invisibility has caused them to be silenced.

Closed space is a space where decisions are made without the need for participation. Those with power make decisions at the table without the participation of the oppressed (Gaventa, 2006). Closed space can also be briefly opened, where it becomes invited space permitting the achievement an objective and then closed again (Cornwall, 2002).

Invited space is where agencies invite participants to engage. This space can often be limited as the 'invitation to participate' by external agents is often created with pre-determined boundaries and purposes, and with the outcomes often being pre-determined (Gaventa, 2006).

Whilst the idea of '*spaces of appearance'* can often appear beneficial, in some realities it may oppose any benefit to the participant. In a positive light 'spaces of appearance' can promote opportunities for resistance through collective and collaborative agendas (Cornwall, 2002).

Created/Claimed spaces usually evolves from spaces created by participants, rather than developed by others, enabling resistance and empowerment. Created space can operate within invited spaces and is often developed as a resistance to both invited spaces and closed spaces (Gaventa, 2006). Groups often claim space organically (Cornwall, 2002) in the light of mobilising people with common interests.

As Māori women, the creation of space is crucial to changing how Māori women are perceived based on Western colonial ideals and patriarchal binaries that socially removed and silenced them. Today Māori women are calling for the freedom and space to voice their truth (Johnston, 1998; Smith, 1992). As expressed by bell hooks (1992, p. 7), a well-known Internationally acclaimed author of black women's rights:

> *Unless we transform images of blackness, of black people,*
> *our ways of looking and our ways of being seen, we cannot*
> *make radical interventions that will fundamentally alter*
> *our situation* (as cited by Johnston, 1998, pg. 35).

hooks reminds Māori women and other minority groups that it is important for minority groups to assert themselves and find ways to make themselves visible and heard. This journey is about reclaiming space within society and engaging in ideas and thoughts that are transformative (Johnston, 1998). Crucial to the process is regaining space and confronting processes and systems that alienated and prevented Māori women from exercising their rights (Smith, 1999).

Levels (realms) of participation

These levels of participation seek to address the social, political, and economic areas in which power exists. As part of an analysis of power, it is important to recognise people can interact within each of these realms differently. How someone interacts in the public realm, with their friends and family, can be very different to the private realm of their working life (Gaventa, 2006).

The private realm – at this level of participation, people are affected by power relationships with their friends, family, children, and partners. This level of participation has been greatly affected within Māori society as many of the ideals and worldviews of the Western world have been internalised.

The public realm - within this space, power can operate on local, national, and global levels. This is probably the most visible of the power relationships, as it affects people in their working life, their public life, and their legal rights. The public realm is

commonly seen as a political arena, dominated by men who control the agenda and use their positioning of privilege to render women as silence.

The tools that have privileged men, denying women their rights and voice is not isolated to the Indigenous women of New Zealand. Many Indigenous and women of colour globally have been affected. Patricia Collins an American Sociologist known for her work on race, gender, class, sexuality, and nationality accords political oppressions as being one that privileged and gave voice to men, severing the voice and rights of US black women:

> *Forbidding Black women to vote, excluding African-Americans and women from public office, and withholding equitable treatment in the criminal justice system all substantiate the political subordination of Black women. Educational institutions have also fostered this pattern of disenfranchisement* (Collins, 2000, p. 4)*.*

The intimate realm – this level of participation is one that is internal and relates to personal identity, sense of self, confidence of the individual and their relationship with their body, mind, and health. This area can affect their self-esteem and self-image. Within New Zealand and amongst many Indigenous peoples, this self-imposed identity is often predetermined by the imperialistic and colonial ideologies, that have become normalised.

> *Unless you want to get into a big activist battle, you accept the stereotypes given to you and just try and reshape them along the way. So, in a way, this gives me a lot of freedom. I can't be looked at any worse in society than I already am - black and female is pretty high on the list of things not to be.* (Carroll, 1997, p.94-95, as cited by Collins, 2000, p. 27).

The negative perceptions that society places upon women, and their way of dealing with it is often accepted as the norm. They accept the imitate realm of power as a

space that renders them powerless to the situation. This can be both conscious, and unconsciously undertaken. Alternatively, through conscientisation (Freire, 1983), powerlessness can also lead to emancipative and transformation form of action that counter hegemonic methodologies (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001; Simmonds, 2009; Smith, 1999).

Power and knowledge

The use or controlling of knowledge is fundamental to understanding how power operates and how to challenge it. Since "power and knowledge are inextricably intertwined" (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001, p. 70) consideration to how knowledge has been used as a controlling instrument needs to be analysed to provide opportunities for remedying power inequalities.

Through the earlier work of Lukes three dimensions of power, Gaventa and Cornwall (2001) examine how knowledge affects power relationships. Understanding how each of Lukes dimensions distinctively use knowledge as a tool to instigate 'power over' is crucial to challenging negative power relationships.

In Lukes first dimension of power, knowledge is used as a resource to inform the decision making. In the second dimension, knowledge is action based enabling the controlling and participation and/or exclusion of people in the production of knowledge. Lukes third dimension of power, is a form of power where knowledge is seen to shape the consciousness enabling the execution of power (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001). All three dimensions of power recognise the oppressors knowledge base as superior, and the oppressed knowledge base as mythical and irrelevant.

The coercive use and controlling of knowledge as demonstrated by Lukes three dimensions of power have created power relationships that have repressed and subjugated individuals. Gaventa and Cornwall define Lukes three dimension of power as '… the repressive side of power' (2001, p. 72), which '… highlights issues of social conflict, control and coercion' (Karlberg, 2005, p. 2).

In challenging these negative ideologies of power, Gaventa and Cornwall promote a fourth dimension of power built upon the early work of Foucault. In his early work, Foucault informs that "power and knowledge directly imply one another" (Foucault, 1977, p. 27).

Foucault - Power and knowledge

Foucault concedes that knowledge is used to control and subjugate individuals, yet he also acknowledges that knowledge can used as emancipative and has the capacity to overturn repressive power relationships "… through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them" (Foucault, 1979, p. 92). In his own words, Foucault informs that "… there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (Foucault, 1977, p. 27).

The fourth dimension of power views power as productive and relational (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001). Foucault calls for the 'return of knowledge' based on the 'reactivation of local knowledges' that have been 'subjugated knowledges' (Foucault, 1980, pp.81-85).

In his discussion regarding 'a return to knowledge' Foucault (1980, p. 80) alludes to society challenging and rebelling against the 'higher power and knowledge bases'. He suggests that in overcoming negative power relationships there is a need for the perceived 'lower ranked knowledge bases' to be re-asserted and validated. 'Subjugated knowledges' of lived realities of knowing and understanding the world need to re-emerge through contesting the scientific perception of these knowledge bases as being 'disqualified as inadequate' forms of knowing.

This form of knowledge Foucault calls 'genealogy', a knowledge base that refers to the historical content and traditional forms of knowing and understanding that are deemed by elitists as anti-scientific. Foucault believes that:

> *… genealogy should be seen as a kind of attempt to emancipate historical knowledge's from that subjection, to*

render them, that is, capable of opposition and of struggle against the coercion of a theoretical, unitary, formal and scientific discourse (Foucault, 1980, p. 85)*.*

In the attempt to regain power, 'genealogies' that are portrayed as mythical and inferior need to challenge scientific discourses and elitist bias. Foucault calls for the 're-activation of local knowledges' that are "in opposition to the scientific hierarchisation of knowledges and the effects intrinsic to their power" (Foucault, 1980, p. 85).

Disseminating knowledge

Knowledge is both informed and acquired through socialisation, education, the media, the controlling of information and the shaping of political beliefs have all been utilised to influence the consciousness enabling the execution of power to take place (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001). These mechanisms of knowledge acquisition are important to understanding how power is enforced and operates (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001). They also become important lessons to understanding how knowledge can be used to overcome the negativity of power, and the mechanisms that can promote change.

Indigenous knowledge that promotes a critical consciousness and removes internalised forms of oppression is imperative to transforming the power relationships that has been exercised over Māori women. Simmonds (2009, p.16) encapsulates this:

> *The power to define, measure and control compartmentalised spaces is also the power to exclude, marginalise and discriminate. Ultimately, knowledge and power become enfolded into each other.*

The 'reactivation of local knowledges' (Foucault, 1980) can engage Māori women in reclaiming space and their positionality within space. In overcoming the power relationships that have positioned Māori women on the periphery of society, it is

essential that Māori women's knowledge challenges scientific discourses of hierarchical bias. Through emancipation, Māori women can contest the power relationships built upon scientific belief of knowledge. This can only do done through executing their own knowledge base, mātauranga-a-wāhine, and their power base, mana wāhine.

Feminism and power

Traditionally feminist theories were founded on challenging patriarchal bias that subjected women to systems of oppression of gendering. Today, feminist theorists need to recognise the diversity of women and within this diversity, the diverse mechanisms of oppression used. For white women, the challenge remains patriarchy, but for Women of colour and Indigenous women, the challenges include sexism, but extends to the ignored hegemonies of gendering, racism and classism (Morton-Robinson, 2000).

Like Māori women, women globally, are not same, they can have differences in beliefs, customs, cultures, and experiences (Karlberg, 2005), therefore it is important to understand that feminism is not necessarily speaking with a collective voice. Morton-Robinson (2000) notes that white feminism has created a system of racism and classism that excludes many women, because white feminism does not acknowledge the other disparities that women of colour and indigeneity endure (racism, ethnicity, cultural differences). This analysis of feminism privileges white women and in turn marginalises women of colour and indigeneity.

This thesis does not intend to talk for Māori women, but is one voice contributing to challenging the silencing of Māori women. On an international level, this is voiced by Patricia Collins:

> *How can I as one person speak for such a large and complex group as African-American women?" I asked myself. The answer is that I cannot and should not because each of us must learn to speak for herself. In the course of writing the book I came to see my work as being part of a larger*

> *process, as one voice in a dialogue among people who have*
>
> *been silenced (Collins, 2000, p. ix).*

Feminist theories have been very useful in contributing to the knowledge base of how power operates (Arendt, 1970; Collins, 2000; Young, 1990). All feminist theories work hard to give voice and, to address and abolish the subordination of women. Not all feminist theories speak in unison for the overall collective of women.

Where feminist theories distinguish themselves is at the intersections of how and why women are subordinated. It becomes important to understand the power relationships and tools used to suppress women. Feminist theories that see power as problematic for women and those that see power as emancipative, need to investigate the 'source of power' and the 'subjects of power' in the light of resistance. The necessities to understand power, its relationships and structure is well articulated as … "*It is necessary to identify the power relationships inherent within particular hegemonies in order to resist and challenge them*" (Simmonds, 2009, p. 16).

Collectiveness as feminists

As a heterogeneous collective, there are potentialities for women to collaborate in challenging their shared oppressions, or as Arendt expresses, "… power corresponds to the human ability not just to act, but to act in concert" (Arendt, 1970, p. 44). This can only be done by acknowledging the differences and consistently similar disparities of women. Otherwise power relationships that continue to marginalise Māori women may still exist within the feminist approach (Collins, 2000; Johnston, 1998). At this level of collaboration, women have the capacity to globally unite for the benefit of addressing common forms of oppression.

In her second edition, Collins acknowledges the need for Indigenous women to not only look locally and nationally, but the need for Indigenous women to look globally as part of understanding how they have been and are silenced through their global positionality:

> *U.S. Black women must continue to struggle for our empowerment, but at the same time, we must recognize that U.S. Black feminism participates in a larger context of struggling for social justice that transcends U.S. borders (Collins, 2000, p. xi).*

Within the private realm (as a level of participation), many women internationally have endured oppression on a local, national, and global levels (Collins, 2000; Gaventa, 2006). These forms of oppression have the capacity for Māori women and other women who have been subjected to hegemonic discourses to gain space and challenge the disparities of unequal power relationships.

Women universally are not unitary, and therefore cannot speak with one voice without acknowledging the diversity and differences amongst women (Karlberg, 2005). Whilst there may be some homogeneities, or similarities amongst some women, there is also heterogeneities (differences) amongst women (Collins, 2000). "… the aggressive and competitive behaviours within Western societies has served, historically, as a structure of male privilege" (Karlberg, 2005, p. 5) in which sexism and gendering are both global issues for feminists.

Other women (women of Colour and Indigenous women) also encountered oppression through classist, and racial forms of discrimination. Patricia Monture, in discussing native women within the prison system expresses the diversity of oppression amongst Indigenous women as "Aboriginal women who are imprisoned in Canada are oppressed because of their race as well as their gender and most likely their poverty" (Monture, 2006, p. 25).

On an International scale, there are lessons and challenges that can be embraced by challenging the coerciveness of the power of domination, but this unity can only be achieved through feminism that acknowledges diversity amongst women globally Collins, 2000; Monture, 2006; Morton-Robinson, 2000).

White feminism, Indigenous women, and women of colour

White feminism centres itself on the tenacity of masculinist bias (Collins, 2000; Young, 1990). These power relationships based on patriarchy have unjustly and unequally positioned women as subjective to men, causing them to be the other in the power relationship. In her book; *The second sex*, de Beauvoir discusses the positioning of women as:

> *She is defined and differentiated with reference to men and not he with reference to her; she is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is Subject, he is Absolute – she is the Other* (de Beauvoir, 1974, p. xxii).

Aboriginal Australian female author, Morton-Robinson agrees voicing and rationalising the different world views that white women and Indigenous women have has had a dire effect on the indigeneity of women:

> *Indigenous womens experiences are grounded in a different history from that which is celebrated and known in white domains, and our experiences and subjugated knowledges offer insights about differences and incommensurabilites between white women and Indigenous women* (2000, p. 3)

Most feminists would concur with this ideology, but feminist theorists need to be aware that not all families are positioned as patriarchal. Not all women have been positioned as emasculated (Collins, 2000).

As Indigenous peoples, the disparities of power relationships are more complex, and diverse, than that of white feminists. Indigenous women of New Zealand are reminded and cautioned on feminist approaches, as they may not address other forms of oppressions, such as the issue of racism (Johnston, 1998). This caution is well expressed by Steinem:

What we're saying about the gender equity issue then, is that it's time to stop enunciating gender equity as the primary issue and speak in terms of the empowerment of women and the right of women to self-determination. The gender equity issue is too narrow because it fails to address the issue of racism, economic disparity, and cultural difference. We need to move beyond this, because gender equity supports the dominant culture s paternalistic values (Steinem, 1996, p. 22)*.*

Eurocentric feminist approaches often only seek to address gender disparities, yet do not address the racial disparities endured by Māori women (Johnston, 1998) and other women of colour and indigeneity. Young (1990) also alludes to this caution in the use of her 'dual system theory', whereby:

… womens oppression arises from two distinct and relatively autonomous systems. The system of male domination, most often called patriarchy, produces the specific gender oppression of women: the system of the mode of production and class relations produces the class oppression and work alienation of most women (Young, 1990, p. 21).

Here Young discusses how gendering and classism were crucial to undermining women. These disparities of patriarchy and classism that continue to be faced by many Indigenous and Coloured women but do not address the racism of White culture that privileged not only White men, but also their White women (Johnston, 1998). Consequently, many Women of colour and Indigenous women continue to struggle with the ideology of collectivism amongst women:

As a result, African-American, Latino, Native American, and Asian-American women have criticized Western feminisms

for being racist and overly concerned with White, middle-class women's issues (Collins, 2000, p. 5).

For Māori women to address this, Johnston voices that as Māori women we need to be "… simultaneously crafting, and constructing our own representation in forms that empower and validate our own interpretation of our own differences" (Johnston, 1998, p. 29).

Internationally, Collins is very vocal about representing herself in her work as being undermined through multiple layers of oppression that have failed to address her own oppression.

> *Even though Black women intellectuals have long expressed a distinctive African-influenced and feminist sensibility about how race and class intersect in structuring gender, historically we have not been full participants in White feminist organizations (Collins, 2000, p. 5).*

Nancy Fraser, a Professor of Political and Social science and Professor of Philosophy, discusses the ideology that gendering and its binary relationships such as that of the master/slave relationship has been fallible to women, stating "gender inequality is today being transformed by a shift from dyadic relations of mastery and slave to more impersonal structural mechanisms that are lived through more fluid cultural forms" (Fraser, 1989, p. 180). Through delegitimising Māori women within history, binaries eventually created a naturalised unequal relationship between Māori men, Pākehā men, Pākehā women at the demise of Māori women.

Empowerment and transformation

Empowerment is a complex and multi layered process requiring political strategies to address the power relationships between the private realm, the public realm, and the intimate realm (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). From within the public realm, the "… economy, political institutions, judicial systems, educational systems, and so forth,"

(Karlberg, 2005, p. 5) have all been mechanisms used to undermine women in the light of privileging masculinity.

In this regard, feminists begin to understand power as power to, a form of power that empowers women through acknowledging the powerful capacity of women to produce and create change (Miller, 1992).

Many feminist approaches to power have been developed using the theory of power as Arendt (1970) and Habermas (1994) accord. In the earlier work of Arendt (1970), she cautions that power forms a 'kind of blindness' to the social reality (Arendt, 1970). This blindness causes people to internalise the power relationships and to accept their differences as acceptable forms of discrimination.

Liberal feminism ignores 'Power over' as a form of power and see this form of power as an overt form of domination, force, or violence and not a form of power. In denying power over as part of feminist theory on empowerment, denies an opportunity for power over to be utilised in a positive form to empower (Gaventa, 1980). Women who think along the lines of a liberalist approach consider power as a way or tool for redistributing power upon an equilibrium (Young, 1990).

Foucault (1975) and Gajewska (2013) remind us that power should not be recognised in its totality as negative. Gajewska (2013) provides an example of Police endorsing legislation to keep people safe as a form of power over that is positive.

Alternatively, *Transformative power* as defined by Thomas Wartenberg (1990) is an alternative feminist theory of power. One that is applied to power over as transformative power. The idea is that the oppressed uses the transformative power to become empowered. As Māori this would mean exuding power over Māori men, which does not align with the academic frameworks of kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine. How transformative power distinguishes itself is through understanding that 'power over' is a male notion of power and that removing women from this patriarchal form of power, removes this male orientated form of power. This then becomes a form of transformative power.

As Māori women, the limitations or exclusion of power over does not provide for Māori men to be empowered. There is sufficient evidence that states Māori men were also subjected to racism and classism (Gemmell, 2013; Mikaere, 2003). There is also sufficient evidence that our Māori men took on this ideology and that in turn aided colonisation in marginalising Māori women. This disparity is one that Māori women need to explore with their Māori men. As Māori, we need to address issues associated with the equilibrium between Māori men and Māori women (Mikaere, 2003). This challenge is well articulated on an International level by Minnie Grey (2010, p.27):

> *We as Inuit women, … look at these aspirations not as women's liberation, but as people's liberation. In fact, we need and love our men, and similarly, we need to liberate them from the concepts that bind them to unbreakable traditional roles that, in turn, keep the status quo intact in many regions of the world.*

Section 2 - Conclusion

The use of power and knowledge have been crucial in undermining the role of Māori women. Having the power to determine what knowledge counts as valid created a forum to execute power over Māori women.

In the fight to advocate for the rights of women, Māori women initially took on the battle of patriarchy. Until the realisation that Māori women have additional burdens that disparaged then. Patriarchy was only one part of the hierarchical classification system that subjugated Māori women. Māori women were deemed lesser than White feminists who were subjected to male dominance, as Indigenous women, Māori were racially and financially identified as insignificant to men and white women.

In conquering these disparities, it is essential that Māori women embrace their knowledge base and challenge the power systems of patriarchy and their scientific

belief. To take control of our own lives and to determine what knowledge is, we as Māori women need to fight for our understanding of the world in order to re-position ourselves. It is at this stage that we can begin to challenge systems of power that have disestablished our roles as mana wāhine.

SECTION 3 - Mātauranga Māori and Western Knowledge

Introduction

Colonial patriarchy, politics and economic authority over New Zealand has been causal to the alienation and cultural subjugation of Indigenous knowledge within New Zealand. Mātauranga Māori (Māori Indigenous knowledge) has survived colonisation, despite attempts of Western society to mystify it by delegitimising it as a mythical illusion (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001).

In this section of the literature review, an exploration of what knowledge is from an academic, Western scientific perspective will be undertaken. I then seek to examine the origins of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) and attempt to define what mātauranga Māori is.

The purpose for investigating mātauranga Māori is to make sense of Māori lived realities and experiences. Mātauranga Māori is our way as Māori of knowing and understanding the world (Bishop, 1998). It is an Indigenous way of knowing and reading the world based on lived experiences and balanced relationships between all living things (Royal, 2005).

The theorist's thoughts on knowledge

The unawareness of the notion of knowledge and its ways of knowing can cause many to be blind to their own lives and experiences (Bawden, 1991). This is not too dissimilar to what Ardent (1969) informs; we become 'blind' to lived realities and take on the thoughts and system of knowing of the privileged. This blindness has caused many Indigenous researchers to reconsider their societal positioning and to question their status. Today there is a call amongst Māori to reclaim and reassert their knowledge base in the light of defying scientific discourse (Wiri, 2014).

Understanding how knowledge is acquired and its limitations provides an opportunity to understanding how people know what they know. In his earlier work, Bawden (1991) provides an understanding of what knowledge is and how it can be understood through defining epistemology, ontology, and axiology.

Epistemology

Epistemology is a way of knowing and understanding commonly instigated through cultural, historical, and/or religious beliefs. It is a process of knowing the world through lived experiences and the realities associated with living. It is a system of knowing how you know what you know (Bawden, 1991; Creswell, 2003). This is conferred by other academics who inform that epistemology is how we know what we know (Black, 2012; Doherty, 2012; Tau, 1999). Tau (1999) informs that mātauranga Māori is Māori episteme, it is how Māori know what they know. Tau adds that Mātauranga Māori is both complex and varied in its content as a form of knowledge (1999). Wiri in his PhD thesis enlightens us that mātauranga Māori is:

> *Māori epistemology; the Māori way of knowing; the Māori world view; the Māori style of thought; Māori ideology; Māori knowledge base; Māori perspective; to fully understand the Māori world; to be knowledgeable in things Māori; to be a graduate of the Māori schools of learning (whare wānanga); Māori tradition and history; Māori experience of certain phenomena; Māori enlightenment; Māori scholarship; Māori intellectual tradition* (2001, p. 200).

On an International scale, this way of knowing is part of the 'reactivation of knowledge' (Foucault, 1980, p. 105), as a system of knowing that needs to challenge Western science through re-claiming the voice of Indigeous peoples.

Ontology

Ontological knowledge is based on lived realities and is associated with fact and theory (Bawden, 1991, Creswell, 2003). In this regard, we can liken ontological knowledge as the practised and lived experiences, enabling a reality of fact (our episteme). Professor Wiremu Doherty of Tuhoe and Chief Executive at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi attributes this form of knowledge as 'Mātauranga-a-iwi', a system of knowing that is contextualised (Doherty, 2012, pp. 15-37). Mātauranga-a-iwi, in accordance with Doherty is a system of knowing the world that is experienced and lived, and in particular to his academic contribution, a system of doing, exercised and executed by iwi as part of the tribal people of Aotearoa. Mātauranga-a-iwi is a way of knowing the world and the execution of each tribal way of knowing, creating a reality or a contextualised understanding of the world (Doherty, 2012, pp. 15-36).

Axiology

> *"In becoming me, I learn to decide what I think is wrong*
> *and what is right, as an ethical stance"* (Bawden, 1991, p.
> 3).

Bawden's (1991) 'system for knowing' fleetingly references ethics, *axiology* as a way of knowing grounded on moral philosophies which allow us to determine what the difference between good and bad; and what is right and wrong. Whilst the Western world determine ethics from an English perspective, Māori use tikanga to determine what is ethically right or wrong and, what is right and wrong. How this is undertaken is determined by the kawa of each iwi (Mead, 2003). Each iwi, hapū and whānau may implement tikanga in a different manner (kawa – the practice of how tikanga is undertaken) (Boast, Erueti, McPhail, & Smith, 2001). Whilst each iwi may undertake tikanga differently, each iwi abides by the same principles of tikanga, Doherty (2012) calls the process mātauranga-a-iwi. Mātauranga-a-iwi is the process in which each iwi exercises tikanga.

Four ways of knowing

Heron and Reason (1997) have been momentous in developing tools that permit a state of conscious through their theory of 'critical subjectivity'. A system of knowing

and understanding through acknowledging personal belief systems and lived experiences and its subjectivity through validating it through shared or collaborated views (Heron & Reason, 1997). In defining critical subjectivity Heron and Reason inform that it is:

> *… an awareness of the four ways of knowing, and how they interact, and the ways of changing the relationships between them so that they articulate a reality that is unclouded by a restrictive and ill-disciplined subjectivity* (Heron & Reason, 1997, p. 281).

In building on their earlier work of knowledge, Heron and Reason (1997) provide four ways of knowing. The four ways of knowing are briefly described as:

- *Experiential knowledge* - a method of knowing that is influenced by personal, face to face experience. It is grounded in direct immediacy and real-life experiences. This form of knowledge is "… rooted in the openness through which we encounter the presence of the world (Heron & Reason, p. 378);

- *Propositional knowledge* - a form of knowledge based on formal theory and often associated with logic and evidence. This form of knowledge can be either an accepted truth based on traditions, culture, religion or may be a known fact. Propositional knowledge can be connected to presentational knowledge (Heron & Reason, 1997);

- *Practical knowledge* – is way of knowing that is developed through the practical, active, applied and experience of activities that creates an experiential knowledge base, which is validated through practice and in their latter work. It is a knowing through knowing how to do something (Heron & Reason, p. 367);

- *Presentational knowledge* - a type of knowing that often interacts with spatiotemporal patterns of imagery and sounds. This form of knowing is often associated and communicated through images and sounds of

artistry and are generally visual or vocal methods of knowing (Heron & Reason, 1997). Some of the ways that Presentational knowledge can be acquired is movement, dance, story-telling, art, photography, poetry, and music. Therefore, it is possible that knowledge that is embodied in cultural and spiritual ways of knowing can form a participative and presentational form of knowing (Heron & Reason, 1997).

All four ways of knowing are crucial to understanding how Māori knowledge is diverse and how it is acquired and its value within a system of knowing. For Māori, these knowledge systems inform and notify how learning and the differential ways in which the acquisition of knowledge can be acquired.

Heron's (1997) latter introduction of presentational knowledge as an additional form of knowing adds to the specific ways in which Māori learnt their understanding of the world. As Māori, this way of understanding the world and informing through our knowledge was formed through our art work and oratory skills of sound. Our literature (and knowledge base) as Māori was practical and was exercised though the visual arts, and oratory, providing both the episteme and the ontology of our knowledge base. Before colonisation, Māori did not have written literacy as it is seen today (Sharples, 1994). Presentational knowledge validates traditional forms knowledge as a system of knowing.

Indigenous knowledge is an evolving process that is active, it must be experienced to be understood (McGregor, 2000). It is a process of learning that is handed down through generations based on practice and belief (Ruwhiu, 2009). Mātauranga Māori is a system that is adaptive, engaging, and transformative, or as Doherty (2012) tells us, a system of doing informed through iwi.

What is Indigenous knowledge?

Indigenous knowledge stems from traditional systems of knowing usually derived from the natural world and the metaphysical realm. Indigenous knowledge bases were informed through environmental and cultural activities of community groups (Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1999).

> *Indigenous peoples throughout the world have sustained their unique world-views and associated knowledge systems for millennia, even while undergoing major social upheavals as a result of transformative forces beyond their control. Many of the core values, beliefs, and practices associated with those worldviews have survived and are beginning to be recognized as being just as valid for today's generations as they were for generations past* (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, p. 9).

In discussing Indigenous knowledge, Royal (2005) explains that there are three key elements in the plight to have knowledge bases validated and authenticated,

1. The search for better relationships between human communities and the natural world

This theme relates to the relationship which Indigenous people have with the natural environment, one that is not superior but a relationship that acknowledges that Indigenous people are one with their natural environment, one that acknowledges that Indigenous people learn from their environment and attain a sense of consciousness (Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1999; Royal, 2005).

> *… Indigenous knowledge rooted in the long inhabitation of a particular place offers lessons that can benefit everyone, from educator to scientist, as we search for a more satisfying and sustainable way to live on this planet (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, p. 9)*

2. Knowledge weaving: Cross-disciplinary, cross-boundary thought, discussion, and knowledge

Royal (2005, p. 4) informs that learning and the acquisition of knowledge is holistic and further states that, "the weaving of knowledge and experience across domains

of knowledge and the boundaries articulated for the disciplines" provide for the complexity of lived experiences as a form of knowing. Māori knowledge, like other Indigenous forms of knowing are interweaved and cross over other disciplines, mātauranga Māori is holistic and does not sit within the confines of one discipline.

3. The revitalisation and rejuvenation of the traditional knowledge bases of Indigenous communities

Royal (2005) reminds us as Indigenous people, the goal is to recover from colonisation by understanding both our past and our future. Pivotal to this transformation is the revitalisation and rejuvenation of Indigenous knowledge bases. International authors of Alaskan Native ways of knowing and understanding the world, Kawagley and Barnhardt (2005, p.9) concur with Royal, informing "… that a significant change in basic assumptions is under way in which Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing are recognized as complex knowledge systems".

Much of the Indigenous ways of life and systems of knowing have been weakened in favour of scientific forms of knowledge (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; Foucault, 1980; Wiri, 2014). Today, knowledge has been commodified as a product that can be bought and traded. The commodification of traditional knowledge, is cautioned as it is a knowledge base that needs to be protected. Vigilance in ensuring Indigenous knowledge and ways of understanding the world are not threatened (Royal, 2005).

Mātauranga Māori and the effects of colonisation

Through the privileging of Western knowledge and Western ways of knowing the world, much of mātauranga Māori was lost or distorted (Mead, 2012; Sadler, 2012), dismissed or discredited (Wiri, 2014). As a process of assimilation, Māori lost much of their language, traditions and customs which affected the Indigenous knowledge base: mātauranga Māori (Sadler, 2012).

Whilst colonisation impacted upon mātauranga Māori, mātauranga Māori has surpassed hegemonic discourse. Mātauranga Māori continues to operate and be acknowledged as Māori knowledge and is now being reclaimed, reconstructed, and

recovered by Māori (Mead, 2012). Today we as Māori "… seek to restore the imbalance that has occurred with the imposition of Western knowledge upon mātauranga Māori and to raise the epistemological status of Indigenous knowledge systems" (Wiri, 2014, p. 17).

From a sociological perspective, Wiri (2014) informs us that power relations exist within societies. As the 'other' in the power relationship, Māori knowledge was undervalued through the need of the dominator to control and have their knowledge, (Western knowledge), seen as a superior. This 'power over' undermined the validity of mātauranga Māori as a form of knowing and understanding the world (Edwards, 2012; Salmond, 1985). This is encapsulated by Linda Smith:

> The dominance of Western, British culture, and the history
> that underpins the relationship between indigenous Māori
> and non-indigenous Pākehā, have made it extremely
> difficult for Māori forms of knowledge and learning to be
> accepted as legitimate (Smith, 1999, p. 174-175).

On an international scale, Michel Foucault was instrumental in the development of power/ knowledge as a term and reminds us that power/knowledge can be used to repress people (Foucault, 1977). Foucault also reminds us that power/knowledge can also be used to emanicpate people, through contesting the current power operation and rebelling against the power operation (Foucault, 1991). This literature review is written within this context, it contests the current power relationship that undermines mātauranga Māori and seeks the recogniton of mātauranga Māori as both valid and a 'lived reality' that is deep and meaningful.

The origins of mātauranga Māori

Before delving into the definitions of mātauranga Māori, it is important that a brief overview of where mātauranga Māori originates is undertaken. From a Māori viewpoint, like all things in the world, mātauranga Māori has a whakapapa and an origin (Mead, 2012).

Whilst there are tribal variances to the origins of mātauranga Māori, the version of Tane is offered as a contribution to understanding the origins and whakapapa of mātauranga Māori. One such example of Māori not being unitary, is that of the 'three baskets of knowledge. From a Tuhoe perspective, it is said that it was the atua, Tawhaki who was gifted the role of climbing the heavens to seek the baskets of knowledge. Regardless, both stories are similar in the sense that the knowledge of Māori stems from the heavens (Wiri, 2014).

In accordance with Wiri's unpublished manuscript (2014), Tane did as his brother, Whiro told him to and climbed to the highest heaven. It is here that Tane found the three baskets of knowledge. Each containing its own form of knowledge,

1.   Te kete tuauri – the basket of celestial knowledge,

2.   Te kete tuatea – the basket of terrestrial knowledge and

3.   Te kete aronui – the basket of human knowledge (Wiri, 2014, p. 3).

On this journey Tane also received two mauri stones that held the power of knowledge and the mana required to teach mātauranga Māori. On his return from the highest heaven with the three kete and the two mauri stones, Tane placed them safely in the purpose built whare kura.

Because Māori are not homogenous[6], each iwi had they own tohunga who taught and because of this, there are varied versions of this story. Part of mātauranga Māori that is cognisant of an iwi perspective, or as Doherty (2012) puts it, a mātauranga-a-iwi viewpoint.

Traditionally, whare wānanga and whare kura were where Māori knowledge or Māori episteme was handed down from an institutional viewpoint. These institutes of learning also had a whakapapa that extended from the metaphysical world. It is

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[6] Because Māori society is ordered in accordance with iwi, hapū and whānau, there is not always one way of knowing and ordering the world of Māori.

where our knowledge and the baskets of knowledge were held (Best, 1934). In borrowing from Salmond, Wiri offers the following whakapapa for Māori knowledge:

Te Rapunga	*The seeking*
Te Kukune	*The growth*
Te Pupuke	*The swelling*
Te Hihiri	*The energy*
Te Mahara	*The thought*
Te Hinengāro	*The mind*
Te Manako	*The ambition*
Te Wānanga	*The adjudication of knowledge (Salmond, 1985 as cited by Wiri, 2014, p.5).*

What is mātauranga Māori?

There is a large level of consensus that defining mātauranga Māori in its entirety and within one framed definition is difficult and for some, near impossible (Black, 2012; Edwards S. , 2012; Mead, 2012; Royal, 1998; Wiri, 2014). There are some theorists who argue that mātauranga Māori cannot be understood without a full understanding of te reo Māori, and that without te reo the richness of Māori epistemology cannot be realised (Black, 2012; Salmond, 1985; Tau, 1999). Yet in the light of raising the status of mātauranga Māori and challenging the power relationships of the colonisers, the academic world provides the following insights into what mātauranga Māori is.

Distinguished Professor Sir Hirini Mead, a prominent educationalist, author and well recognised expert on tikanga and Māori studies informs that prior to the use of mātauranga Māori within the education system, 'taha Māori' was used meaning "a Māori perspective" or "a Māori side to Māori students" (Mead, 2012, p. 9). Today we now see mātauranga Māori being implemented into the education system as "Māori knowledge" (Mead, 2012, p. 9).

Mead adds a fuller more descriptive explanation of what mātauranga Māori is, "[t]he term mātauranga Māori encompasses all branches of Māori knowledge, past,

present and still developing" (2003, p. 305). In adding to this definition and including other forms of learning (not necessarily associated with the Education system of New Zealand), Mead (2012) informs that mātauranga Māori includes, but is not limited to identity, whakapapa, tikanga, ahuatanga, kaupapa Māori, te reo, waiata, tā moko and kapa haka.

Mead offers a detailed analysis of Māori learning, knowledge acquisition and pedagogies, using binaries such as formal and informal, traditional, and contemporary in his description of mātauranga Māori. This information certainly contributes to an analysis of what mātauranga Māori is and how mātauranga Māori is implemented both past and present (Mead, 2003).

Dr. Rapata Wiri, offer an analysis of what mātauranga Māori is based on the "… sociological model of understanding knowledge" (Wiri, 2014, p. 2). Wiri (2014) explorations of mātauranga Māori provides two categories of knowledge. The first being, mātauranga-a-waha, which includes oral forms of knowledge and the latter being, mātauranga-a-ringa; practical forms of knowledge. Each of these forms of knowing and attaining knowledge are in consensus with Mead's (2003) work on mātauranga Māori and learning pedagogies in both a traditional and contemporary context.

Royal (1998), informs that much of the confusion regarding the definition of mātauranga Māori is derived from whether we are seeking to identify mātauranga Māori as a body of knowledge or a type of knowledge. In citing Royal, Edwards provides an epistemological stance that mātauranga is, "… the use of the term to denote a type or view of knowledge and its place in our experiences of the world" (2012, p. 43). Royal provides what he calls his working definition and his sociological viewpoint of mātauranga Māori:

> *… is a modern term for a body of knowledge that was brought to these islands by Polynesian ancestors of present-day Māori. Here this body of knowledge grew according to life in Aotearoa and Te Wai Pounamu. Despite*

an initial period of change and growth, the arrival of European populations in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries brought major impacts to the life of this knowledge, endangering in many and substantial ways. All, however, was not lost as new knowledge was created through the encounter with the European and through the experience of the creation of the new nation called New Zealand. Important fragments and portions – notably the Māori language - remain today. These fragments and portions are catalysing a new creative period in Māori history and culture and in the life of the New Zealand nation (2007, p. 17).

Mead acknowledges that critics of mātauranga Māori are of the belief that mātauranga Māori was only in existence prior to colonisation (Mead, 2012). Adding to Mead's definitions of mātauranga Māori from an educational perspective, Mead states; "It would be futile to endeavour to discover the beginning of mātauranga Māori. It comes with the people, with the culture and with the language. Mātauranga is and will be" (2003, p. 305).

Hone Sadler (2012) informs that mātauranga Māori was in existence at the beginning of time and has been handed down through generations. He goes on to acknowledge that whilst colonisation has impacted upon mātauranga Māori, it is still part of the Māori world view and is in a stage of revitalisation. Sadler (2012) agrees with Royal that mātauranga Māori is a term devised upon European arrival in New Zealand. Sadler (2012) articulates that whakapapa, te rangatiratanga, te tohungatanga, te manaakitanga, te whānaungatanga, te ukaipo and te kotahitanga are all concepts which inform and contribute to the understanding and development of mātauranga Māori.

Anthropologist, historian and acclaimed author, Dame Anne Salmond provides a beautifully written narrative relating to the lived realities and concepts of mātauranga

Māori. Her narrative is based on Eruera Stirling's personal account of mātauranga Māori and is an excellent contribution to the social and theoretical perspective of what mātauranga Māori is. In the words of Stirling, Salmond has beautifully captured the following definition and relevance of mātauranga Māori:

> *Knowledge or Mātauranga is a blessing on your mind, it makes everything clear and guides you to do things in the right way … and not a word will be thrown at you by the people. It is the man who goes with his spirit and his mind and his heart believing in all these things who will climb to the high summits of leadership (1980, p. 247).*

In her later work, Salmond (1985) challenges the recording of Māori epistemologies by historical Western academics stating that Māori ways of knowing the world were undermined in favour of Western knowledge bases and in turn misinterpreted mātauranga Māori. Salmond (1985) provides an insight into the traditional whare wānanga and the pedagogies used within the whare wānanga to transmit mātauranga Māori.

Salmond describes the learning of mātauranga Māori as a process, one that transitions from mohio – to know, to marama – to understand, to wānanga – to investigate and adjudicate, and finally to mātauranga – to be enlightened (1985). Whilst Salmond states that wānanga is a form of mātauranga Māori, Marsden (2003) states that mātauranga was exercised within the wānanga and developed as a kakano, or seed and then came to be mohio, a way of knowing. Royal probably best expresses this (2004) using the following quote from Māori Marsden:

> *If one is upon a canoe, traversing the ocean at dawn, one see's the rising sun at dawn. Now behind the canoe, you will see 'sea foam' or Hukatai. You have traversed and are traversing the pathways of knowledge, from the beginning. Now as you travel toward the rising sun and you look at the 'tail' of the canoe, at Hukatai, you will also see Rehutai, a*

rainbow within the sea foam that rises along the canoe. Now that is the symbolism. Knowledge (Mātauranga) is different from knowing (mohio). When the illumination of the spirit arrives (symbolised by the rainbow effect in the water), the one truly knows, according to your ancestors. When the illumination of spirit arrives in the mind of the person (that is when understanding occurs) for knowledge belongs to the head and knowing belongs to the heart. When the person understands both in the mind and in the spirit, then it is said that that person 'truly knows' (mohio) (Marsden, 2003 cited in Royal, 2004, p.12).

Another narrative approach is offered by Paul Moon, who interviewed tohunga, Hohepa Kereopa. In discussing mātauranga Māori, Kereopa cautions the need for mātauranga Māori to be shared so that it survives. Kereopa informs that:

In the old days, the tohunga used to put restrictions on things, but now, the whole world has changed, and we have to face up to that, because if we put restrictions on it now, a lot of stuff could be lost (Moon, 2003, p. 100).

In adding to this Kereopa says; *I believe that each person who takes out a leaf of knowledge opens themselves up to receive more knowledge, and so the thing that keeps tohunga going in the end is that the knowledge survives, even though it is not passed on in the way it used to be* (Moon, 2003, p. 105).

Traditionally, restrictions or tapu were placed over knowledge to protect the knowledge. Kereopa raises a valuable reality for Māori in relation to losing the knowledge if it is not shared. Caution must also be given to who it is shared with and who will have control/power of this knowledge if it is freely disseminated (Foucault, 1980; Royal, 2005). This leads to another comment that Moon has recorded in his

narrative, that provides a reason for caution, "… he wanted to have the knowledge, but not the understanding" (Moon, 2003, p. 15).

Professor Taiarahia Black provides a literary assessment of mātauranga Māori and offers the following definition, "Mātauranga Māori is widely used as a tool to express and interpret one's thoughts, pedagogies, hopes, history, incantations, contemporary issues, and traditional knowledge" (Black, 2012, p. 77). Black provides an analysis and interpretation of mātauranga Māori through a traditional composition called 'Te koko ki Ohiwa' (2014). Black breaks down the first 13 lines of the patere (a rhythmic chant) and examines each line offering a view of how mātauranga Māori is created. Black's contribution to mātauranga Māori relates to the transmission and creation of knowledge and is specific to detailing the interconnectedness of the natural environment, history, and the people as a way of knowing and understanding (Black, 2014). This analysis is undertaken through a Tuhoe lens, or as Doherty (2012) calls it a "mātauranga-a-iwi" perspective.

Mātauranga-a-iwi

Professor Wiremu Doherty of Tuhoe, is employed as Chief Executive at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi based in Whakatane. Doherty's (2009) PhD thesis was, "Mātauranga Tuhoe: The centrality of mātauranga-a-iwi to Māori Education. Doherty (2012) provides a theoretical framework and a narrative of his own iwi (Tuhoe) to define Māori knowledge. Doherty offers the 'Ranga framework' as a model for research that utilises generic knowledge, mātauranga Māori, kaupapa Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi. Doherty explains each of these terms,

> 1. Generic knowledge is non-Māori knowledge, principles, and values,
>
> 2. Mātauranga Māori is Māori principles and values including whakapapa, manaaki, kaitiaki, waiata and pōwhiri,

3. Kaupapa Māori provides the space within his framework to enable mātauranga Māori and mātauranga-a-iwi to operate safely; and

4. Crucial to his work on mātauranga Māori is his introduction of mātauranga-a-iwi. Mātauranga-a-iwi is tribal knowledge explicit to relationship between the people and their land. It is through this relationship that mātauranga Māori is contextualised (Doherty, 2012).

Doherty's contribution to defining mātauranga Māori is of interest as he states that mātauranga Māori is a de-contextualised form of knowledge and that it becomes contextualised through mātauranga-a-iwi. Mātauranga-a-iwi "… provides the depth and wider explanation of mātauranga Māori" (Doherty, 2012, p. 26).

In Doherty's explanation mātauranga Māori holds the values and principles that apply to Māori knowledge, but not the application to which he attributes mātauranga-a-iwi as being charged with. Yet on its own merit, Doherty states that mātauranga Māori is Māori knowledge and that it "… bridges both traditional and contemporary Māori knowledge curriculum, pedagogy, and philosophy. It is through mātauranga Māori that histories and knowledge within Māori education are uncompromisingly told" (Doherty, 2012, p. 19).

Section 3 - Conclusion

In concluding this part of the literature review, it is apparent that mātauranga Māori in its most simplistic form is "Māori knowledge". It is a form of Indigenous knowledge. There is certainly a level of unanimity within academia that mātauranga Māori is theoretical, practical, and experiential. Yet there are also uncertainties around defining mātauranga Māori that implicates an inability for Māori to actually define for themselves exactly what Māori knowledge is. In stating this, it is not intended to mean that mātauranga Māori is not definable, it is to state that there are various ways of defining and knowing what mātauranga Māori is. It is probably best said in the following whakatauāki:

Rereke ta tenei, rereke ta tana

It is different for this one and different for that one (Wiri, 2014, p.5)

Each iwi had its own tohunga who taught within the whare wānanga and disseminated mātauranga Māori in accordance with each iwi' traditions, customs, practices and philosophies (Doherty, 2012).

There is some consensus amongst academics that from an epistemological viewpoint mātauranga Māori is Māori knowledge developed in the past and maintained into the future through 'lived realities' (Black, 2012; Doherty, 2012; Edwards, 2012; Royal, 2007; Mead, 2003; Sadler, 2012). Mātauranga Māori is eclectic, based on the lived experiences of Māori people. How mātauranga Māori is applied is dependant on who is applying it and from what traditions, customs, practices and philosophies they adhereing to.

SECTION 4 - Mana wāhine and mātauranga-a-wāhine

Introduction

Western knowledge, beliefs and value systems re-interpreted the traditional roles of Māori (Smith, 1999). What Western theorists did was create or invent a truth of what the Māori world was like based on their Western viewpoint. Māori were recorded as a collective Indigenous group and viewed internationally as 'savage and primitive' people, by contrast to the enlightened and liberal Western culture (Smith, 1999).

These views of society changed the way that Māori perceived themselves. It distorted their own ideologies and identities. No one researching about Māori from a Western viewpoint could have ever written the history of Māori accurately. As Salmond records, it would have been impossible for any Western researcher to have investigated the traditional Māori cultural ways of life adequately. She goes one step further to state that much of what was recorded was "… cobbled together in accounts of traditional behaviour that included practices which never would have co-existed in any given Māori community at any given time" (Salmond, 1983, p. 316).

The misinterpretation and misrepresentation of Māori women has had dire effects on Māori women. The knowledge, roles, and positions of power and authority were undermined through making Māori women the colonised other (Mikaere, 2003).

This section of the literature review looks at mana and its acquisition (as it pertains to Māori women); and finally, what mātauranga-a-wāhine is and how it was transmitted. Mana is not easily defined but is quite complementary to power from a Western academic ideology. For Māori mana is much greater than power and this section of the literature review discusses this in some depth.

What is mana?

Defining the Māori vocabulary through English terms, is not simplistic. The terminology used by Māori can have multiple meanings which are complicated by the context and use of the word (Ripikoi, 2015). Simmonds articulates the complexity in defining mana is associated with it being "… multi-layered, relational, spatial and informed by spiritual influences" (2011, p. 18). Mana is a spiritual power gifted by the atua (Royal, 2003), informing the basis of the inter-relationships between the physical, the spiritual realm and the environment through mātauranga Māori (Ripikoia, 2015). This notion of mana is supported by Rose Pere:

> *mana is the divine right, influence, and prestige… 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!* (1991, p. 14).

Mana originates from the atua (Hamilton-Pearce, 2009; Royal, 2003). From within a Māori context, everything that is derived from the atua has mana. Mana whenua recognises the intrinsic power of the land to contribute to the sustainability and wellbeing of the people. Mana atua is noted by Pere (1991) as the most important mana. It is a gift handed down to the tūpuna (ancestors), through whakapapa or roles

as ariki, who have a strong connection with the atua. The tūpuna, who possess this mana are known as mana tūpuna.

Mana tangata (mana of a person) is bestowed to the people as an individual form of mana gained through the proven abilities and efforts of the individuals (Mead, 2003). Pere informs that mana tangata is attributed to charismatic leaders able to unite the collective (Pere, 1991) . Both Māori men and women possess a complementary form of mana. Mana tāne and mana wāhine are gifts of power and authority endowed to Māori men and Māori women in recognition to their balanced relationship with Papatūānuku (Earth mother) and Ranginui (Sky father) (Hamilton-Pearce, 2009).

Mana as described by Marsden (and cited by Royal) as an authority that is bequeathed on a person from the atua (Royal, 2003). August extends this understanding of mana to include "… integrity, charisma, prestige" (2005, p. 122).

Pūrākau inform that Māori women receive their mana from Papatūānuku and Hine Ahu One as the creators of life within the realm of the atua (Yates Smith, 1998). The gift of mana was bestowed upon Māori women as 'whare tangata' (the house of the people), and their ability to sustain the future generations of Māori (Mikaere, 2003; Smith-Henry, 2015). The relationship Māori women have with Papatūānuku is not too far dissimilar to that of the Indigenous women of Hawaii as expressed by Steinem:

> *The earth is our mother; from her we receive our life and our ability to live. It is our responsibility to care for our mother, and in caring for our mother, we care for ourselves. Women, all females, are a manifestation of Mother Earth in human form…* (Steinem, 1996, p. 14).

Traditions of mana wāhine

Within the spiritual realm, Māori women were significant contributors to society. This is well recorded within the narrative of Māori. The story of mana wāhine

commences with Earth mother; Papatūānuku and is recorded in many oral traditions such as whaikorero, waiata, karanga, whakatauāki and moteatea (Ripikoi, 2015; Wirihana, 2012). These narratives not only connect Māori with Te Ao Māori, but used as a counter methodology can also reconnect Māori with their traditions and knowledge base.

Before colonisation, Māori worked with each other for the betterment of their iwi, hapū and whānau sustainability (Mikaere, 2003; Wirihana, 2012). Historically, Māori had reciprocal relationships of balance (Mikaere, 2003). The restoration of mātauranga Māori for future generations, requires that mana wāhine respects and works to restore the balance of Māori men and Māori women (Ruwhiu, 2009).

Māori women are conscious to the fact that colonisation has distorted the traditional concept of mana wāhine (Johnston & Pihama, 2005). Assumptions that Māori men dominated Māori women as leaders is purely a form of colonisation (Mikaere, 1994). From a traditional viewpoint, Māori women and their men lived balanced lives, where gender was not a determinant for leadership. The colonised view of Māori men being dominant over Māori women undermines the fundamental role of both Māori women and Māori men (Mikaere, 2003; Ruwhiu, 2009). It falls short of the equilibrium of life in which Māori men and women traditionally lived (Pihama, 2001).

Because of colonisation, the positioning and role of atua wāhine and the spiritual 'way of being' was marginalised and in turn affected how Māori women saw themselves and their wairua. (Simmonds, 2009). Caution must be given to behaviours that see Māori women internalising the ideologies of colonisation:

> *There are so many battles out there but sometimes we*
> *create our own internal battles. Its about trying not to buy*
> *into that* (Wirihana, 2012, p. 173).

In the plight to prevent accepting these internalised messages, Ripeka Evans (1994) defines mana wāhine as a process of self-determination. A process by which Māori women determine their own social, political, and cultural future. Much of the

academic research being undertaken by (and for) Māori women asserts that mana wāhine should be affirmative (Irwin, 1992; Pihama, 2001; Te Awekotuku, 1991; Wirihana, 2012). Pihama (2001) explains that mana wāhine is the lived realities of Māori women, defined by Māori culture and underpinned by Māori values and a Māori worldview.

Tikanga and te reo require the acknowledgement of both mana wāhine and mana tāne (Mikaere, 2003, Ripikoi, 2015). Within traditional Māori society, te reo Māori was not a gendered language (Smith-Henry, 2015). Mikaere (2003) calls for both tane and wāhine to actively utilise and implement tikanga within their whānau as a way of understanding that tikanga is not biased by gender. It does not exploit Māori women, nor does it position Māori men as superior to their Māori women.

Fortunately, some Māori women have maintained roles or status and stature within their whānau, hapū and iwi. This is not because of their gender, but because of their whakapapa, an endowed system of mana and has upheld the role of Māori women as mana wāhine. This is not too dissimilar to other women across the world (Mellon, 1990; Monture-Angus, 1999).

Mana wāhine as a form of identity

The disparagement of mana Māori (Māori identity) through colonisation and imperialism has seen a breakdown of tribal structures. Subsequently, the fragmentation of these structures has affected the notion of whānau through the infiltration of paternalistic supremacy. The newly acquired Western realities and values have engraved into the consciousness of Māori that individualism is a superior way of life. The importance of oneself has become more important than the individual's responsibility to the collective.

Once Western patriarchal beliefs and values were engrossed into the Māori psyche, many Māori men begun to take on the same behaviours and attitudes of the Western man. Land became owned, women and children became possessions. The newly acquired concept of ownership and possessions or assets diminished the traditional Māori value and worth of the land and its people within Aotearoa. Ultimately,

colonisation marginalised cultural identities, traditional knowledges bases, the practices, and histories of Indigenous people (Reid & Robson, 2006). Colonisation introduced systems of power that controlled the distribution of resources and eventually enabled power to be exercised over the Indigenous people of Aotearoa (Reid & Robson, 2006).

Today, like many like-minded Māori researchers in search for the recovery of mana and mātauranga Maori, Helene Connor comments that:

> *the reclamation of our cultural identity as Māori or more specifically, our mana wāhine Māori, is one way we can challenge the social consequences of both literal and metaphorical imprisonment* (Connor, 2000, p. 125).

> *Māori women have always had mana. The historical experiences of colonisation with its overlays of patriarchy, racism and capitalism resulted in a temporary suppression of mana for many women, but by no means for all* (Connor, 2000, p. 134).

Rationale for developing a Māori women's theoretical framework

Concerns for Indigenous and women of Colour soon became an international concern. Indigenous women seeking an approach to research that acknowledged the gendered and racist issues that Indigenous women were affected by became a significant issue. The traditional white feminist movements were not recognising the disparities of Indigenous women being oppressed by racism (Simmonds, 2009; Smith, 1992; Whiu, 1994).

The predicament and difficulty for Māori women in developing a coalition with Pākehā feminists was the lack of acknowledgement and responsibility for colonisation (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Simmonds, 2011; Smith, 1999). Whilst it is acknowledged that feminism is relevant to all women, Pākehā feminism falls short in

acknowledging the hegemonic discourse associated with white structures imposed upon Māori women (Pihama, 2001). This is encapsulated by Whiu:

> *It seems to me that my struggle necessarily takes account of your struggle. I can't ignore patriarchy in my struggle. Yet you can and do ignore the 'colour' of patriarchy, the culture-specific of patriarchy. And in so doing you ignore me* (1994, p. 168)*.*

The central focus of gender disparity within Pākehā feminism continues to marginalise Māori women. In fact, Smith (1992) goes one step further to state that white feminism oppresses Māori women:

> *Māori women belong to the group of women in the world who have been historically constructed as the 'other' by white patriarchies and white feminism. As women we have been defined in our difference to men. As Māori we have been defined in terms of our difference to our colonisers. As both we have been defined by our difference to Māori men, Pākehā men and Pākehā women* (Smith, 1992, p. 33)*.*

Māori women's concern is not merely racial, but that of gendered discrimination, which has in turn positioned Māori women as socially deficit to Pākehā women, Pākehā men and Māori men (Johnston & Pihama, 1994).

Māori women are not only seeking equity in their positioning as women, but also their cultural positioning (Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011). As Māori women, the focus is making Māori women visible and re-writing, re-interpreting, re-correcting the roles, positions, and status of Māori women, both historically and contemporary. The development of mana wāhine as a theoretical framework challenges colonial ideologies, patriarchy and Western assumptions that have alienated and marginalised Māori women (Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011).

Mana wāhine as a theoretical and methodological framework

During the 1970's and 1980's Māori women (including, Kath Irwin, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Linda Smith and Rose Pere[7]) begun to discuss the power relationships associated with racism, classism, and sexism. It became evident that feminism wasn't addressing the racist and classist disparities of Māori women. This led to an international criticism of feminism as a discriminative forum that wasn't addressing the needs of women of race (Simmonds, 2009). In this regard, "Western feminism have tended to serve the interests of white women" (Pihama, 2001, p. 37). Kuni Jenkins explains the disparities associated with Western feminism:

> *What feminist discourse was dealing with was the oppression of women by men. So that's the gender struggle. What was wrong with the feminist struggle is that they were actually fighting Pāhekā men and then they expected Māori women to join and fight Māori men* (Jenkins & Pihama, 2001, p.300).

The trouble with Western feminism was that it failed to recognize that Māori men also suffered from oppression. Traditional feminism did not factor in the struggles endured by Māori men and Māori women through power relationships associated with racism and classism, it was only recognising gendering (Jenkins & Pihama, 2001).

By engaging in feminist theories, it was often inferred that this activism is both 'anti-Māori' and 'anti- Māori men' (Simmonds, 2009, p. 22). From a cultural viewpoint, feminist approaches remain contentious as they fail to provide a forum to which Māori men and Māori women as a collective can remove themselves from the colonising effects of power (Mikaere, 2003). As a theoretical framework, mana wāhine not only values the role of Māori women, it also acknowledges the

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[7] (Irwin, 1994:1992; Te Awekotuku 2007:2006:1996:1991, Smith, 2006:1999:1996:1993:1992 & Pere, 1998:1991)

contributions that Māori women make for Māori people collectively (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011; Smith-Henry, 2015).

It must also be noted that part of the issue for Māori women is that colonisation created a forum where 'mana tāne' "… has been supported and protected by the dominant society, but mana wāhine has been attacked and rendered invisible" (Irwin, 1992 as cited by Simmonds, 2009, p.22). Or as Naomi Simmonds accords, "… the colonial impositions or race, gender and class ideologies posit Māori women in an inferior position, not only to non-Māori but also in relation to Māori men" (Simmonds, 2009, p. 24). Part of the transformative process for Māori women is respecting the balance between Māori men and Māori women, and restoring the equilibrium between Māori collectively (Mikaere, 2003; Smith-Henry, 2015).

Today, "Mana wāhine … challenges the hegemonic colonial masculinist ideologies and makes visible issues and analysis pertinent to Māori women" (Hutchings, 2002, p.11 as cited by Simmonds, 2009, p. 23). As a theoretical framework, mana wāhine "… examines the intersection of being Māori and female" (Simmonds, 2011, p. 11). Simmonds goes further to state that as an extension of kaupapa Māori theory, mana wāhine is about "… making visible the narratives and experiences, in all their diversity, of Māori women" (Simmonds, 2011, p. 11). Simmonds draws upon "... the exciting possibilities of mana wāhine, an extension of kaupapa Māori theory" (Simmonds, 2011, p. 11). For far too long Māori women have been misrepresented on multiple levels through being positioned in the margins. In reasserting our roles and positions Māori women recognise that their:

> *… voices have been silenced for far too long. The silencing of Māori women's voices has meant the silencing of our theories and worldviews. It has meant that Māori womens stories are then able to be defined as 'myths', and therefore as some figment of the cultural imagination* (Pihama, 2001. p. 237).

Mana wāhine as an academic framework permits researchers to remember and affirm the *her*stories of their female atua and tūpuna (Pihama, 2001). By investigating and researching from within a "… mana wāhine perspective [Māori women], not only challenge the dominant hegemons that continue to 'Other' Māori women but, and more importantly, validates mātauranga wāhine (Māori women's knowledges) and subsequently mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge)" (Simmonds, 2011, p. 11).

> *Mana wāhine, then is a space where Māori women can, on*
> *our 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* (Simmonds, 2011, p. 11-12).

Mana wāhine contests the domination of 'Western Colonial patriarchy' society, in the light of privileging the lived and experienced realities of Māori women (Simmonds, 2009, p. 27). Mana wāhine is a forum to which Māori women can challenge, resist, and transform ideologies and power relationships that have systemically marginalised Māori women (Simmonds, 2009). Connor posits:

> *The resurgence of mana wāhine Māori evident in*
> *contemporary society is indicative of postcolonialism and*
> *the collective resistance of all indigenous people who are*
> *attempting to dismantle power structures that*
> *marginalised and eroded our cultural identity and mana*
> (Connor, 2000, p. 134).

Māori have valid reasoning for being suspicious of theory. Traditionally, it has been used as an oppressive tool, that has subjugated Māori. "The development and articulation of Māori women's theories is essential to the ongoing struggle not only for Māori women, but for the well-being of Māori generally" (Jenkins & Pihama, 2011, p.294). Mana wāhine is one example of a theoritical tool that enables Māori women, "... to define, develop and control our own theoritical base as Māori women. [T]hen

theory is a tool that we can use for our own interests" (Jenkins & Pihama, 2011, p.293).

Mātauranga-a-wāhine

This is a specialised form of knowledge that is specific to Māori women (Winitana, 2013). It is a knowledge base that has been handed down by Māori women to their Māori children. It is an exclusive way of understanding the world, one that is transpired through mātauranga Māori.

As stated previously, Māori women and Māori men were both equal and recognised as being central within pūrākau (stories) and putake, (our stories of origin) (Pihama, 2001). Upon contact with the Western world in New Zealand, these pūrākau were reinterpreted by Western ideologies that saw Māori pūrākau as 'mythology' or a 'figment of the cultural imagination' (Pihama, 2001). Much of the stories traditionally handed down through generations that saw Māori women and their Māori men as knowledgeable and equal, were construed to accommodate the beliefs and values of Western patriarchy and religion (Mikaere, 2003).

Christianity has been destructive to Māori spirituality and has displaced the relationship between the spiritual and physical realities of Māori. The spirituality of Māori (wairua) is cited by Rose Pere (1988, p. 13-14) in Leonie Pihama's (2001, p. 285) thesis; "… 'wairua' denotes wai (water), rua (two), a word that can depict spirituality. The Māori saw the physical realm as being immersed and integrated with the spiritual realm".

The challenge for Māori women is to reclaim their spirituality and the relationship with their wāhine atua. Linda Smith (1992, pp. 42-43) articulates that; "As the human manifestation of the female elements, women have been engaged in a monumental and historic-mythological spiritual struggle". Engaging in resisting this spiritual struggle, Māori women can affirm their knowledge base by making visible their wairua and giving voice to their narratives (Pihama, 2001).

Through re-telling Māori stories from within a Western lens, the knowledge base of Māori was damaged. Māori women were often written out of the records, or undermined (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001). This has impacted on the knowledge base of Māori women, as the knowledge was acquired through these pūrākau and the actions of the atua. Hirini Mead expresses the marginalisation of Māori knowledge:

> *A vast body of knowledge was trivialised, misunderstood and misinterpreted by viewing it through the concepts and cultural biases of Pākehā knowledge. In many instances such knowledge appeared to be defined out of existence although in fact what had happened was that mātauranga Māori was put in limbo* (Mead, 1986, as cited by Mikaere, 2003, p.10)

The challenge is to regain the status and roles of Māori in the light of 'rescuing mātauranga Māori' (Mikaere, 2003). Central to this process is the reclamation of pūrākau regarding the atua, and specifically, that of Māori women, the wāhine atua (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Yates Smith, 1998). In discussing the "cultural renaissance" that Māori are undertaking Aroha Yates Smith (1998, 4-5) "… calls for a recovery of spiritual knowledge" to enable the "… re-establishing of balance at a personal, cultural and environmental level".

Mātauranga was regarded as a resource acquired from the atua. It was not merely information, it was a taonga to be preserved, retained, and handed down carefully to ensure its safety. Māori women as transmitters of mātauranga Māori were kaitiaki (caretakers) of this taonga and guardians of such knowledge (Mikaere, 2003).

Categorising mātauranga Māori

Mātauranga Māori has been explained in some detail in the earlier section of this literature review. Briefly mātauranga Māori is the Māori way of understanding and knowing the world, through their experiences and lived realities (Royal, 1998; Wiri, 2014). Mātauranga Māori is the Indigenous body of knowledge belonging to Māori.

As categorised by Wiri (Wiri, 2014, p. 2), mātauranga Māori can be broken into two groups. The first category includes the oral forms of knowledge (*mātauranga-ā-waha*) which encompass: Kōrero (narrative), Whakapapa (genealogy), Waiata (songs), Whakatauāki (proverbial sayings) and Kupu whakari (prophetic sayings).

The second category that Wiri introduces is the empirical knowledge base of Māori, (*mātauranga-ā-ringa*). Contained within this body of knowledge is; whakairo (carving), tā moko (tattooing), hangāu whare (house building), kowhaiwhai and raranga, (Māori border patterns and weaving), tāniko (needle work), hangārau (technology), whakatere waka (navigation), and rongoa (Māori medicine) (Wiri, 2014, pp. 2-3).

Whilst the list is not exhaustive, much of the methods of communicating mātauranga Māori are listed and can be further extended to include other more precise forms of knowing and understanding, (extended forms of kōrero) such as putake, pūrākau and pakiwaitara (Wiri, 2014, p. 3).

These two categories are important to understanding the traditional methods of knowledge transmission for Māori. Traditionally, Māori learnt and acquired their knowledge through oral and practical experiences inter-generationally.

Mātauranga- a-wāhine – Mātauranga-a-waha

Traditionally, intergenerational learning was crucial to the sustainability of mātauranga Māori. Pedagogies included oral and practical activities. Some examples of how oral histories within Aotearoa were transmitted are purakau, waiata, and whakatauki (Mikaere, 2003).

Pūrākau

Pūrākau were a crucial method for telling the future generations of their past and whakapapa. These narratives provided Māori with a process to understanding the historical contexts that forms the Māori worldviews, values, beliefs, and philosophies (Wirihana, 2012). Today they remain important to Māori as mechanisms that guide Māori in modern day Māori communities.

> *Pūrākau were the primary method used in formal and informal traditional Māori learning environments to sustain knowledge across generations, Informal learning in Māori communities was based on the transmission of intergenerational knowledge whereby mātauranga (education, knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill) of children was nurtured within mulit-generational environments* (Wirihana, 2012, p. 229).

Pūrākau, were gifted from the atua and seen as a taonga. They provided narratives of the spiritual world and the relationships with tangata whenua (Jenkins & Mountain Harte, 2011. Purakau were also used to explain the naming of places and the associations that Māori have with the whenua. This could include Māori wars, and their relationships to the environment (Carter, 2005).

Whakatauki

Another way in which Māori learnt about mātauranga Māori was through the transmission of whakatauki. Whakatauki are short proverbial sayings that are often poetic in nature. They give guidance, and lessons to Māori. One of the most commonly noticed uses of whakatauki is within a whaikorero. The kaumatua will use whakatauki that complement their speech and their reason for a hui (Wirihana, 2012).

The karanga

It is often stated within the written records regarding Māori women, that they did not talk on the marae. This statement is a fallacy, brought about by Western ideologies of the roles and positions of women (Irwin, 1992; Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001). It is important to note that Māori women are usually the first and last voice to be heard on the marae (through their roles as Kaikaranga, and Kaiwaiata). The process of women within pōwhiri is also an example of how Māori women and men work collaboratively to maintain the mana of the marae (Wirihana, 2012).

One specific and crucial example of Māori women and their role as mana wāhine preserving and disseminating mātauranga is that of the karanga. Karanga means to call or summons (Ferris, 2014). The role of the karanga is a spiritual role that both supports and protects the men on the marae ātea and its proceedings. It is a process of spiritual safety bounded by the elements of tapu and noa (Mikaere, 2003). The power of Māori women to undertake these mechanisms of safety is derived from their atua, Hine Ahu One (in life) and Hine Nui Te po (in death). Through these two wāhine atua, Māori women are about to "straddle the line of tapu and noa" (Wilson, 2017). As the Kaikaranga, Māori women initiate the formal process. Without this call there is no proceeding onto the marae.

> *The karanga can only be issued by women. Without the karanga, visitors remain outside the marae at the gate. It is the women, then, among the tangata whenua, who provide the first 'key' to entry. The key is a spiritual one – the karanga. Only when the karanga has been issued by the tangata whenua can the group safely move onto the marae.* (Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986, p. 50).

By calling, the manuhiri onto the marae, the Kaikaranga must acknowledge the dead, the whare tūpuna, and identify the purpose of the manuhiri' visit, who they are and where they come from (Ferris, 2014). It is a special role, one that requires knowledge of whakapapa and an ability to connect the whenua, a role taught and learnt. No formal hui commences on the marae without the karanga (Ferris, 2014).

Māori women are the first voice (the tangata whenua Kaikaranga) to be heard on the marae, they are the key to entering the marae (Ferris, 2014). Mihipeka Edwards (2002) likens the karanga to the whaikōrero, but a form that is chanted. The crucial role of the karanga is one to inform and enlighten people on the marae to who is coming, where they are from and why they are coming (Ferris, 2014). It is a role exclusive to Māori women (Te Awekotuku, 1991). The call of the Kaikaranga is one of love and sincerity inviting the manuhiri onto the marae on (Ferris, 2014). The karanga

is a call on behalf of the tangata whenua and the role of the Kaikaranga is to uphold the mana of the marae (Ferris, 2014). As a Kaikaranga, it is crucial that both worlds, the spiritual and the physical are linked. The karanga is a medium that enables the living and the dead to cross safely over the marae ātea to the living and dead of the tangata whenua (Ferris, 2014; Mikaere, 2003). In citing Salmond, Mikaere provides the following quote regarding the spiritual role of the Kaikaranga:

> *By the time the callers have finished the dead are almost tangibly present on the marae. All the group, the living and dead members alike, are brought together, making a long unbroken chain of kinsmen that stretches right back to Hawaiki and the Po* (Salmond,1970, p.140 as cited by Mikaere, 2003, p. 61).

Mikaere (2003) explains that the significance of the Kaikaranga in doing this relates to the mana of Māori women and their ability to negate between tapu and noa. Māori men are unable to complete this role and need to be protected through the karanga and the power of Māori women. The karanga is about the connection of Māori, past, present, and future (Ferris, 2014).

In calling, it is important that the karanga comes from your whare tangata (Ferris, 2014). The karanga is a vibration that touches the soul, "… quivering voice that resonates throughout the whole marae, touching the heart of all those listening" (Ferris, 2014, p. 6).

The role of the karanga is a role usually entrusted to either a barren wāhine or a kuia. Sometimes, one will call, or there can be more than one who will call in unison. The kuia will always complete the final call autonomously (Edwards, 2002).

Another important role of the kuia is that of the first person to come onto the marae, followed by the other women and the men are either behind or to the side of the wāhine (Edwards, 2002). As you move onto the marae, the kuia (kai whakautu) will return the call to the Kaikaranga. The significance of this kuia is to clear the path,

introduce her people, their whakapapa, and their reason for coming. Clearing the path is an important process, as the marae ātea is the space of the god of war - Tūmatauenga. This is an important role of both Kaikaranga; they set the scene informing the men and tangata whenua of what the intentions are and what the whaikōrero relates to (Edwards M. , 2002; Mikaere, 2003). The kuia leading her people onto the marae does so with dignity, courage, and love. The kuia carries her people on her back, and this journey onto the marae can include carrying her ancestors (Edwards, 2002).

In accordance with Edwards (2002), Māori women at times hold more mana than Māori men. Edwards (2002) explains that Māori women hold the kawa, are often tohunga and have various roles to perform, such as caregivers, mother, and grandmothers. As Māori women on the marae, we are responsible for ensuring Māori men are on track with their roles. Ferris (2014) extends this discussion saying that kuia on the marae maintain whakapapa, hold the wisdom of the tūpuna and teach the tamariki through our traditional narrative methods.

The art of the karanga is best described in a personal conversation that Edwards recorded with her Aunty Polly:

> *A karanga is a composition, a prayer, a piece of poetry, a tangi of happiness, joy, sorrow, even anger, depending on the occasion. If you want to karanga, call from your heart, your inner self. Do not copy anyone else when they karanga. Be unique, compose your own karanga, create your own style* (Edwards, 2002, p. 21).

Edwards also provide 3 names for the kuia who does the karanga. She can be the reo-karanga, meaning the voice that calls, manukorihi, the singing bird or a Kaikaranga (2002). Ferris informs that the manuhiri Kaikaranga is known as the kai whakautu and Mikaere (2003) provides another name for the Kaikaranga - pae ārahi (the leaders over the threshold).

On presenting a koha, a karanga from the tangata whenua may be offered to express gratitude (Ferris, 2014), yet some iwi like Te Arawa do not karanga for koha (Edwards, 2002). This ritual of takoha (shortened to koha) is attributed to Hine ahu one (the first human) and nga atua. In the creation story of Hine ahu one, the atua came together to gift (koha) the necessary things for life:

- Io Matua gifted toto (spirit and blood)

- Tawhirimatea gifted the lungs

- Tumatauenga gifted the qualities of bravery and courage

- Whiro gifted disease and pestilence

- Tane te Wānanga gifted the intellect and

- Rua-te-pukenga gifted thought and reason (Open Wānanga, 2011, p. 27)

Today the koha is recognised as a contribution to the tangata whenua and the overall purpose for the gathering.

Whaikōrero and Māori women

It is often assumed that Māori women traditionally, were not permitted speaking rights on the marae (Irwin, 1992). This may have been the general case, but there are certainly women who did speak on the marae ātea (Irwin, 1992). There are other forms of speaking in which Māori women did participate vocally on the marae, this sometimes took place on the whakamahau (veranda) (Open Wānanga, 2011). The women who did have a right to whaikōrero on the marae, were certainly women of mana. It is probably acceptable to assume that it was not the right of all women, as they were to be protected as whare tangata. Those women who did stand to speak, are likely to have been just as capable as their male counterparts in warfare (Mikaere, 2003, p. 63).

Mihi Kotukutuku of Whānau Apanui is vividly recollected for her stance on the marae whilst attending a tangi in Te Arawa. Given Mihi's whakapapa, she outranked all the male speakers. Mihi arose and begun a chant, shortly after starting the men of Te Arawa protested. Mihi continued with her speech. At the end, she looked to the

tangata whenua and was very vocal and visual in reminding everyone that was present as to where they come from (Te Awekotuku, 1991). She said to them; "You Te Arawa men! You tell me to sit down because I am a woman, yet none of you would be in this world if it weren't for your mothers". She turned around lifting her skirt and said to the men, "This is where your learning and your grey hairs come from" (Open Wānanga, 2011, p. 23).

Through her whakapapa, Mihi Kotukutuku was senior to the manuhiri and also senior to the tangata whenua speakers of Te Arawa, who descended from the teina line of Tamatekapua. From Tamatekapua's line, Mihi Kotukutuku is of the first-born line. This lineage gave her the mana to speak (Open Wānanga, 2011).

Other women renowned for speaking on the marae include Eva Rickard of Tainui waka who would speak from the whakamahau (veranda). Another well recognised woman who would whaikōrero was Whaia McCluthie who would stand on the marae ātea to whaikōrero (Open Wānanga, 2011).

Iwi such as, Rongomaiwāhine, Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Kahungunu provide instances of Māori women who were endowed with whakapapa and mana capable of speaking on the marae (Ferris, 2014; Mikaere, 2003; Open Wānanga, 2011). Mikaere (2003) clarifies that the marae ātea was a place of war, and only the strongest, or powerful of women would approach this area to whaikōrero. It was not because of sexist misconceptions imposed upon Māori women, it was to protect the 'whare tangata' and the further generations of the iwi from the potential dangers of the marae ātea.

Waiata and moteatea

The whakapapa of waiata extends back to the actions of Maui Potiki. When Maui returned home from a fishing trip with his brother in law, his sister, Hinauri asked where her husband was. Maui told her to look down at the beach. Hinauri was heartbroken that her brother had deceived her and finding that he had changed Irawaru (Hinauri) into a dog, Hinauri climbed up the cliff and performed the first

waiata; a waiata tangi (song of weeping). After her waiata she took her own life (Open Wānanga, 2011).

There are many types of waiata and moteatea. Traditionally, they were a chant of poetic structure that can be used for various reasons, such as utu, tangi, love, lullabies (Royal, 2009). Upon the marae, it was always necessary to use an appropriate waiata to accompany the whaikōrero and to embellish the ritual of whaikōrero (Open Wānanga, 2011).In complementing the speaker, through the waiata, Māori demonstrate the balanced relationship between Māori men and Māori women (Mead, 2003). This is epitomised by the following whakatauāki;

Ko te waiata te kinaki o te whaikōrero

Songs are the relish which sweeten Māori oratory

(as cited by Wiri, 2014, p. 9)

Waiata were not purely aesthetic, they were poetic forms of knowledge that contained historical references to lands, whakapapa, warfare, stories of revenge and reasons for relationships, and unions (Royal, 2009). Many of the traditional songs of Māori, were composed after a significant event or to commemorate events. Today these waiata are "… vitally important repositories of knowledge and [demonstrate the traditional] ways by which knowledge was preserved and transmitted to others (Royal, 2009, p. 3).

There are waiata composed for every occasion and theme (Open Wānanga, 2011). Waiata and moteatea could also be composed to tell of the moral and model behaviours. They contained a wealth of knowledge about the histories of iwi and through intergenerational knowledge transmission, these forms of kōrero have been maintained for future generations (Mikaere, 2003; Royal, 2009).

Moteatea and waiata also played a role in educating children (Mikaere, 2003). Kuia would recite waiata in the form of lullabies, telling of the relationship between lands and people, giving whakapapa knowledge and even in birth waiata were sung to prescribe the destiny of the child (Royal, 2009).

Te Rangi Topeora and her daughter Rakapa Kahoki, are both renowned wāhine who exemplify their capabilities through their oratory skills of waiata composition (Carkeek, 2003; Loader, 2013; Mikaere, 2003) . Some of these waiata are discussed later in the case study of three generations (Chapter 4).

Political positioning as a form of knowledge and mana

Traditionally Māori women were political leaders, who were given speaking rights on political matters and land matters. As an example, Te Rangi Topeora (Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa) was a very strong woman of political power that had command over land. She acquired this through her mother, Waitohi and was happy to negotiate with European men and Māori (Carkeek, 2003).

At the request of her brother (Te Rauparaha), Waitohi called to the people of Ngāti Raukawa to come and join them. It was at her request that the people came and settled upon the boundaries she had laid. It is clearly stated that if Te Rauparaha had asked, Ngāti Raukawa would not have come. It was the political power of Waitohi that the invitation was accepted (Mikaere, 2003).

Another example is that of Meri Mangākahia of Te Arawa, who initiated the right of Māori women to vote. In 1897, four years after putting forward her recommendation, Māori women won the vote and the right to stand of members of the Māori Parliament (Rei, 1993).

Mātauranga-a-wāhine – Mātauranga-a-ringa

These artforms and ways of knowing the world were amassed through practical activities. Just like the haka as listed above, Māori women were significant contributors to mātauranga Māori through their physical competencies. These activities and ways of disseminating and acquiring knowledge are experiential, practical, and presentational forms of knowing (Heron & Reason, 1997).

Haka as a Māori women's expression

Another form of oral and physical knowledge transmission, in which Māori women disseminated mātauranga-a-wāhine is that of haka. This kōrero stems back to the atua and the story of Hine Te Iwaiwa, where she went to find the man (Kae) who had killed her husband's whale. This is the first ever recorded haka, performed by a battalion of women under the leadership of Hine Te Iwaiwa (Mikaere, 2003; Simmonds, 2014).

Kōrero related to the haka extends back to the metaphysical realm, to Tanerore, the son of Ra; the kaitiaki of the sun and his wife, Hine-raumati (the essence of summer). It is said that Tanerore formed the haka for his mother and that on a hot summers day the light shimmering is a depiction of the haka action of the wiriwiri (Gardner, 2005).

This is not the last of the haka performed by Māori women either, still today, the women of Ngāti Porou continue to have their own haka that acknowledges their warrior spirit, such as 'Ka Panapa' (Gemmell, 2013, p. 22). In earlier times, there were haka that were frequently performed by both men and women, and some even have Māori women taking the lead role of pukana (Heuer, 1969).

The Ngāti Toa haka, internationally recognised as the All Blacks haka, was only brought about by the safety of the tapu-ness of the Māori chief's wife (Mikaere, 2003). When Te Rauparaha was fleeing from the Waikato people, he sought the help of Wharerangi. Wharerangi told Te Rauparaha to sit in the kumara pit, where his wife sat over him and protected him from the vengeance of the Waikato people. It was whilst sitting under the protection of Te Rangikoaea (the wife of Wharerangi) that Te Rauparaha composed 'Ka mate Ka mate' (Mikaere, 2003)

Ta moko as a form of mātauranga-a-ringa

The origin of the tā moko stems back to the atua and the shame of Mataora. Mataora was gouged with the ripples of pain that he imposed upon his wife. Mataora endured

the indemnification of being an abusive husband and was prepared to accept his punishment.

When his wife ran away to her father, Mataora, learnt a lesson about his jealousy, and in respect for her, he wore this burden for the rest of his life. On this journey back to the underworld, Mataora not only learnt the art of tā moko, but a lesson he would have to live with for the rest of his life (Higgins, 2004). He had been engraved with the features of Rauamoko on the geographical landscape.

Moko, or Tā moko is a form of tattooing. Its uniqueness is founded in the etching 'into' the skin as opposed to contemporary tattoos that sit on the skin. The tohunga tā moko could be male or female. Under the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907, these artists of tā moko were outlawed (King, 1973). Imperialism had impacted on moko and its practices, even prior to it being outlawed. The missionaries looked upon moko as "… a savage and debasing performance" and forbid the traditional art form of tā moko on all mission stations (Gallagher, 2003, p. 43).

In signing the Treaty of Waitangi, Te Rangi Topeora used and transcribed her Moko kauwae as a symbol of her mana. Like other Māori, this was not a unique way to identify yourself amongst Western groups, there are many records where Māori have signed using their moko (Ellis, 2014). However, moko was unique as a symbol within Māori society. Te Rangi Topeora's moko kauwae provided the kōrero to her identity and her mana. In doing this, her signature upon the Treaty of Waitangi represents her as a woman of mana. This is expressed visually through the double spirals and tongues of her moko (Ellis, 2014).

Te Rangi Topeora was a very influential woman (with political powers of leadership), competent in warfare, knowledgeable as an orator of waiata and very much so, a sexually persuasive wāhine (Carkeek, 2003; Mikaere, 2003). Her Moko kauwae detailed and was symbolic of her capabilities and position of role as a mana wāhine.

Section 4 - Conclusion

It is a fallacy to state that Māori women were not powerful, strong, and authoritative women who were knowledgeable. Māori women, like their Māori men were given the necessary taonga from their atua and tūpuna to sustain their well-being and livelihood. These taonga included the knowledge base and spirituality of the Māori world view.

Colonisation has impacted greatly on how Māori see themselves and their roles and positions. Many Māori women have been greatly affected by systems of hierarchy that have rendered them powerless and inferior through delegitimising their history and pūrākau. The counter hegemonic methodologies handed down to Māori women by their tūpuna and atua provide examples of their resilience. If Māori women were to have been completely powerless, these pūrākau would not remain and our culture would have been voided.

This is the challenge for Māori women to overcome. The reclaiming of narratives regarding Māori women that gives voice to Māori women through speaking back to the silencing and marginalisation of colonisation (Pihama, 2001).

CHAPTER THREE - Research Methodologies and Methods

Objectivity/subjectivity

Objective research works hard to abolish partiality, however subjectivity in research acknowledges and asserts the personal bias of the researcher (Mellon, 1990). Kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine theoretical frameworks permit Māori researchers their positioning within the research to be subjective. They both explicitly require that the bias or subjectivity of the researcher be clearly articulated from the onset of any research (Kiro, 2000).

As a Māori woman, I would consider that I possess subjective knowledge specific to the subject matter. This insider knowledge enables me to better understand the sociological and philosophical worldview and epistemologies of Māori (Smith, 1999). A point of contention Porsanger (2004) raises with subjective research is that Western theories and scientific models of research require researchers to sit on the outside and to record their research from that position.

Many Western frameworks call for objective research to be conducted from an outsider's viewpoint to prevent bias in the research. Yet as kaupapa Māori theory informs, the outsider viewpoint has been detrimental for Māori as the research has been biased by the worldview of the researchers who recorded history through Eurocentric lens (Smith, 1999). As part of the process of transformation, it is imperative that research about Māori be done from a Māori worldview to enable the stories and histories of Māori to be corrected (Rigney, 1999; Smith, 1999).

There continues to be debate that the subjectivity of a researcher can be biased by personal opinions. This ideology frames the research as irrelevant and prejudiced research that is both opinionative and reaction-based rather than explicit and factual (Bowen, 2005). As the researcher of a topic that is very near to me, I acknowledge that I am subjective in my thinking and that I am influenced by my thoughts, upbringing, perception of the world and my education and employment. Yet this

does not deter from the realities of historical research that sought to undermine my positioning within the world.

When trained to undertake research in academia, there are criteria that need to be followed, you cannot romanticise reality, you are required to record the findings of your research based on fact (Smith, 1999). I believe my subjectivity informs the subject matter from the perspective of a lived reality.

Wolcott (2005) contests the negativity of subjectivity by stating that subjectivity when it is recognised from the onset of research informs the reader and can contribute to the investigation process of research. The early ethnographers who recorded the history of Māori within New Zealand were supposedly objective based on their outsider viewpoint, yet they were not objective at all. Like many other Indigenous cultures, the history of Māori within Aotearoa was recorded through ethnographic and masculine lens (Porsanger, 2004; Smith, 1999).

The history of research accounts Māori women as lesser than Māori men, Pākehā men and because of their race, lesser than Pākehā women. The early research about Māori as Indigenous people was based on the worldview of Western researchers. They defined and recorded the lived experiences and knowledge of Māori against their own worldview (Smith, 1999). This was detrimental of Māori women and Māori men.

Defining me as the researcher

Under the principle of tikanga, it is necessary for researchers to identify themselves and their position within the research. This enables the reader to gain an insight into whakapapa links and can often create an association between the reader and the researcher (Bishop, 1996). Whakapapa also informs of the commitment to Māori under the principles of whānaungatanga and forms the collaborative relationship between the reader and researcher. In a respectful manner, under the principles of tikanga this is about manaakitanga and whakawahanaungatanga (Pipi, Cram, Hawke, Hawke, Huriwai, Mataki, Milne, Morgan, Tuhaka, Tuuta, 2002). Two Māori values

that obligate the researcher to show respect and reciprocity, and to do what is right by Māori.

I am very much subjective within the context of my research and I have no reason to dispute this. I am writing this thesis so that my daughters and their children don't ever have to endure the consequences of colonisation that have rendered Māori women inferior, lesser, or non-existent within society. Part of the kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine as research theories require that the research be beneficial for future generations, and not just give closure for the past generations (Smith, 1999).

I work fulltime as the Chief Executive Officer for a Māori Private Training Establishment and am a married mother of 5 daughters, and 2 other daughters who sit waiting in the arms of Papatūānuku for my arrival. I have completed a Master's in education with Victoria University and a second Masters in Māori Studies (first class honours) with Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi.

This doctoral thesis is written as a lead on from my research for my Master's thesis where I learnt how as a Māori woman I was pushed to societal margins for the benefit of privileging Pākehā men, Pākehā women, and Māori men. I learnt why I had to work harder and why I had to prove myself more than many of my peers. I became conscious to what had happened, and the deficits associated with being a Māori woman. This doctoral thesis seeks to aide transformation through the re-telling and privileging of Māori women's narratives and lived realities. The research challenges hegemonic viewpoints of power across political, social, and economic spheres and brings to voice the narratives of the atua and tūpuna whose messages have transcended the attempts of imperialistic dominance.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

Overview

Through the erroneous colonial and patriarchal interpretations of New Zealand's history, Māori women were often written out of history or re-interpreted or re-defined from a Western male viewpoint and value system. Mātauranga Māori and

mana were undermined in favour of Western ideologies associated with knowledge, power, and the role of women (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001).

As outlined in the introduction, this thesis examines the lived realities of Māori women, demonstrating how they convey/ed knowledge and were and continue to be powerful Indigenous women, despite the actions of the colonisers to marginalise and in many cases invisiblise Māori women. The overall purpose of this thesis design is to challenge the hegemonic and oppressive actions of past research that marginalised Māori women through colonial and masculine ideologies and practices (Simmonds, 2009). It challenges the history of dominance and power that positioned Māori women as the insignificant other or invisible. Through a counter hegemonic approach this thesis provides space for the cultural narratives of tūpuna and atua to be heard and affirmed.

As an insider, (which is detailed earlier in this chapter) researching the lived experiences of Māori women, kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine are two Indigenous theoretical frameworks that have been fundamental in paving the way for this thesis. Kaupapa Māori places me as a researcher within the centre of the research, not in the margins researching from the periphery (Simmonds, 2009).

As theoretical frameworks both, kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine enable the ontological (knowledge gained through lived experiences), epistemological (how we know what we know) and axiological (moral and ethical) knowledge bases of Māori women to be presented within the research. Kaupapa Māori theory enables the localised issues of Māori to be analysed while, mana wāhine permits for the roles and responsibilities of Māori women to be identified through mātauranga Māori (Ruwhiu, 2009). Both methodologies engage researchers in 're-privileging' the voices, histories, and experiences of Māori (Simmonds, 2009, p.19).

The Western academic traditional research viewed Māori women and their role within culture as 'objects' of lesser class, race and gender (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Pihama, 2001). Māori culture was a historical curiosity associated with the notion that Māori were a primitive and savage people (Smith, 1999). The early relationship

between Māori and theorists has caused much resentment for Māori, who now seek to correct the flawed records of history (Pihama, 2001). Mikaere in her latest published work rationalises why researchers who are not Māori should not research Māori:

> So long as you are part of the group with power, and so long as we are the group without it, how can you expect us to trust you with material that goes to the very heart of who we are? Indeed, how can you trust yourself? (Mikaere, 2017, p.16).

To rectify the damage of the early researchers, it is important that the approaches, methods, rules and hypotheses of research align with Indigenous epistemologies and protocols (Pihama, 2001; Porsanger, 2004; Smith, 1999). Central to this research is the heavy reliance on qualitative methods that give voice to Māori women through providing narratives of their lived experiences.

This research aims to provide information that liberates Māori women, through acknowledging the mana of wāhine, who (whilst colonisation was taking its hold over Aotearoa), maintained mātauranga Māori for future generations. Significant to this counter hegemonic contribution to research is the two case studies. The first one gives the narrative of three generations of Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa wāhine, who defied the constraints of colonial hegemony. All three wāhine provide examples of the resilience and endurance of Māori women regardless of the imperialistic dominance imposed on them. The second case study recalls the life of Rongomaiwāhine as a leader with great mana, who is remembered still to this day by her iwi as her presence lives on through her people, the whenua and the moana.

Kaupapa Māori methodology challenges the hegemonic ideologies and offers a platform to understanding the "way in which dominant groups construct 'common sense' and 'facts' to provide justification for maintaining inequalities and oppression for Māori people" (Kiro, 2000, p. 31). Mana wāhine as an academic framework enables Māori women to challenge not only racism, but sexism and the social and

economic disparities of research. As a Māori woman researching Māori women, mana wāhine as a theoretical framework enables me to examine the lived experiences of Māori women from both a cultured and gendered viewpoint (Irwin, 1992; Simmonds, 2011). These methodological approaches to research complement each other as they privilege and centre Māori within the research and accord me as an 'insider' researching for the benefit of Māori as a collective (Pihama, 2001).

This research is a contribution to the process of self-determination, it challenges and contests earlier Western theorists who silenced the voice of Māori. The research seeks to affirm the cultural, spiritual, and positioning of not only Māori women and their men, but other Indigenous peoples looking to escape hegemonic discourses (Walker, 1996). It is envisioned that this research will contribute to the 'tino rangatiratanga' status of Māori women and raise issues around the sovereignty, autonomy, dignity and worth of Māori women in the past, the current and the future.

KAUPAPA MĀORI as a theoretical framework

In the late 20th century likeminded Māori researchers within Western academic institutes sought to develop an Indigenous framework that challenged Eurocentric ideologies. The theoretical framework needed to challenge the alienating Western ideologies of research and acknowledge Māori values, culture, practices, and knowledge. The scepticism regarding the oppressive nature of Western research theories is supported by Ngahuia Te Awekotuku who argues that traditional research was used as a tool to control and gain power over knowledge acquisition:

> *Research is the gathering of knowledge - more usually, not for its own sake, but for its use within a variety of applications. It is about control, resources allocation, information and equity. It is about power* (Te Awekotuku, 1991, p.13).

It is suggested that much of the movement towards an Indigenous framework within New Zealand was influenced by the active political and community interests that

Māori were undertaking in the latter part of the 20th century (Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2009). From the Māori political leaders and academics, Kaupapa Māori emerged as an Indigenous research methodology that sought to contest the colonial hegemonies and structures that undermined Māori (Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori:

> *…is based on a growing consensus that research involving Māori knowledge and people needs to be conducted in culturally appropriate ways that fit Māori cultural preferences, practices, and aspirations in order to develop and acknowledge existing culturally appropriate approaches in the method, practice and organisation of research* (Bishop, 1996, p. 15)*.*

Any Indigenous research undertaken by Indigenous people, should aim to privilege "Indigenous knowledge, voices and experiences" (Smith, 2005, p. 87). As Porsanger (2004, p. 105) reminds us, "Indigenous approaches to research on Indigenous issues are not meant to compete with or replace the Western research paradigm". The objective for any Indigenous research is to challenge Western research through telling our stories and contributing to the body of Indigenous knowledge (Smith, 1999). This model of disrupting the hegemonic approach to research within Indigenous studies vocalises the untold lived realities of Māori and other Indigenous peoples.

Kaupapa Māori does not intend to reject the positioning of Western knowledge or culture, instead it seeks to empower Māori, whānau, hapū and iwi knowledge in the light of determining possibilities and ways in which Māori can determine their own identities and knowledge bases (Mahuika, 2008). The use of power has affected Māori knowledge, like other Indigenous forms of knowledge causing them to be framed as inferior fallacies of a primitive people.

> *The different ways in which knowledge is percieved by indigenous and non-indigenous is complicated further by the intersection with imperial power. They are not held*

equally valid or commensurate views of reality, let alone

research (Smith, 1999, p.174).

Crucial to kaupapa Māori is asserting the validity of mātauranga Māori as an authentic way of knowing and understanding the world. It is important to state that kaupapa Māori is not a new phenomenon that was brought about to create a new way of researching the world of Māori. It is a body of knowledge that dates to the time of the atua and has been in existence within mātauranga Māori from times prior to life on Earth (Mahuika, 2008). Kaupapa Māori is embedded in the philosophies and practices of Māori associated with the metaphysical realm (Smith, 1997).

Kaupapa Māori is committed to critically analysing the unequal power relations within Aotearoa and challenges dominant discourse of hegemony (Bishop, 1999). It works to affirm the narratives of Māori against the back drop of imperialistic and colonial dominance. As articulated by Pihama in her Masters thesis:

> *Intrinsic to Kaupapa Māori theory is an analysis of existing*
> *power structures and societal inequalities* (Pihama, 1993,
> p.554).

As a theoretical framework for Māori researchers, kaupapa Māori enables the utilisation of language, culture, knowledge, and practices as tools that contests the dominant discourses of traditional research. In the light of resisting the hegemonic neo-colonial mechanisms of power and control, kaupapa Māori honours the mana of Māori, their knowledge base and their way of understanding and knowing the world. Linda Smith reminds us that the challenge for Māori researchers is decolonising ourselves and "centering our concepts and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes" (1999, p. 39).

As a theoretical framework, kaupapa Māori obligates researchers to ensure that 'culture counts' (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Research needs to support Indigenous people in reclaiming their knowledge and correcting monocultual myopia (Williams,

2010), through the retrieval and reclaimation of space (Smith, 1999). By honouring Indigenous ethical protocols and their voices, the objective, is defined citing from the work of Porsanger (2004) as:

> *'Theoretical', 'ready to use methods' must be re-considered and re-worked in Indigenous research, and that the researcher should not start from a theoretical point, but rather that of the Indigenous ethical protocols, in order to develop methods that will suit the local culture* (Kanaqluk, 2001; Kawagley, 1995 as cited by Porsanger 2004, p.110).

Kaupapa Māori theory provides a space for which Māori and mātauranga Māori can participate within a 'culturally safe' research paradigm (Irwin, 1994, p. 27). It was founded within Māori cultural ways of knowing and being, it is theory; based on Māori terms (Pihama, 2001).

Through privileging the voice of wāhine, this research seeks to "regain control over Māori knowledge and Māori resources" (Cram, 2001, p. 37). This thesis challenges the imperialistic dominance of the colonisers, traders, and missionaries by arguing that mana wāhine and mana atua are all forms of methodological astuteness that challenge the binary relationships of power and control.

Kaupapa Māori is an inclusive methodology that embraces all things sacred and respected by Māori, including the atua and the tūpuna. Imperious to kaupapa Māori theory is the validity of mātauranga Māori (Sharples, 1994; Smith, 1997). Mātauranga Māori is unique to Māori, it is both an Indigenous body of knowledge and a specialised form of knowledge that has been handed down to Māori through the practical experiences, kōrero and arts of Māori (Cram, 2001; Nepe, 1991). Kaupapa Māori permits Māori researchers to reaffirm mātauranga Māori and Māori worldviews in the light of resistance, decolonisation, and transformative action (Smith, 1997; Smith, 2006). It is through Māori epistemology that Māori culture has survived (Pihama, 2001). Māori women, whilst silenced, were certainly important contributors to the survival of mātauranga Māori (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001).

> *…kaupapa Māori theory is dedicated to the affirmation of Māori women within Māori society, within whānau, hapū and iwi. It is a theoretical framework that… is based within mātauranga Māori and is committed to the articulation of Māori women's ways of knowing the world* (Pihama, 2001, p. ix)*.*

There has been a rapid increase in researchers that have chosen to apply kaupapa Māori as their preferred methodology, even though there remains some criticism within academia regarding kaupapa Māori as a creditable theoretical framework (Mahuika, 2008). Some of the criticism arises from discussions regarding whether kaupapa Māori is just as demoralising as Western forms of research that sought to put Māori into one box. Some theorists seek to address this by stating that research undertaken by Māori should be reflective from an iwi perspective, not a Māori perspective, some go even further to state that kaupapa Māori is for the tribal elite (Rata, 2006). Yet Rangimarie Mahuika (2008) offers an insight into how kaupapa Māori researcher can avoid the trap of putting all Māori into one box. Mahuika informs that kaupapa Māori enables researchers to record their own reality and their own truth as an alternative to homogenisation. It is important that researchers understand that '… Māori have fundamentally different ways of seeing and thinking about the world...' (Mahuika, 2008. P.4) and the research should be reflective of this.

Kaupapa Māori requires that Māori academics engaging in research with Māori utilise tikanga (Smith, 1997) as a tool for doing things in accordance with Māori traditions and practices. Some of the key elements or principles associated with tikanga are inherent in kaupapa Māori are provided as a guide below.

Kaupapa Māori - Principles

Kaupapa Māori as a research practice necessitates that tikanga be active throughout the entirety of the research process. From the start of the research and even after it finishes, it is important that the research works to actively reclaim power over how

Māori are represented within research and society, and to reclaim and regain Māori knowledge and resources (Cram, 2006).

MANA WĀHINE as a theoretical framework

Ki te marama i te tangata, me marama hoki tona ao

To know the woman is to know her world

The documenting of research that distorted the worldviews, values, beliefs, and practices of Māori women were racist, gendered and classist ideologies, that impacted on the traditional roles of Māori women (Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011). This is one of the many reasons behind the development of mana wāhine as a counter hegemonic research framework within academia. As an extension of kaupapa Māori, mana wāhine theory enables Māori women to reassert their history, their stories and their roles as powerful women who did and continue to transmit mātauranga Māori (Simmonds, 2011).

Similar to kaupapa Māori theory, mana wāhine theory is based on mātauranga Māori (Pihama, 2001, p. 260)*.*

Fundamental to the development of mana wāhine as an academic tool was the involvement of Māori women in political movements, such as land issues, language, education, and social issues in the 1970's and 80's that affected Māori. Māori women were significant wāhine rangatira leading groups in resisting colonial hegemonic ideologies that alienated Māori. Through the active participation of Māori women in political groups, not only gendering, but racial and socio-economic inequalities soon became evident in their challenge for self-determination (Irwin, 1992; Simmonds, 2009).

Mana wāhine as a theoretical framework emerged as an Indigenous framework capable of examining the diverse perspectives of Māori women from both a cultural and gendered viewpoint (Irwin, 1992; Simmonds, 2011). This framework is an academic tool that aides Māori women in overcoming the disparities they have endured through colonial and imperial instruments of hegemony. Mana wāhine is:

> *… a space where Māori women can, on our 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* (Simmonds, 2011, p.12).

Prior to the arrival of the imperialists and the colonists, mātauranga Māori tells us that Māori women were not weak, subservient, or silenced. Yet, the history of research within Aotearoa distorted our knowledge based and depicted Māori women in the worst possible way. Research fragmented Māori women and their identities, their positioning, and their roles within society (Mikaere, 2003). Mana wāhine as an academic theory addresses these oppressive and hegemonic issues. The foundations of mana wāhine are an extension of kaupapa Māori theory as a contemporary academic framework, which is guided by the traditional lessons of the tūpuna wāhine and atua wāhine. Mana wāhine explores the experiences and understanding of the world from a Māori women's viewpoint, affirming their roles, status, and positioning as mana wāhine (Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011). Leonie Pihama (2001, p. 258) contends that "… mana wāhine theory is a kaupapa Māori theoretical framework that attends to the multiple issues that are faced by Māori women". It is a theoretical framework that contests the dominant discourses of hegemony and brings into the light the voices and narrations of our atua wāhine and tūpuna wāhine.

Unlike many feminist theories, mana wāhine is not simply interested in the sexist impact of patriarchy, mana wāhine also seeks to address racism. Māori women were not only marginalised because they are women, they carried the added burden of being Māori, this is a connotation which many white feminist theorists do not factor into their plight for emancipation (Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011; Smith, 1999).

Part of the research process requires identifying the sites of struggle for Māori women and interpreting them from within a Māori woman's worldview (Evans, 2010; Mildon, 2015; Yates Smith, 1998). Consequential to the processes of domination, the early written literature about Māori women, became normalised within New

Zealand. Western patriarchy adopted systems of hegemony that invisibilised Māori women and disenfranchised them from the positions and roles of Māori women. Mana wāhine enables the complex geographies and diversities of Māori women to be examined and re-examined in the light of challenging the hegemonic discourse of colonisation and imperialism (Simmonds, 2011). Māori women need to not only re-write, but re-right their stories in the light of restoring both mana wāhine and mātauranga-a-wāhine (Mildon, 2015). It is time for *history* to be removed and the voice of *herstory* to be heard. These stories as accorded by our atua wāhine and tūpuna wāhine have transcended colonial times and re-affirm the position of Māori women as holders of mātauranga Maori and mana.

Unlike many feminist research approaches, mana wāhine is not a sexist theory that that targets men as the oppressor. Mana wāhine is a counter hegemonic framework that does not sit in isolation, it is intertwined with mana tane and acknowledges the dominant discourses of hegemony that Māori, Māori women and Māori men have endured (Ripikoi, 2015). It is a theory that recognises the complementary relationships between Māori men and Māori women and challenges dominant hegemonic viewpoints of the imperialists and colonists.

Imperialism and colonisation created an imbalance between Māori and destroyed the equilibrium between wāhine and tane. Colonisation saw Māori women positioned as insignificant within the chain of hierarchy to their Māori men. This resulted in Māori women's knowledge being marginalised and ultimately written out of history or undermined (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001). Mana wāhine cannot exist in isolation because it is entangled with mana tāne (Simmonds, 2011). The balanced relationship between Māori women and Māori men is a critical element to the mana wāhine theoretical framework (Mikaere, 1999). In this fashion, part of the process for mana wāhine is to notify Māori men of what has happened to their Māori women and how it happened enabling Māori women to reaffirm their position as mana wāhine with complementary roles as mana tāne in the light of restoring the equilibrium between wāhine and tane.

Part of the process for this research is remembering the lived experiences of Māori women prior to colonisation and their spiritual connections with the atua wāhine (Smith, 1996). Contained within these narratives of the atua wāhine and tūpuna wāhine are lessons that affirm the mana and cultural intellect of Māori women.

Mana wāhine - Principles

Linda Smith offers four platforms where the locality of Māori women's marginalisation is evident, and their struggles are recognisable. Mana wāhine as an academic theoretical framework can engage within multiple levels and fields of study. As a theoretical framework, mana wāhine encapsulates the Indigenous ways of Māori women providing for an examination and analysis of all spheres of life to take place.

1. Whānau discourse (embracing whānau, hapū and iwi through whānaungatanga and whakapapa) (Smith, 1996).

Through urbanisation and land confiscation, the Māori concept of whānau changed. Whānau were separated and their ways of being whānau were reinterpreted. The Western notion of family saw many Māori whānau living like a nucleus family without the support of their wider whānau (Simmonds, 2011). The dire effects of fragmenting whānau have been detrimental to Māori women and their whānau disconnected from their genealogy and their geography. This has contributed to the fragmentation and lack of mātauranga Māori being transmitted inter-generationally and has disconnected many Māori from their identities (Gemmell, 2013, Smith, 1996).

2. Spiritual discourse (a dimension of knowing located within the material and physical world, requiring wairua) (Smith, 1996).

Prior to colonisation, imperialism was active within New Zealand and religion was one of the imperialistic tools used to undermine Māori (Seufferet, 2006). Christianity was exercised over Māori to disestablish Māori spirituality in favour of ethnocentric and phallocentric notions of religion. Māori women and their role within the spiritual

realm were written out of history or reinterpreted and later outlawed (Gemmell, 2013; Smith, 1996). Christianity belittled the idea that Māori women were spiritually involved in the metaphysical realm and re-interpreted the spiritual role of Māori women as sexually disgusting beings (Mikaere, 2003). In discussing the role of Christianity in undermining Māori women, their spirituality and their knowledge base Yates-Smith states, "Implicit and explicit messages were conveyed to Māori women and men that the male was superior, and the inferior female should know her place" (Yates Smith, 1998, p. 3).

The marginalisation of Māori women continued even after the coloniser's arrival. The implementation of legislation such as the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act, saw many of the Māori spiritual practices outlawed (e.g the traditional birthing rights and procedures of Māori).

3. State discourse (seeks to investigate the role of the state and its structural components which caused havoc for Māori women) (Smith, 1996).

Legislation and state policy have been pivotal in marginalising Māori women. Policy makers and legislation failed Māori women preventing them from being equal participants and often non-existent. This created gender-based inequalities which supported gendered, racist, and economic disparities for Māori women, not only as women, but as Māori (Pihama, 2001). Māori women were not seen as equal to their Māori men, Pākehā men or Pākehā women, in fact they were denied rights and were often depleted from societal ways and were silenced (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001).

This is an important area requiring deconstruction and decolonising as the affects have become internalised and today remain in society appearing as traditions that need to be demystified (Simmonds, 2011). The lack of attention/acknowledgement of Māori women within New Zealand's legislation has marginalised them and voided their ability to be active participants within Aotearoa. The colonial legacy continues today to polarise the situation based on gender, class and social economic positioning leaving Māori women in the margins.

4. Indigenous women's discourse (an international contribution to research) (Smith, 1996).

It is important to recognise that Māori women are not alone in their experiences of marginalisation. Many Indigenous communities have had similar experiences. The lived experiences of Indigenous women can strengthen research both locally and internationally in the light of transformative action. It is important that as mana wāhine theorists our research contributes to creation of space and voice both locally and internationally (Simmonds, 2011). Pihama informs of the significance of Indigenous women's discourse citing Linda Smith:

> *It is a strong cultural concept which situates Māori women in relations to each other and upholds their mana as women of particular genealogical groupings. It also situates Māori women in relations to the outside world and reaffirms their mana as Māori, indigenous women. Mana wāhine Māori is the preferred Māori label for what counts as Māori feminism. It is a term which addresses both the issues of race and gender as well as locates the struggle for Māori women within two distinct societies* (Smith, 1992, p.62).

Through imperialism and colonialism, masculine ways of understanding the world created racism, gendering, and classism within Aotearoa. This has affected the way in which tikanga Māori (Māori practices, customs, and values) and mātauranga Māori (Māori ontology, epistemology, and axiology) are seen today. The recording of Māori history has distorted, damaged, and reinterpreted the Māori worldview and livelihood (Pihama, 2001).

Mana wāhine as a theoretical framework challenges the colonial patriarchal structures and provides a theoretical framework where Māori women can analyse their past, re-interpret it, re-discover, re-define, and rectify it. Here Māori women begin to understand themselves and re-discover themselves enabling decolonisation

and transformation. It is here that Māori women will demystify their negative portrayal within traditional literature and acclaim their roles as mana wāhine, handed down from their atua, and tūpuna. Here Māori women begin to be visible and reclaim their positions and roles within society.

Throughout the research process I intend to engage in research that addresses the state discourses that undermined Māori women, taking consideration of the whānau and spiritual discourses of Māori women by embracing their knowledge base and exercising whānaungatanga and whakapapa. The research seeks to contribute to research on both localised and international levels enabling Māori and other Indigenous women to challenge the hegemonic discourses of patriarchy and colonialism in the creating space and privileging their voices.

Counter hegemonic methodologies

As Māori, we have a very real history, filled with *herstories* that sit in opposition to Western recorded *history*. These have transcended the ages of imperialism and colonisation and affirm the role of Māori women as both powerful and knowledgeable.

Counter hegemony is a term coined by the Italian communist Antonio Gramsci (1971) to define a methodology that seeks political change through challenging dominant views (Pratt, 2004). Counter hegemony provides the opportunity for the dismantling of hegemonic forms of power and knowledge bases. It confronts and opposes the legitimacy of the existing status quo. Counter hegemony is a resistance theory that has the power to create change through providing an alternative worldview that transforms the maintenance of domination (McLaren, 1998).

Māori have very distinct and very real *herstories*, that have negated through the hegemonic discourses imposed them. Through attempts to disempower Māori women, their knowledge base and mana have survived the struggles against the backdrop of imperialism and colonisation. The two case studies contained within this thesis counter the hegemonic actions of the imperialists and colonists through their lived experiences as Māori women with mana, who actively transmitted mātauranga

Māori. They were all respected as rangatira with roles of responsibility that positioned their as astute and competent leaders. Even prior to the colonisers arrival, the atua and tūpuna had stories that articulated the positioning and knowledge base of Māori. These traditional narratives are counter methodologies to hegemony and imperialistic ways of knowing and doing.

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Part of the process for undertaking any research is to identify appropriate procedures for the data collection, analysis, writing and reporting in accordance with the theoretical framework (Creswell, 2003). John Creswell (2003), a Professor of Educational Psychology at the University of Nebraska and well acclaimed author of several books and articles relating to research methods and methodologies informs that three key elements are needed to plan a research design framework. In preparing to write a thesis, it is important to determine the:

- Knowledge claims or philosophical worldviews,

- Strategies of inquiry and;

- The methods for data collection and analysis as part of a well thought out framework

Knowledge claims or philosophical worldviews

Creswell (2003) uses the term worldview or knowledge claims to define what Guba (1990, p. 17) called "… a basic set of beliefs that guide actions". Other theorists refer to them as *paradigms* (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011), or *epistemologies* and *ontologies* (Crotty, 1998). The worldview or paradigm assist the reader in understanding the chosen research approaches and its knowledge base (Creswell, 2014). Creswell (2003, p.6) explains that there are four schools of thought or worldviews:

- The postpositivist,
- the social constructivist,
- the advocate or transformative worldview and;

- the pragmatist

The postpositivist is a scientific method, usually associated with quantitative approaches to research (Creswell, 2003, pp 6-8). The constructivist believes that the subjective and lived experiences of people inform the knowledge base. Social constructivists seek to understand social and historical phenomenon (Creswell, 2003, p. 8-9). An advocate or transformative worldview seeks to emancipate and empower. The research is often political, and orientated towards justice (Creswell, 2003, p. 9-11). The pragmatist is action based, situational and consequential (Creswell, 2003, p. 11-12).

This research employed a social constructivist and a transformative worldview. Social constructivism acknowledges that humans engaging in the world create or construct meaning so that they can make sense of their historical and social livelihoods (Creswell, 2014; Crotty, 1998). Advocacy seeks to address issues associated with social justice and has a political agenda situated within the mind set of creating change. An advocacy or transformative worldview is emancipative and empowers people, freeing people from marginalisation (Creswell, 2014).

As this thesis gives voice to Māori women, it challenges the ideological dichotomy of colonial New Zealand society that sought to silence Māori women through marginalising them (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Waitere-Ang, 1998). Binaries created a system of difference based on hierarchical classifications that saw Māori women as the colonised 'other'. The identity and history of Māori women was misinterpreted, misrepresented, and miscued through male-centred ideologies, which damaged their state of being. In her latest published contribution to Māori research, Mikaere recounts the recorded history of her own tūpuna and the demoralising impact of colonisation:

> *Denying the humanity of Indigenous peoples has been a defining feature of the colonizing endeavour. As a consequence, instances of my tūpuna being characterized*

> *in a simplistic or misleading way are not the exception, but*
>
> *rather the rule* (2017, p.13)

This thesis applies a primarily qualitative approach, and a small quantitative approach to research enabling the hegemonic discourses that affect Māori women to be examined as part of the process of self-examination and self-determination. The intent is to provide a small statistical analysis, but mostly to privilege the voice of Māori women and their history, through *herstories*, in the light of conscientisation and advocacy.

Both kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine (discussed previously) acknowledge social constructivism and advocacy as legitimate knowledge claims. As theoretical frameworks, both promote transformative actions informed through the lived realities of Māori, through recalling, retelling, and restoring the lived experiences of Māori (Smith, 1999). Pivotal to this thesis was providing a voice and raising consciousness and conscientisation.

A qualitative approach to research was identified as appropriate for the research as the intent was to provide a narrative specific to the lived realities of Māori women, permitting the voice of Māori women, their stories, and their experiences to be heard (Pihama, 2001). Qualitative research permits for an exploration and understanding of Māori women and their livelihoods to take place in the light of seeking resolution to a problem (Creswell, 2003). There is also a small numerical analysis provided in the findings, which addresses some of the questions from the interviews.

RESEARCH METHODS

Strategies of inquiry

The strategies of inquiry required me to look at the application and direction of the research. The epistemological stance of the research can often influence the research design in the light of addressing the data and research questions (Gray, 2009). This was concluded as being a strategy of inquiry that influenced the research design as each of the schools of thought (as discussed earlier) has methods suitable to their strategy of inquiry.

Quantitative research tests theories by investigating the relationships, effects and causes between the variables (Creswell, 2009). The variables are measured in a numerical format and then analysed. A quantitative approach allows for broader study involving a greater number of participants, it is also said to be objective. This approach was briefly undertaken to provide rigour to the research.

Qualitative data is collected in words, and explores the relationships between how, why, what, when and where. The strength of qualitative research is that it explores meaning, purpose and reality (Creswell, 2009). Qualitative data has been acquired through literature, and narrative primarily.

Both methods were used within this research. A quantitative analysis was used for the closed ended questions and a qualitative approach was used for the open-ended questions. Each approach is utilised to give rigour and credibility to the research. The quantitative approach analyses the research numerically and the qualitative approach looks at the quality of the research through a narrative approach (Kothari, 2004).

Strategies of inquiry sit within five main qualitative categories, narrative, phenomenological, grounded theory, ethnographic and case study (Creswell, 2014). A strength of qualitative research is its flexibility and ability to combine several strategies of inquiry, rather than just one. One strength of a qualitative approach to this research was its capacity to give a 'thick description'. Another benefit of using a qualitative approach was that it has given the analysis process the ability to be transformative (Gray, 2009).

Having considered the research strategies of inquiry for this thesis, narrative, phenomenology, and case study were appropriate qualitative methods that supported the research in the collection and analysing process. Researchers undertaking a *narrative approach* are of the understanding that peoples lived and 'storied lives' are able to be recorded descriptively (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 2).

This thesis retells and re-stories the lived experiences of Māori women from both a collective and subjective design of inquiry, for this purpose *narrative research* was a suitable qualitative approach as it gives voice to Māori women, positioning them in the centre of the research and engaging them in methods of research that are transformative (Simmonds, 2009).

Phenomenological research studies groups and a phenomenon. Here the research explored the phenomenon of Māori women and their experiences. The data collected from people who have experienced the phenomenon were exemplified in the research. The presentation of the data descriptively explains how and what was experienced by the participants (Creswell, 2003) and counters the colonised ways of knowing and being through mātauranga Māori.

Through interviewing Māori women and giving them voice, the research reflected their experiences and understandings of mātauranga-a-wāhine and mana wāhine. As asserted by Irwin (1992) research regarding Māori women should reflect the realities of the participants from within the past, contemporary, and future aspirations. As expressed:

> *In order to make sense of the reality of Māori womens lives,*
> *our herstories must be told; they must be considered*
> *alongside the stories of iwi, our peoples; and of Aotearoa,*
> *our land* (Irwin, 1992, p. 1)*.*

Case study research was applied as an investigative tool to the research, providing depth and description. Case studies can be singular or plural or intrinsic (inherent). The objective of the case studies was to highlight the issues referred to by the researcher and to address the research questions, giving a detailed and deep description, as depicted in the findings (Creswell, 2003).

This thesis provides two case studies. The first one (Chapter 4), narrates the history of three generations of Māori women, who were present prior and at the commencement of colonisation. The second case study looked at the life of

Rongomaiwāhine. The aim of the case studies was to provide examples of how Māori women conveyed mātauranga Māori and demonstrated mana wāhine from within their lived realities. Both case studies were undertaken using a primarily qualitative approach. This method of inquiry engaged Māori women in remembering their wāhine rangatira in the light of self-determination and transformative action. It was a process of countering hegemony and social, economic, and political discourses of dominance that have rendered Māori women as silenced, invisible, and marginalised.

The case studies illustrate how Māori women demonstrated their mana and communicated mātauranga-a-wāhine from within a historical context using a narrative approach. Overall, the case studies contained within this thesis argue that Māori women have retained their power and knowledge based, regardless of colonial attempts to silence their voices.

Data Collection

Qualitative approaches to research are common within a social constructivist perspective whereby the researcher seeks to develop a theory or pattern through the social and historical accounts of individual's experiences (Crotty, 1998). Qualitative research is "… a research approach that looks in depth at fewer subjects through rich description of their thoughts, feelings, stories, and/or activities" (Mutch, 2005, p. 223). The qualitative approach to this research enabled the gathering of information and analysis of both the social and cultural lived realities of Māori women.

Quantitative approaches to research, are primarily focused on statistics and objectivity (Creswell, 2003; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Mutch, 2005). A brief statistical analysis is situated within the findings based on the closed ended questions that the participants answered.

METHODS

Methods are the techniques used to gather, analyse, and interpret data specific to the research question or hypothesis (Crotty, 1998; Mutch, 2005). These methods are either determined by the methodology or the methodology determines the methods used. "Methodologies link theoretical frameworks to methods. They usually comprise

a selection of related methods and strategies" (Mutch, 2013, p. 104). The methodological frameworks of kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine require that social constructivism and transformative worldviews be central to the research undertaken (Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999).

Narrative

Te kai a te rangatira, he kōrero

The food of the chief is talk

Before colonisation and imperialism was encountered within Aotearoa, Māori excelled in the skill of oratory. Knowledge and learning was transmitted inter-generationally through oral methods such as haka, tauparapara, whaikōrero and karanga (Karetu, 1992). Even mihimihi is a process of storytelling. The traditional methods for Māori transmitting mātauranga Māori have been undermined by Western tools and is asserted below:

> *Our storytelling began to be disempowered the day the stranger began recording our stories, writing them down. From that day on, the stories started to change, they became a passive collection of words and phrases, sentence and paragraphs, pages of misinterpreted coding, derivative imagery, superficial characters and shallow portrayals. To the stranger from the west, mere collections of fantasy and myth* (Mita, 2000).

Talk and narrative are fundamental pillars to Māori society and are linked to how Māori convey knowledge and their identities. Mātauranga Māori and mana wāhine are both 'decolonising methodologies' that counter hegemonic discourses and through promoting Māori ways of knowing and understanding the world through retelling and reclaiming history through narrative (Lee, 2009; Smith, 1999).

Archival

Document review is an unobtrusive form of data collection that has saved time and permitted for content analysis of existing text. Mutch (2005, p. 223) defines document analysis as a process "… where documents or various forms of text are analysed either quantitatively or qualitatively". There remains much text held in archives and in personal communications, requiring collecting, analysis and interpretation that can contribute to the research on Māori women.

Interviews

The use of semi-structured interviews that contained both open and closed questions will be applied to the research. Participants were provided with a set of questions (see appendices) but given the freedom to converse freely, enabling the researcher to probe further to understanding how and why participants know what they know (Mutch, 2005). Whilst structured interviews can be advantageous in controlling the interview process and enable the data to be easily comparable and synthesised, it can also influence and bias the interview. Additionally, it can prevent the voice of the participants and limits the gaining of understanding from a social construction (Mutch, 2005). Using open questions, the research heard the voice and narratives of the participants. Through close ended questions a small quantitative analysis was undertaken, as the primary objective of the research was to privilege the voice of Māori.

These interviews were undertaken using the fundamental principles outlined earlier in mana wāhine theory. There were two set of questions. One was for the overall research; the other set only changed to accommodate both case studies within the research. The latter uses the same questions, but changes to complement the wāhine in each of the case studies.

Questionnaires

Using the same questions as the semi-structured interview, emails were sent asking for people's involvement in the research. These emails were randomly selected.

Selecting the participants

One set of questionnaires sort to address the overall research questions and aimed to be sent randomly selected via email. Because it was random, Māori men were also included into this survey. The same set of questions for the overall research were selected on campus[8], via a panui asking if people would like to participate. Through my employment, I have access to a high demographic of Māori women over the age of 40.

The participants for the case study were identified by their ability to whakapapa to the wāhine rangatira. The purpose for this was to confirm information and to potentially extend on the narrative.

Whilst the intent of this research is to give voice to Māori women, it did not prohibit the voice of Māori men being heard in response to the positioning and roles of Māori women. This is important to the research as the rationale for this thesis was not to marginalise Māori men from the research. In honouring the traditional relationships that Māori men and women had, it was felt that their voices hold some potential to how the equilibrium can be returned. A summary of the participants within the research is provided in the findings chapter of this research.

Current known participants for the two case studies include

For the case study on three generations of Māori women – 2 wāhine agreed to be interviewed. These 2 women have a whakapapa link to the three generations and were happy to discuss and communicate their stories, and histories regarding these three women.

The second case study only represents the voice of a Māori man. This was not the initial intent of this thesis, but it was the only person available at the time to be interviewed. The participant is known to the researcher as someone that has

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[8] I am employed at the Koru Institute of Training and Education Ltd, a Private Training Establishment situated in Blenheim.

extensive knowledge of his whakapapa and the positioning of Rongomaiwāhine. Originally there were two Māori women who had agreed to be interviewed but given the time constraints and my need to travel to them, it became an impossible situation.

Other participants in the overall research

It was not intentional that Māori men be interviewed as the original intent was to honour and give voice to Māori women. Once Māori women came forward to be interviewed, they and their husbands became interested in the research topic and both the wāhine and tane felt that they could contribute to the research. The two Māori men that offered their time were with their wāhine and were very vocal in the role of wāhine within their whānau and wider Māori community. They both felt that their wāhine were very strong women, who managed the home, worked with Māori, and instilled mātauranga Māori to their children. Being a strong Māori woman is not unique and not all Māori men are disrespectful to their Māori women. There are some men that are very supportive of the strengths of their Māori women. One such example is offered by Ani Mikaere, discussing her own whānau:

> *Both my great-grandfather and my grandfather appear to have been sufficiently secure in their own masculinity, and in their own unique roles within their whānau, hapū and iwi, to have felt not remotely threatened by the strength of their wives* (Mikaere, 2017, p. 6).

There are lessons from some Māori men that we can all learn from. Not all of them position their wāhine as inferior. Many of them are respectful and supportive of their wāhine.

The last tane to be discussed in this interview process was raised by his Aunty and her girlfriend. He felt that he as a Māori boy being raised by two wāhine, had something positive to contribute.

The interview and questionnaire process

In accepting to participate in both the interviews and the questionnaire, participants were asked to read the information sheet and to sign their consent. After the interview, the transcripts were typed up and then presented back to the participants to preview. They were then asked to make any changes, which were amended as required. Upon their acceptance of the transcript, they were then asked to sign again accepting the transcript as authentic. The final stage after this was the writing up of the research and another sign off to confirm the context and use of their transcript.

ANALYSING THE DATA

Transcribing and editing

As part of collating the raw data, the interviews needed to be transcribed. Here it was important to identify any errors or oversights in the raw data. In the event that there were errors, it was important that this is corrected within the editing stage. It was important to ensuring that the data was accurate (Kothari, 2004). The researcher undertook the transcription of all material.

Thematic analysis

As part of the analytical process a thematic analysis was implemented to codify and theme the research drawing from chapters or themes (Feilding, 1993; Mutch, 2005). The coding for this thesis was based on the research questions. *Thematic analysis* is a common qualitative method of examining and recording themes within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Thematic analysis required the researcher to become acquainted with the subject matter and the relevant data. The use of initial themes was important in aiding the researcher to actively analyse the data as part of familiarisation. Using thematic analysis, text from documents, the questionnaires and interviews were coded to address the research questions.

Verifying the data

Triangulation enables the investigation and analysis of a phenomena or question from more than one source. It is argued that triangulation can increase the creditability of research. Gray (2009) informs that triangulation improves the reliability of research through the gathering of information or the process and/or methods used for gathering such information.

Another way in which the data was be verified, was seeking feedback (Lee, 2009) from the participants at two stages of the editing process, firstly regarding their transcripts asking for confirmation and verification of the interview transcript, and when the transcript is interpreted.

Presenting the data

Whilst *descriptive research* permits the utilisation of existing material to define the topic, part of the way in which descriptive research was utilised in this research was through describing the social realism, of the lived experiences of Māori women. Descriptive research involves theory and analysis as a social construction and historical account (Denzin & Lincoln, 1984; Creswell, 2003). The research presentation also took on a descriptive and narrative format, in order to honour *herstories*.

The quantitative analysis was used through collating and analysing the closed ended questions and entering them into computer software to generation graphs (Creswell, 2003).

RESEARCH ETHICS

Research ethics have largely been framed by Western Institutes. Such ethics are designed to comply with regulations in accordance with codes of conduct and institutional and professional requirements (Smith, 2005). Te Whare Wānanga O Awanuiarangi have a Code of Ethical Conduct that researchers are required to adhere to. This template aligns with the academic requirements for researchers working

within the confines of the education system in New Zealand. The ethical approval letter is attached as appendix 1.

As Indigenous researchers within Aotearoa, Māori using a localised Indigenous framework have a set of ethics underpinned by our own Indigenous knowledge base, which has regard for respectful relationships with individuals, communities, and the environment (Smith, 2005). As a Māori researcher working within the parameters of kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine, I am not only obligated to the academic institute, but to my whānau, hapū, iwi, Māori women, Māori men and Māori collectively (past present and future). These obligations also required me to be objective within my research and to record the evidence as it fell upon me.

Tikanga as an ethical practice

> *Once these tikanga are brought to consciousness, it is clear that they are rooted in a deep understanding of human psychology. When applied by skilled practitioners, they are highly effective in achieving their aims. They are a resource Pākehā have been foolish to neglect* (Metge, 2001, p. 6).

Important to kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine is the ethical practices that benchmark the theory and its processes. It is incorrect to assume or take for granted that Māori will act appropriately (Kiro, 2000). Any research undertaken by Indigenous researchers needs to be done within ethical parameters, which contribute to the wider Indigenous knowledge base that emancipates Indigenous people through informed and accurate accounts of lived lives (Smith, 1999). The ethical positioning of this thesis and its case studies were founded by the tūpuna contained within this thesis, and the atua. The ethical positioning is accorded to their mana, their tikanga and their ethical response to the worldview of Māori women. It is also a stance that counters the hegemony of imperialism and colonisation.

As Māori researchers, like many Indigenous researchers, discussions regarding ethics are often situated within an Indigenous framework based on Indigenous knowledge and values (Cram, 2001; Smith, 2006). Kaupapa Māori theory has guidelines unique

to Māori that guide the entire research practice and process. The guidelines are founded on tikanga. The approach to doing research under the principles of tikanga are pre-eminent in the definition provided by Mead:

> *Processes, procedures and consultation need to be correct so that in the end everyone who is connected with the research project is enriched, empowered, enlightened and glad to have been a part of it* (2003, p. 318)*.

Another important aspect of Indigenous knowledge and frameworks is the values and beliefs that underpin the knowledge base of Indigenous knowledge. One of the most important ethical responsibilities that Māori and many Indigenous researchers have is that of establishing and maintaining respectful relationships (Lavallee, 2009; Smith, 2006). As Māori, we call this 'whakawhanaungatanga', a process of establishing whānau links initially through cultural means of identification and then through cultural methods of engagement and commitment (Bishop, 1998). From within the process of whakawhanaungatanga other forms of cultural ethics appear like respect, honesty, trustworthiness, and integrity (Smith, 2006).

Reciprocity is another important principle not only for Māori, but for many Indigenous people. Reciprocity is multi-layered and can be evident in varied ways. Lavellee (2009, pp. 35,36) offers an Indigenous perspective based on her being an Algonquin, Cree native. Reciprocity for her takes on several angles:

1. Knowledge given by participants,

2. Recognition of the knowledge given by the participants as valued and important,

3. Enabling them and respecting them for telling their story,

4. Giving the participants 'a voice',

5. Tobacco is given as a form of koha (this can be used in spiritual rituals) and;

6. The advancement of Indigenous forms of knowledge that advances the position of Indigenous people

This notion of reciprocity (or utu) is not too dissimilar for Māori in terms of koha, and work within the methodological framework of kaupapa Māori. Utu requires some form of giving back or reciprocity (Cram, 2001). From within a Māori worldview, Lavallee's examples of reciprocity can be mirrored with the notion of utu. Bishop (1996) concurs with Lavallee and uses koha as a metaphor for research. The koha is laid down by the researcher and the participant chooses whether to accept the koha, or not. In accepting the koha, it is important as researchers that another part of koha is understanding that the participants may change the focus of the research.

It is imperative that any research undertaken under a kaupapa Māori theory be done using tikanga; as the primal basis for Māori ethical responsibility. This ethical responsibility engages us in research practices that differ from Western research methodologies and calls into questions the tradition of hierarchical power relationships. The ethical position of tikanga within Māori society establishes how Māori as a people operate. Aroha, whānaungatanga, whakawhanaungatanga, mana, utu, kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, tapu, noa and wairua are values that underpin tikanga, (Mead, 2003). Within Māori society, each iwi, hapū and whānau may implement them differently (kawa – the practice of how they are undertaken), yet the reasoning and rationale behind the Māori ethic does not change (Boast, Erueti, McPhail, & Smith, 2001).

From within Māori terminology, ethics are tikanga these are the standards which Māori maintain and express their axiology, or their understanding or what is right and wrong or what is fact and fiction. Tikanga has been handed down through the generations and is informed by times prior to humankind on Earth. Tikanga is specific to Māori and underpins the Māori way of being in an ethnic sense. Professor Hirini Mead defines 'tikanga' as:

> *…a set of beliefs and practices associated with procedures*
> *to be followed in conducting the affairs of a group or an*

> *individual. These procedures, as established by precedents*
> *through time, are held to be ritually correct, are validated*
> *by usually more than one generation and are always*
> *subject to what a group or an individual is able to do….*
> *(Mead, 2000, p. 16).*

Tikanga Māori as a research ethical standard acknowledges the relationships between people, the environment and the reason/purpose for people participating in the research and its purpose. Tikanga aims to ensure that people come together and gather on Māori terms that are hospitable and enable people to have a voice.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the qualitative and quantitative approaches to research that I have undertaken, and the methodologies that were used for this research. I have outlined the importance and relevance of kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine as theoretical frameworks that have engaged me as a researcher within safe cultural parameters. These theoretical frameworks counter the dominate discourses of disparity that Māori women have endured. They are methodologies and methods used in this research that have challenged oppressive ideologies by giving voice and centring Māori women as mana wāhine.

CHAPTER FOUR - Case Study One - Three generations of mana wāhine

Introduction

As a qualitative research method, this case study enables a contextual analysis of how Māori women traditionally transmitted mātauranga Māori and exercised and/or demonstrated their roles as wāhine with mana. The use of narrative that privileges the lived realities of three generations of Māori women provides a qualitative analysis of how and why Māori women were historically seen as mana wāhine and sources of mātauranga Māori within Aotearoa.

Throughout the history of Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Ngāti Raukawa, the role of wāhine as repositories of mātauranga Māori has been significant (Carkeek, 2003). Like their menfolk of Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Ngāti Raukawa, Māori women had roles, which included warfare, addressing political issues and the transmission of mātauranga Māori (Carkeek, 2003). Māori women as whare mātauranga (sources of knowledge) were crucial to all traditional levels within Māori society. Their knowledge base was specific to their roles, positions, and responsibilities within each tier of Māori society (Ruwhiu, 2009).

This case study is intended to provide Māori women with a possible resource to assist them in their struggle to emerge from a history of marginalisation and social and political oppression (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001). Through retelling the story of three generations of Ngāti Toa Rangatira Māori women, it is hoped that Māori women can celebrate their roles as powerful wāhine responsible for disseminating mātauranga Māori and learn from their wāhine rangatira.

Research questions

This case study seeks to address two of the three questions within this thesis. These are:

1. Prior to colonisation, were Māori women seen to hold mana, and how did they convey mātauranga Māori?

2. In what ways did Māori women exercise power and transmit knowledge, even after encountering the European world?

Research methodologies

This case study will apply a kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine theoretical framework. Each of these frameworks are designed as research tools that support Māori researchers in telling their story of their history. Kaupapa Māori and mana wāhine have been detailed in Chapter three of this thesis.

Data collection methods

For this case study, documents, archival resources, and interviews were undertaken. The documentation is based on currently available material. The archival research has required me to do some research at the National archives and at Te Papa. The archival research was not exhaustive but has been sufficient to writing up this case study.

Interviews - two interviews were undertaken to discuss the roles of these wāhine. Both women are from Ngāti Toa and have an indirect whakapapa connection to each other. To generate comfortable and open narratives Whānau Narrative Inquiry and kaupapa Māori methodology were utilised in the interviews.

My personal subjectivity within the case study

I chose to research these three generations of Māori women because I have been raised hearing stories about them but have read very little about them. I am subjective within this case study and provide my whakapapa to these three women.

On my maternal grandmother's side, I am a descendant of Paretona, the daughter of Kimihia and Waitohi (1st). Paretona is the eldest sister of Toa Rangatira. From this wahine tupuna, I whakapapa to Ngati Toa, Ngati Paretona, Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Rarua.

Another whakapapa connection that I have is to Marore, (the first wife of Te Rauparaha). Her sister, Tikawa and husband, Putara, had a son called Ruka Putara. From this I descend as:

Ruka Putara (Ngāti Toa) = Rina Wairoro (Ngāti Rarua)

From this relationship, there were two children. My tupuna of this marriage is Te Tana Pukekohatu who married Te Waharua.

Te Tana Pukekohatu (Ngāti Toa & Ngāti Rarua) = Te Waharua (Ngāti Toa)

Their second son, Kerei Pukekohatu married Ruita Pukeroa Rangi. They had seven children with their eldest daughter being my great great great grandmother, Roka Kerei Pukekohatu who married Te Tana Ruka.

Roka Kerei Pukekotahu = Te Tana Ruka (both being Ngāti Toa & Ngāti Rarua)

From this union Hera Te Tana Ruka Carter was born and married Jack Carter, who had 8 children. My Great grandmother was the second eldest daughter, Ngakauroa Love (nee Carter). Between Ngakauroa and Enoka Love, my grandmother, Mary was born.

This is my Ngāti Toa whakapapa, as my grandmother relayed it to me, and how she has written it in her memoirs. My reason for exploring how they conveyed mātauranga Māori and demonstrated their mana is to add to the current knowledge base on Māori women as a counter methodology that challenges hegemony.

Whakapapa for three generations

Consequently, through the union of the high ranking Ngāti Toa rangatira Werawera and his second wife, Parekowhatu of Ngāti Raukawa a history of three generations of Māori women who exemplify how Māori women disseminated mātauranga Māori and mana wāhine emerged (Carkeek, 2003).

Toa Rangatira = Parehounuku

Marangaiparoa = Te Rakahuru

Kimihia = Waitohi (1st)

Werawera = Parekohatu (2nd wife of Ngāti Raukawa)

The children of Werawera were Te Rangikatukua, Waitohi, Te Kiripaeahi, Mahurenga and Te Rauparaha. Waitohi was the eldest sister of the infamous warrior, Te Rauparaha and half-sister of another highly regarded rangatira, Nohorua (born from the first marriage of Werawera) (Loader, 2013).

Werawera = Parekohatu

Waitohi = Te Rakaherea

From the union between Waitohi and Te Rakaherea, we see Te Rangi Topeora and Rakapa.

Waitohi =Te Rakaherea

Te Rangi Topeora = Te Wehi A Rangi (Te Arawa)

Rakapa Kahoki = Petera Te Puku-atua (Te Arawa)

WAITOHI

Whilst there is little written about Waitohi in comparison to her brothers, like her brothers she was a rangatira. Her brothers confided in her and would call for her assistance in the planning and organising of warfare. In fact, it is said that much of Te Rauparaha success in war was due to the genius mind of his sister, Waitohi (Carkeek, 2004; Mikaere, 2017). Mikaere encapsulates the role of Waitohi as both her younger brother's advisor and strategist:

> *... many of Te Rauparaha's successes were attributable to what has been described as his sister's 'genius'; few of his*

major undertaking were entered into without her advice

and counsel (Mikaere, 2017, p. 12).

Waitohi, like her daughter, Te Rangi Topeora (who is discussed later) were both known to have participated in the Ngāti Toa warfare, alongside their menfolk (Carkeek, 2003).

An early incident where Waitohi was instrumental was the 1815 war between the people of Waikato and Ngāti Toa. After much conflict between the Waikato people and Ngāti Toa, the Waikato people took a strong contingency of seven canoe to avenge the people of Ngāti Toa, who were responsible for the death of four chiefs of Ngāti Pou (Jones, 2010). Seeing some of her own whānaunga in the war party, Waitohi pleaded with them to cease (Carkeek, 2003).

> *Waitohi made an impassioned appeal, pointing out that*
> *the killing of the four Ngāti Pou chiefs was justified on*
> *account of the loss of so many of the Ngāti Toa warriors*
> *and the unwarranted and unrequited killing of Te Whata,*
> *Waitapu and the two women who had gone to wail over*
> *the dead at Whakairoiro* (Jones, 2010, p. 48).

Upon the request of Waitohi for a retreat, the Waikato war party returned north and an 'uneasy peace was made' between the Waikato people and Ngāti Toa (Jones, 2010). After this potentially devastating attack, the Ngāti Toa people left their homeland at Kawhia and moved to Kapiti (Carkeek, 2003).

As a consequence of the wars between the Waikato people and Ngāti Toa, all but two of Waitohi children were killed along with Te Rauparaha's wife, Te Marore (Carkeek, 2004; Keenan, 2013). It is said that two of Waitohi's daughters were attending a tangi at Whakairoiro when they were slayed by the Ngāti Pou people (Jones, 2010). The remaining children of Waitohi were, Te Rangihaeata (a renowned carver and war faring leader) and Te Rangi Topeora. Te Rangi Topeora was the only surviving daughter of Waitohi (Carkeek, 2003).

Te Rangihaeata is well recorded in the history books as a warrior alongside his uncle, Te Rauparaha. Te Rangi Topeora, like her mother was often part of the war faring group led by Te Rauparaha (Carkeek, 2003). Whilst Waitohi was a supporter of her brothers (Te Rauparaha and Nohorua), she was able to assist her brothers as a strategist in warfare, Waitohi was further recognised as a peacemaker who had the ability to set boundaries between tribes (Carkeek, 2003; MacLean, 2000).

Because of the whakapapa links between Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa, Waitohi was held in high esteem by the Ngāti Raukawa people. In fact, in difficult times between Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Raukawa, Te Rauparaha approached his sister to negate the relationship. In approaching her mother's people, Waitohi said:

> *Haere ki aku werewere, haeremai hei noho i taku whenua*
> *e takoto nei I te takutai moana atu ano I Kukutauaki puta*
> *noa ki Rangitikei*
>
> *Go to the heirs of my body. Come and settle my land spread*
> *here along the coast/shore from Kukutauaki and beyond to*
> *Rangitikei* (Ngati Toa Rangatira and trustee of the Toa
> Rangatira trust and the Crown , 2012, p. 5).

Through her negotiations Ngāti Raukawa settled on the lands designated by Waitohi (Carkeek, 2003). Ngāti Raukawa still to this day recognise the mana of Waitohi and claim that it was through the request of Waitohi that they agreed to settle with Ngāti Toa and if the request had come from Te Rauparaha the offer would have been declined (Loader, 2013). In fact, Te Waari Carkeek (2003) recorded in his brief of evidence for the Northern Southern Island Inquiry of Ngāti Toa:

> *Ngāti Raukawa attributes the honour of inviting them to*
> *settle on the lands that Ngāti Toa had conquered to*
> *Waitohi. Some Ngāti Raukawa chiefs go so far to say "we*
> *came at the invitation of Waitohi had Te Rauparaha asked*
> *us we would not have come"* (Carkeek, 2003. p.18).

It is said that Waitohi, was astute and diplomatic, both respected and feared (MacLean, 2000). Like their mother, Te Rangihaeata and Te Rangi Topeora both had the inherent attributions of leadership. Each were rangatira, Te Rangihaeata was renowned for his warfare and his carving abilities, Te Rangi Topeora for her waiata, warfare and as a ruahine able to perform rituals (Carkeek, 2003). Both Waitohi and her daughter Te Rangi Topeora had significant roles as Ruahine or female priestesses. These rituals included being able to make things whakanoa (making things safe) It is also said that Waitohi was very gifted in the religious matters and the protocols associated with such spiritual matters (MacLean, 2000). As part of the customs attributed to whakanoa, warriors would be required to pass through the legs of the Ruahine to remove the tapu of warfare. Both wāhine rangatira were well versed in this traditional Māori ritual (Wilson, 2017). Another act of removing tapu that ruahine were central to was allowing chosen captives to pass through their legs as part of the rebirthing process (Carkeek, 2003). Other captives were discredited and humiliated. Te Rangi Topeora offers an example of this. When the Whangānui chiefs, Turoa and Te Paetahi were returned to the pa at Taepiro (as told by Wi Parata and recorded by Cowan):

> *When the prisoners and their captors were landing from their canoe amid the wildest excitement, Topeora climbed up on the palisade at the entrance and stood on top of the carved kuwaha, the gateway of the pa. She stood with her legs extended, one foot on one side of the kuwaha, and one on the other. All she wore was a rapaki, or mat around her waist. Her breasts were bare; she held a taiaha in her hands; she grimaced, with rolling eyes and protruding tongue – the grimacing of the pukana. She stood in that attitude while Ngāti Toa and their prisoners entered the pa, stooping as they did so under the top cross piece of the kuwaha, which was about five foot high. They had to pass between her kuwaha, her thighs as the Māoris expressed it.*

> *This was an old Māori custom to whakataurekareka, or degrade and enslave the captured chiefs* (1930, p. 186, as cited by Mclean, 2000, p. 112)

After the 1824 battle of Waiorua, Mana Island became the principle site for Ngāti Toa. Te Rangihaeata was the rangatira of the kāinga. On the island, Te Rangihaeata carved his own whare, known as Kai Tangata. In the winter of 1839 (August or September), Waitohi passed away. Her funeral was on Mana Island where she was

laid to rest and was provided with an aristocratic style tomb, in recognition of her mana (MacLean, 2000).

Figure 6: Waitohi's tomb as drawn by George French Angas in the mid 1840's

Shortly after the tangi of Waitohi, a battle between Te Atiawa and Ngāti Raukawa took place at Waikanae (known as the Battle of Kuititanga). It is inferred that this battle took place because Waitohi's passing meant that she could not mediate the situation and maintain the peace between these two tribes (MacLean, 2000). Another viewpoint for the hostility, (as recorded by Wakefield), is that Te Rauparaha was disappointed with the Te Atiawa people for the way in which they had treated his sister, and he also alleges that whilst at the tangi of Waitohi, the Te Atiawa people had killed sheep without the authority to do so (Riwaka, 2000).

There were some signs within Māori culture that identified Māori and their positioning within society, this could include and is well recorded after colonisation, as the wearing of huia feathers and the wearing of pounamu and in particular hei tiki (MacLean, 2000).

Figure 7: *Waitohi's Hei Tiki*

This hei tiki is held by Te papa museum and is recorded as being the hei tiki of Waitohi, a well-loved and caressed pounamu that is a representation of her children (Museum of New Zealand: Te Papa Tongarewa, 2017).

TE RANGI TOPEORA

Te Rangi Topeora of Ngāti Toa iwi and Ngāti Kimihia and Ngāti Te Maunu hapū was born at Kawhia in the early 19th century (Keenan, 2013). Te Rangi Topeora, was certainly a wāhine rangatira who displayed strength and mana (Keenan, 2013). "She was a chieftainess of great mana" (MacLean, 2000, p. 137), and a '… warrior princess' (Penehira, 2011, p. xi).

Known marriages are accounted for in history as four, yet there are certainly tales of many other men (Keenan, 2013; Loader, 2013). Her first husband was Te Ratutonu a chief of Ngāti Mahanga (Riwaka, 2000). Nekepapa of Te Atiawa also wanted to marry

Te Ratutonu, and Te Rangi Topeora raised to the challenge to claim her husband. In asserting her mana, Te Rangi Topeora threw her kaitaka (cloak) over Te Ratutonu, claiming him for herself. He died four years later in the battle between Ngāti Toa and Ngarauru (Carkeek, 2004; Riwaka, 2000), in the year of 1822 (Keenan, 2013).

Her second husband was Rangikapiki (her first cousin, the son of Kiripaeahi, who was the full sister of both Te Rauparaha and sister of Waitohi and uncle to Te Rangi Topeora) was the father of Matene Te Whiwhi. After this relationship, Te Rangi Topeora married Te Wehi o Te Rangi (of Te Arawa), and through this marriage Rakapa Kahoki was born. It is recorded that there were other marriages, but it is also recorded that Te Rangi Topeora had other lovers in her life (Carkeek, 2003; Keenan, 2013).

The final recorded marriage of Te Rangi Topeora was to Hauturu. It is said that Hauturu met his death at the insistence of Te Rangi Topeora (Keenan, 2013). In 1840 Hauturu was suspected of having an affair with a slave on Kapiti Island. To her disgust it is said that Te Rangi Topeora saw to both deaths and the people of Kapiti ate their remains. This is the last known act of cannibalism recorded in the written history of Kapiti Coast (Carkeek, 2004).

It is also inferred that Te Rangi Topeora also took Captain William Mayhew as her husband (to whom she gave lands to). Her uncle and brother were opposed to permitting Captain William Mayhew, a whaler, land at Kapiti, yet through her authority Te Rangi Topeora successfully challenged both her uncle and brother (Carkeek, 2004; MacLean, 2000). On this occasion, Te Rangi Topeora and her son Matene Te Whiwhi sold land to William Mayhew for a total of "… three boxes of tobacco, five cases of pipes, four bags of sugar, one gun and 12 shirts, from this sale, Te Rauparaha was also given his allocation" (MacLean, 2000).

Perhaps it was this action of Te Rangi Topeora in December 1839 with William Mayhew, that later saw her sign The Treaty of Waitangi (MacLean, 2000). During his visit to Kapiti to gain signatures for the Treaty of Waitangi, Henry Williams signed the sale deed between Te Rangi Topeora and William Mayhew of Wharekohu (MacLean,

2000). This deed of sale was not supported, and in fact was opposed by Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha (MacLean, 2000).

Like her mother, Te Rangi Topeora was a very influential leader and was held in high regard by her people. There are instances in history where Te Rangi Topeora overrode her uncle, Te Rauparaha and her brother Te Rangihaeata, such as that listed above (Keenan, 2013; MacLean, 2000). Another instance of Europeans settling on the lands of Ngāti Toa (at Katihiku) under the mana of Te Rangi Topeora is that of the Kirks (Carkeek, 2004).

Te Rangi Topeora was a well-known composer of waiata (Mikaere, 1994), an art form using oratory and poetic expression (Keenan, 2013; Royal, 2009). In retaliation of the war with the Ngāti Pou people that killed her siblings, she wrote waiata in revenge (Kai Oraora) or as a ruahine, a prophecy foretold to her. It was her uncle, Te Rauparaha that fulfilled this waiata or prophecy. Te Rauparaha avenged the people of Ngāti Pou and he and his party ate the remains of the people named in this well-known waiata composed by Te Rangi Topeora (Loader, 2013).

Waiata kai oraora

Kaore hoki koia te mamae,	*Alas! how great this constant pain,*
Te au noa taku moe ki te whare,	*That prevents all sleep in my house,*
Tuia ana te hau taua	*For I am pierced by war's alarms,*
I a Te Kahawai, whakaoho rawa.	*Due to Te Kaha-wai; 'tis this arouses*
Kia kaha, e te iwi kaha-kore	*me.*
Te hapai o te patu,	*Then be ye strong, ye listless people*
Kia riro mai taku kai ko Titoko.	
Ka nene aku niho	*In skilfully plying your weapons.*
Puhi kaha ko Ue-hoka	*And hither bring Titoko*
Ka kohekohe taku korokoro,	
Roro hunangā no Pou-tu-keka,	*as a meal for me,*
A horo matatia e au	*My teeth will gnash and tear*
Te roro piro o Tara-tikitiki.	*My throat, with eager desire, is tickling*
	For the hidden brains of Pou-tu-keka,

Whakakiki ake taku poho,	*The stinking brains of Tara-tikitiki*
Ko Taiawa, me ko Tu-tongā.	*Will I swallow still uncooked.*
Waiho mai ra aku huruhuru,	*Kai-awa and Tu-tongā, both,*
Te puahau o Te Tihi-rahi.	*Shall fill me up inside.*
A kai atu ko Kuku, ko Ngāhu,	*My hair shall form a top-knot*
Ko te tūpuna i tupu ai	*To degrade the head of Te Tihi-rahi,*
O mahara tohe riri.	
E tapu ra te upoko o Te Rua-keri-po,	*Kuku and Ngāhu, will I gladly eat,*
Tē homai hei kotutu wai kaeo.	*The ancestor from whom did spring*
Ki Te Kawau,	*Thy thoughts of angry strife.*
Ka tukutuku i te ia	*Sacred is the head of Rua-keri-po,*
Ki Tarahangā,	*But as a dish for mussels shall it be*
Ki te kai-angāangā i Ngāti-Pou	*At Te Kawau, at our home.*
Ka hirere taku toto	*Then turn my thoughts to the current*
Ki rungā ki te tumuaki koroheke,	*At Tarahangā, on Waikato's bank,*
Te Rangi-moe-waka tohe riri.	*Where dwelt those cursed heads,*
	Ngāti-Pou,
	There shall my blood spout forth
	On to that old man's head, on to
	Rangi-moe-waka, originator of strife.

(Smith, 1909, pp. 52-53)

It was after the slaying of the four Ngāti Pou chiefs, that the vengeance of the people of Waikato united to attack the Ngāti Toa people. Upon Waitohi's request and rationalisation, the Waikato people returned to their whenua (Carkeek, 2003; Jones, 2010). (This was discussed in more detail under Waitohi).

There are several waiata of Te Rangi Topeora that have been recorded. This waiata of love and passion is one such example of her expressing the desire of love (waiata wawata) as Charles Royal records (2009, p. 2):

Waiata wawata

Naku te whakarehu ko Te Ahukaramu	*In my dreams, I see Te Ahukaramu*
I konae maua kei riri e Manu	*We are here lest Manu is angered*
Ko ta te ngutuhangā, he kai mahora noa	*All that comes of gossip is the*
Mei I kau tata mai, te puke I Hawaiki ra	*indiscriminate*
Ki Whakatu ra?	*Undermining of people, if only the peak*
Kia ata tirohia, te nawengā o taku hika	*of Hawaiki would draw near to Whakatu*
I ako ki te wawata	*Let me examine closely, my desires*
Na koutou ra mahi, te tiritirir	*My dreams*
Te wake ki te tini e	*All befall this fate*
	All are overcome

On another occasion, it is said that Te Rangi Topeora wrote a waiata expressing her desire for European clothing. This waiata was written for William Mayhew, an American Captain to whom Te Rangi Topeora is acclaimed to have lived with and have been his 'common wife' (Petrie, 2006, pp. 49,50):

Kaore te aroha	*My regret is not to be expressed*
E whaki ake nei puna te Roimata	*Tears like a spring gush from my eyes*
Ka hua I aku kamo aha	*I wonder what is Kai-uku (former lover)*
Te Kai-uku	*doing, he who abandoned my\Now I*
Nana ra waiho mai tahi	*climb upon the ridge of Parahaki*
Eke nei au	*Clear is the view of the Island Tuhua*
Te hiwi ki Parahaki marama te titiro	*I see with regret the lofty (Taumo)*
Te motu ki Tuhua Tahi au ka aroha	*Where dwells Tangiteruru*
Te hiwi ki [Taumo] ki a Tangiteruru	*If I were there the sharks tooth would*
Kia whakakai au maka o Taniwha	*hang at my ear*
Ka pai au ka puroto wai	*How fine, how beautiful*
Te Kaipuke	*But see whose ship is that which tacks*
E waihape atu ra noa	*Is it yours, O Hu (Mayhew, an American*
Na, I Te hu	*consul)*
He tau a Pohiwa e rere ana ia	*You husband of Pohiwa*

Te tai ki Europi homai e toru	*Sailing away on the tide of Europe*
Tetehi ki a au ahu mehume tahite taku a te tipua kati au ka hoki	*O Toru pray, give some of your fine things*
Ki aku pepepora	*To me: for beautiful things are the clothes of the whiteman Enough of this, I return to my rags, and to my nothing at all*
Ki aku kore noa iho	

The idea of Rangi Topeora being swayed by colonisation is refuted by many, including Keenan (2013, p. 73), who expresses that "…she didn't become the Crowns poodle". However, there is sufficient evidence to suggest different, there are several letters that Te Rangi Topeora has written that suggests she supported Queen Victoria and not the Kīngitanga in the Waikato. One such letter is provided (with its translation) as

Porirua
10 Hune 1850
E koro, e Te Makarini,
Sir McLean,

Tena koe. Kua rongo au ki a koe he tangata pai koe, he tangāta hoatu noa i te kahu mo te wāhine. Ko au hoki tenei ka tono atu nei i tetehi kahu moku i a koe. E hoa, moku tetehi piwi kaone, horo, raka. I rongo hoki au he tangata atawhai koe, no konei au i tuhituhi atu ai ki a koe. Heoti ano.

Greetings. I have heard that you are a good man, a man who gives generously of clothes for women. And so I ask you for some clothes for me. My friend, I would like a piece for a gown, a shawl and a rug[?]. I heard that you are a considerate man, and this is the reason I write to you. That's all.
Na Te Kuini

Retrieved on: 12th April 2017 from https://tiaki.natlib.govt.nz/#details=ethesaurus.336910

Another likeness between Te Rangi Topeora and her mother, Waitohi was their ability as peacemakers between iwi. After Ngāti Tama moved to Kapiti Island, Te Rangi Topeora gave her son, Matene Te Whiwhi as a peace offering. In response to this gesture, Pehitaka, a Ngāti Toa chief gave his daughter and they were married sealing the relationship between Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Tama (Keenan, 2013).

On the 14th May 1840, missionary Henry Williams was at Kapiti Island to acquire signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi. Whilst many did not sign the Treaty of Waitangi

four members who had the right of representation for the Kapiti Island people came forward, the first to sign was Te Rauparaha, followed by his son, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, next was Matene Te Whiwhi (the son of Te Rangi Topeora), and the last person who had authority to sign the Treaty of Waitangi on Kapiti Island was Te Rangi Topeora (Keenan, 2013; MacLean, 2000).

Te Rangi Topeora was one of 13 Māori women to have been identified as signing the Treaty of Waitangi (Rei, 1993). It is said that when Te Rangi Topeora went to sign the Treaty of Waitangi, one of the missionaries stood to prevent her and Te Rangi Topeora pushed him out of the way and continued to place her mark on the Treaty of Waitangi (Carkeek, 2003).

Figure 9: *Te Rangi Topeora mark on the Treaty of Waitangi*

After signing the Treaty of Waitangi, Henry Williams relayed back to Hobson that the women of Kapiti were dissatisfied with the way in which they were treated and could not understand why a document signed by a women (Queen Victoria) would not permit the women of Aotearoa to sign. He added further to say that "*[t]he island of Kapiti should, it seems, be celebrated as the birthplace of New Zealand Feminism*" (as cited by McLean, 2000. Pg. 150). It is also recorded that Te Rangi Topeora gifted to Queen Victoria one of her Hei Tiki as a sign of her loyalty and mana (MacLean, 2000).

On the 2nd May 1847 at Otaki, Te Rangi Topeora was baptised by Bishop Selwyn. In accordance with her status as an ariki tapairu (first born, women of rank) she took the baptismal name of 'Te Kuini Wikitoria' (Queen Victoria). Her husband was baptised Arapeta (Albert). There is evidence which supports that Te Rangi Topeora was not baptised because she believed in Christianity, but because she wanted the same royal positioning as the King and Queen of England had. Mikaere provides an analysis to why Rangi Topeora was baptised, which is contradictory to the ideals of Christianity:

> *Interestingly, she was baptized, but her insistence on recieving the name "Kuini Wikitoria" (Queen Victoria) – and that one of her husbands be baptized "Arapeta" (Albert) – suggests that her decision was about mana rather than religion* (Mikaere, 2017, p. 10-11).

As accorded by Mikaere, Te Rangi Topeora's intent was quite likely to be attributed to exercising her mana and ensuring that she was positioned in both the Māori world and the Pākehā world as a woman of great dignity. After this, Te Rangi Topeora was known as the 'Queen of the South" (Keenan, 2013; MacLean, 2000). Te Rangi Topeora is believed to have died in 1873 at Otaki. It is also acknowledged by her people that she was an ariki tapairu – a queenly wāhine (Loader, 2013).

As illustrated on the following page is an oil painting of Te Rangi Topeora that visually defines her as being of high ranking. The huia feathers were a rarity worn by high ranking wāhine (MacLean, 2000). Another example of her mana is the many hei tiki (carved from greenstone) that adorn Te Rangi Topeora. These were a primarily female adornment and a representation of Tane's organs implanted into Hine ahu one to form human kind (Heuer, 1969). They were an artistic expression of the lessons and messages derived from the atua. Even the visible markings of her moko kauae are a representation of her identity, position, and role within her iwi, hapū and whānau. The hei tiki and huia feathers, are a visual depiction of the mana of Te Rangi Topeora and visual representation of her rank and status as a highborn woman (Ellis, 2014).
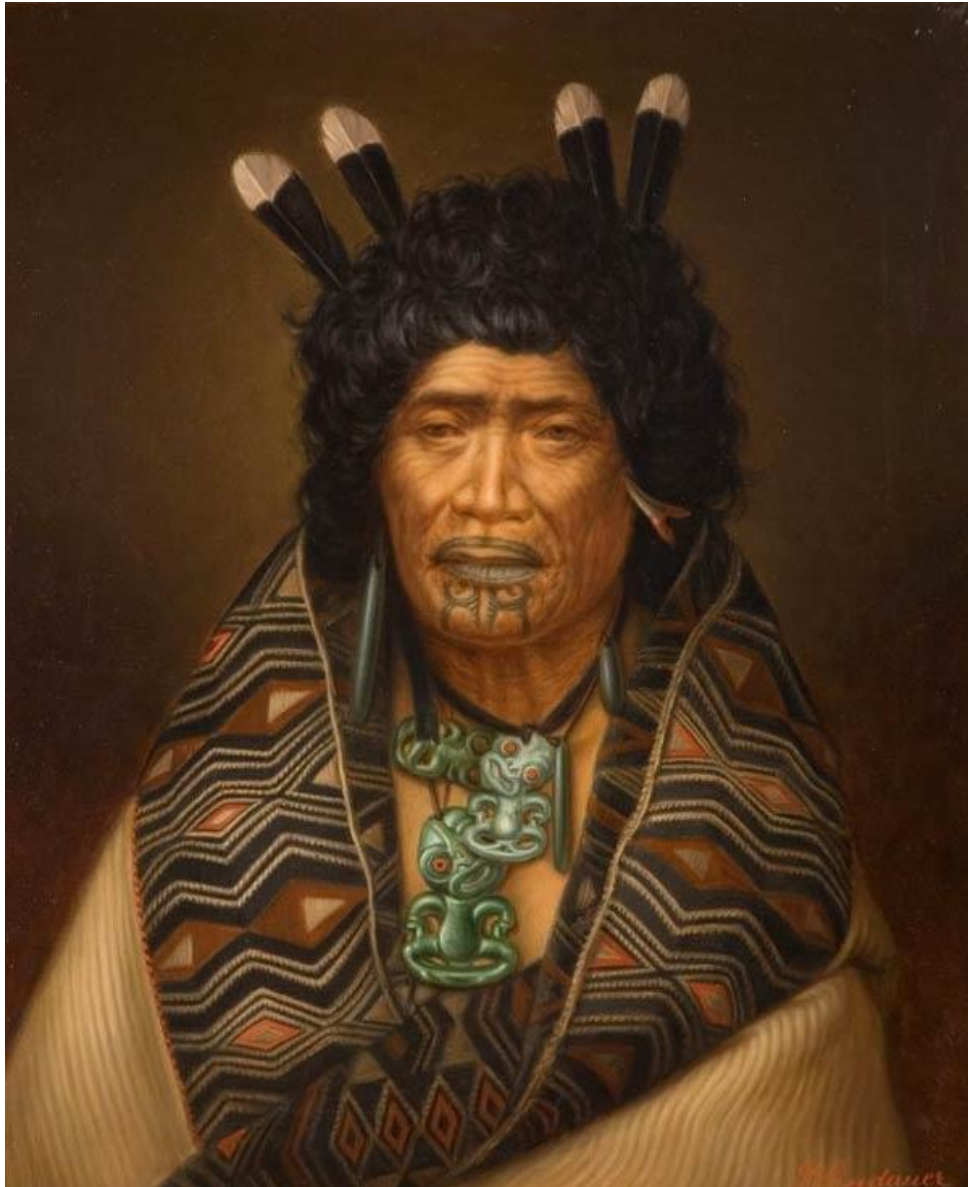
Figure 10: Oil on canvas of Te Rangi Topeora by Gottfried Lindauer

RAPAKA KAHOKI

Rapaka Kahoki was the daughter of Te Rangi Topeora (Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa) and her third husband, Te Wehi o Te Rangi (Te Arawa). She was the younger sister of Matene Te Whiwhi (born of the second marriage) (Carkeek, 2003).

George French Angas is noted by Burns (1980) as having said that Rakapa was of strong, and queenly person; a woman both talented and born of high ranking, who was held in high esteem by her people (Loader, 2013).

Rakapa was a well-known composer of waiata, an inherited skill acquired from her mother, and grandmother (Loader, 2013). Her waiata was hand written and preserved by Tamihana Te Rauparaha (the only surviving son of Te Rauparaha and Te Akau) in his written manuscript (Loader, 2013). These waiata remain today part of the intellectual traditions of Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa, offering and connecting the oral history and relationships to the whenua (Loader, 2013).

Figure 11: Goldie painting of Rapaki Kahoki

Two of the many waiata composed by Rakapa are waiata tangi for her mother, Te Rangi Topeora. It is uncertain why Tamihana (previously known as Katu) transcribed

them for Sir George Grey, yet what has evolved is evidence of the mana of Rakapa as a poetic composer of waiata (Loader, 2013). Today these waiata contribute to the mana of wāhine rangatira and remain significant lessons of whakapapa and history to be learnt through the voices of our tūpuna (Loader, 2013). Rakapa was also known for her waiata of love for her husband, a man of Te Arawa named Petera Te Pukuatua (Loader, 2013).

Whilst there is very little recorded about Rakapa Kahoki, it is well noted that like her grandmother and mother, Rakapa was a leader both socially and politically (Loader, 2013). There are several mentions of Rakapa and her bother Matene Te Whiwhi being in the Māori Land Court providing both whakapapa and the kōrero connecting their relationships to the whenua (Carkeek, 2003; Loader, 2013). One such kōrero in the courts discusses the whakapapa connections to the whenua at Motutara. In her statement to the Māori Land Court, she informs that the whenua at Motutara were originally that of Ngāti Parekowhatu and later were that of Ngāti Huia. At the hearing, she informed the court that the land belonged to Te Rauparaha, Waitohi and Te Rangi Topeora due to their whakapapa (Ballara, 1998).

Matene Te Whiwhi stated in the Māori Land Court, that Rakapa died in 1876, leaving no issue. Upon this statement in the courts, has requested that her lands be dispersed to him (Otaki Maori Land Court Minutebook, 1879). Whilst Rakapa had no children of her own, she raised many whangai (Loader, 2013).

Naming has always been a significant signpost for Māori as to the physical and spiritual relationships that Māori have with their whenua. "We understand the environment by how we maintain our relationships with it, through stories that explain the relationships, the groups retain their spatial connections with the environment"(Carter, 2005, p. 16). In acknowledging the mana of Rakapa at Kapiti, a waterfall is named after Rakapa Kahoki (Te Mimi o Rakapa), when she swam from the waterfall to a small outer island (Carkeek, 2004; Loader, 2013).

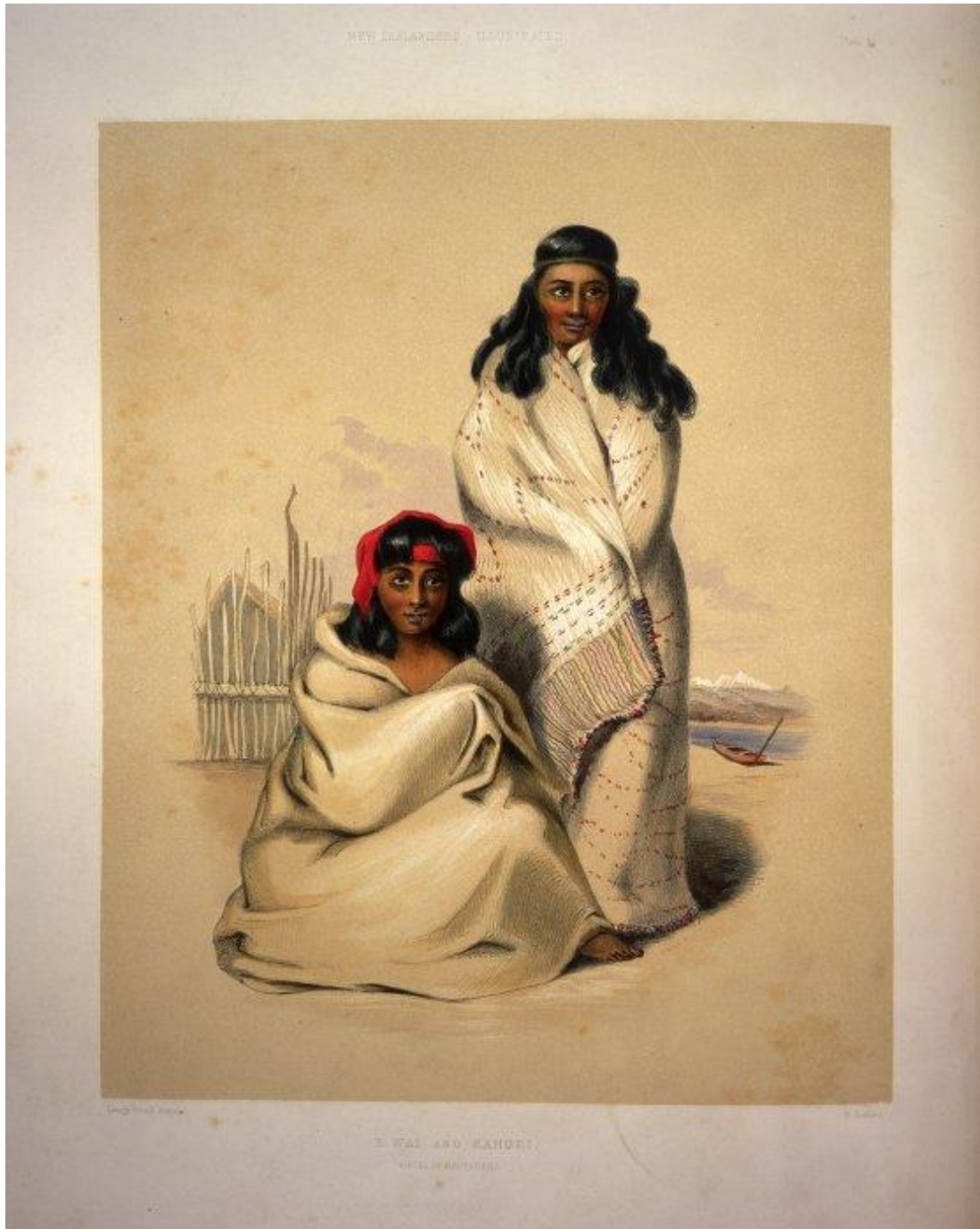*Figure 12:* *Rakapa Kahoki standing*

As depicted by Hawkins, Benjamin Waterhouse (1844) Rakapa Kahoki standing

The interviews and findings supporting the Case study

The participants for this interview process included two wāhine of indirect whakapapa to the three women in this case study. Each of the woman is of Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa ancestry and could provide an insight into their whakapapa and

the localised history of these three wāhine. The first interview participant will be referred to a Wāhine 1 and latter is Wāhine 2.

These women were asked a small series of questions from within a semi structured method. It was hoped that new information regarding these women would come about, so that this research can add to the current knowledge base about the three generations of wāhine rangatira in this Case study.

Your knowledge acquisitions

Both wāhine were similar in their answers as to how they knew about these three generations of Ngāti Toa women. Both wāhine heard of these women through their whānau and kōrero on the marae. Wāhine 1 had learnt more through her later education in life (literature), saying that at primary school she didn't learn much about Māori woman. Wāhine 2 said that she had, had the pleasure of visiting many of the sites of her people and had been relayed the stories from kuia and kaumatua of these sites, and the associated whakapapa.

Reasoning for a lack of research

Early history and its records saw Māori women being the colonised 'other', who was viewed either as subservient or silenced. This was causal to the delegitimization of Māori women within the historical written literature (Mikaere, 1994; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1992). Consequently, this research not only distorted the roles of our tūpuna but has also been internalised by Māori. This is well encapsulated:

> *Colonizing narratives that presumes to tell us who our tūpuna were... presumes to tell us who we are* (Mikaere, 2017, p. 13).

Given the historical invisibility and marginalisation of Māori women, there has been a push by Māori women academics to increase the literature regarding Māori women (Irwin, 1992; Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011). This push is supported by Mikaere in discussing the invisibility of Waitohi:

> *Her brother Te Rauparaha, for instance, has had at least*
> *four books written about him; there are no corresponding*
> *works about Waitohi* (Mikaere, 2017, p.12).

Both wāhine were asked for their opinions on why there was little written about these three generations, yet substantial literature was available on Te Rauparaha and his male counterparts. Both were very similar in their answers and stated that men were far more interesting in war. This is encapsulated by Wāhine 1:

> *Oh, that one is easy he was a man - he was always in fights.*
> *… Te Rauparaha was so much more exciting … Pākehā felt*
> *that Māori women were acting inappropriately when they*
> *were being leaders and partaking in the war* (Wāhine 1)*.*

Wāhine 2 was complementary to the statement provided by Wāhine 1. She was empathetic to the idea that Te Rauparaha was recorded in history because he was both a "... man and a warrior", adding that the role of Waitohi and Te Rangi Topeora was of little significance from a Pākehā viewpoint. This ideology is supported by Mikaere:

> *Women … were erased almost completely, … so few*
> *Pākehā have heard of Waitohi while her younger brother,*
> *Te Rauparaha, is so widely known* (Mikaere, 2017, p.12).

Another interesting veiwpoint that Wāhine 2 raised was that there is little regarding Rakapa, which she attritbutes to the impact of colonisation. She also details in her interview her disappointment that there is so little regarding Waitohi, stating that "... the stories [that] I have heard say that she was a very strong women". Yet, Wāhine 2 also acknowledges that as a Māori women of her era, there is "... a bit about Te Rangi Topeora"stating that "... she is probably one of the few women of that time that were written about" (Wāhine 2).

Mana wāhine

These three generations of Māori women were able to clearly demonstrate how they exercised their mana. They were women of power and authority, capable and competent as war strategists, political leaders, boundary makers and transmitters of mātauranga Māori (Carkeek, 2003). Through their *herstories*, Māori women can challenge the hegemonic discourses that they have endured through imperialism and colonialism. These wāhine rangatira provide a counter methodology to hegemony that contests the status quo of imperialistic dominance.

The role of mana wāhine and definition and more importantly to this case study, the role these three generations is recorded by Wāhine 1 as:

> *… mana is having the guts to stand up and be heard. It is knowing that you are responsible for, acting on things and that you are capable of it… having mana gives you the strength to be strong and powerful* (Wāhine 1).

Wāhine 1 informed that her tūpuna gained their mana in the following manner and was very vocal about asserting her right through her tūpuna:

> *Waitohi was said to have been a very powerful woman … and from a very strong whakapapa that gave her mana. She had mana over her brother, Te Rauparaha. In fact, her other brother Nohorua was also more powerful than Te Rauparaha. He was from the first marriage to Werawera, this is where my whakapapa extends* (Wāhine 1)*.*

In describing what mana wāhine is, Wāhine 2 was unfamiliar with the term saying that it was new to her, but upon thinking about it, she was able to express:

> *…I know about mana whenua, mana tangata, but I've never thought about breaking down mana tangata … I*

*suppose if I think about it, [if] the people have mana ... this
would mean that men and women have mana* (Wāhine 2).

Offering her contribution to how these three women demonstrated mana, Wāhine 2
was able to state that:

*They were very powerful women. Te Rangi Topeora was
known as the Queen of the South ... and was an amazing
orator of waiata. [She] gave this skill to her daughter ... On
Mana Island, Waitohi was buried ... her and Te
Rangihaeata were the chiefs of Mana Island (Wāhine 2).*

Whilst much of the research regarding the chief of Mana Island is attributed to Te
Rangihaeata (Carkeek, 2004; MacLean, 2000), it is quite probable that Waitohi had a
similar position on Mana Island, based on the structure built to acknowledge her
passing (MacLean, 2000).

Another example of mana in which all three wāhine of Ngāti Toa could establish was
the ability of the wāhine to settle land issues. Waitohi was the one that settled the
issues with the Ngāti Raukawa people, and it is clearly stated that if it was not
Waitohi, then they would not have settled under the request of Te Rauparaha
(Carkeek, 2003). Te Rangi Topeora is well recorded in history as having provided lands
for Pākehā settlements, even against the word of her uncle, Te Rauparaha (Carkeek,
2004; MacLean, 2000). Rakapa Kahoki is recorded in the Native Land Courts as having
given the whakapapa and iwi connections to the lands (Carkeek, 2003; Loader, 2013).
Rakapa's ability to undertake this is confirmed by the kōrero of Wāhine 2; "In the
Native Land Court Kahoki is recorded as giving boundaries and whakapapa to the
lands". The role of these women in settling boundary issues and their capacity to do
so is expressed as:

*Waitohi and her people raised Te Rangi Topeora in Kawhia
to be a warrior just like her mother... I would go so far as to
say, that she had more mana than Te Rauparaha as well. It*

was her, like her mother that was sorting [out the] land issues. She was a very political woman with great mana (Wāhine 1)*.*

Another example that both wāhine felt was an example of mana was the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The tā moko of Te Rangi Topeora was her signature that she sealed the Treaty of Waitangi with. Not many women had that right, but her regal[ness] gave her such authority (Wāhine 1)*.*

Te Rangi Topeora, is one of thirteen women that have been identified as signing the Treaty of Waitangi. Te Rangi Topeora used her moko kauae as a symbol on the Treaty. The signing of the Treaty as a form of mana was supported by Wāhine 2; "Topeora also signed the Treaty along with Te Kahu of Ngāti Toa. They were both very strong and influential women" (Wāhine 2)*.*

After the war with Ngāti Pou, and their attempt to retaliate for the death of their men, it was the actions of Waitohi that ceased the warfare (Jones P. , 2010). It is well recorded that without her request (and certainly not at the request of Te Rauparaha), this would not have taken place. It was her mana that ceased the war (Carkeek, 2003).

Another example of mana that one of the participants could detail was that of their attire, including pounamu, feathers, and hei tiki. These were prestigious pieces that acknowledged your position within society (MacLean, 2000). Commoners did not adorn such taonga. In reference to mana, Wāhine 2 was able to attribute this to Te Rangi Topeora and her daughter:

… In the pictures of Te Rangi Topeora and Kahoki they are also wearing huia feathers and pounamu. These were only worn by strong women with mana (Wāhine 2).

Disseminating mātauranga Māori

Māori women and in particular to this case study, Waitohi, Te Rangi Topeora and Rakapa were transmitters of mātauranga Māori. These women, like many of the Ngāti Toa Rangatira wāhine were known for their skills in warfare, waiata and spiritual rituals (Carkeek, 2003).

I asked the two participants what they thought mātauranga Māori was and how it was transmitted. Both of their answers were intersecting, and each was vocal in stating that mana and mātauranga Māori were intertwined. In discussing how these three generations acquired their knowledge base, Wāhine 2 said:

> *Because they were raised within the iwi, they were around the kuia and kaumatua all the time. They would have learnt from their elders and would have been taught … from birth about their mana and what their responsibilities were to their iwi* (Wāhine 2)*.*

It is uncertain as to whether Waitohi wrote waiata but given that Te Rangi Topeora wrote a waiata in revenge of her siblings, it is quite probable that Waitohi had this same capability. Regarding how these women transmitted mātauranga Māori:

> *I certainly know that they were powerful women who could express themselves as tohunga and through their waiata … Definitely in their songs. They were very powerful women. […] they obviously learnt from each generation as they were able to maintain their mātauranga Māori and their mana* (Wāhine 2).

Te Rangi Topeora and Rapaka are both well recorded composer of waiata. Te Rangi Topeora is recorded as having written songs of love, revenge, and sorrow, whilst Rapaka is not recorded as having written any songs of revenge. Still to this day the people of her husband (Te Arawa) still hold her in high esteem:

I also know that Kahoki was important to her [husbands] Te Arawa family and that she was held in high regard. I have read that she learnt her skills of waiata through her mother, [this is] a sign of mana and mātauranga Māori that Te Arawa respect still to this day (Wāhine 1)*.*

Whilst it is stated by much of the historical researchers that Māori women did not have speaking rights on the marae, many Māori also contest this (Mikaere, 2003; Whaanga, 2013). Some women chose to stand on the ātea, others would stand on the veranda. It is said by Wāhine 1, that:

They had speaking rights, I don't know if Kahoki ever used her, but she certainly had the whakapapa and mana to do so. Both Waitohi and Te Rangi Topeora participated in the wars with Te Rauparaha and would make decisions regarding the war (Wāhine 1)*.*

Wāhine 2 was also able to add to the conversation about how mātauranga Māori was disseminated and felt that:

Given Waitohi['s] name, I would imagine that she was trained in the lessons of spirituality and the powers of it… (Wāhine2).

Neither participants mentioned the status of Waitohi or Te Rangi Topeora as being Ruahine. Yet, there is some literature that accords both Waitohi and Te Rangi Topeora as being Ruahine. Probably the most significant is recorded by MacLean (2000), where he provides a detailed account of Te Rangi Topeora standing over the gateway. The above statement by Wāhine 2, does accord the spiritual aspect of Waitohi.

Discussion

Based on the literature available on these three generations and the interviews, there is evidence to support that mana wāhine did exist and that Māori women did transmit mātauranga-a-wāhine. Both interview participants provided examples of how mātauranga-a-wāhine is transmitted and examples of mana wāhine. Having said this, there are some examples which the author will detail in the overall findings of this thesis in some greater detail.

Conclusion

This case study describes and examines the mana of Māori women as rangatira and as repositories of mātauranga Māori. It also challenges the historical literature in Aotearoa, that made lesser, reinterpreted, undermined, and even voided the roles and positions of Māori women (Pihama, 2001).

These three wāhine rangatira lived realities offer Māori women a decolonising methodology that challenges the centuries of sexism, racism, and prejudism that they have suffered. Whilst it is fair to say that Māori women have suffered from imperialism and colonialism, through the *herstories* as exampled in this case study, the mana of Māori women and their knowledge base has survived.

CHAPTER FIVE - Case Study Two - Rongomaiwāhine

Introduction

This second case study seeks to identify and provide another example of a Māori woman, who had mana and disseminated mātauranga Māori. The reasoning for providing an additional case study is again to extend the available material on Māori women and to demonstrate their mana. Where this case study distinguishes itself from the previous one, is that it records the history of Rongomaiwāhine. A tūpuna of iwi, who was well in existence prior to the colonisers and imperialists arrival to Aotearoa.

Subjectivity

Once again, I am subjective in this case study. This case study records the history of another on my wāhine rangatira, a whakapapa which I have acquired through my paternal whakapapa.

On my grandfather's side (Tom Gemmell), we acclaim our iwi to be Ngāti Pahauwera (a direct male line) and can whakapapa back to Rongomaiwāhine through Kahungunu and Rongomaiwāhine 1st, 3rd and 5th child. This whakapapa follows Te Wainohou (who was to be known through his christened name as 'Te Kahu o te Rangi' and later in death as 'Pahauwera'), back to Te Huki.

On my grandmother's line, we take our stance as Rākaipāka and Rongomaiwāhine. In one such instance of this whakapapa, my grandmother is Betty Cynthia Gemmell, her parents were my Nanny Mei Topi (Thorpe) and Matui Smith. Nanny Mei's parent were Iripeti Pirihi and Arthur Thorpe. Iripeti Pirihi, parents were Te Pirihi Hoani Kaihote and Taraipine Lewis. This whakapapa takes my paternal grandmother's whakapapa back to Rongomaiwāhine through Tapuwae, Rākaipāka to Rongomaiwāhine. This line is possibly our strongest line back to Rongomaiwāhine as we have a tohunga line that descended through at least eight generations.

Research questions and data collections methods

Like the prior case study, this case study follows the same research methods and methodology and research questions. This case study undertakes a qualitative

approach based on narrative and archival and documental data collection. This case study seeks to answer only the first research questions within this thesis:

1. *Prior to colonisation were Māori women seen to hold mana, and how did they convey mātauranga Māori?*

The story of Rongomaiwāhine starts with the story of Kahungunu. After many wives and successful land holdings within Aotearoa, Kahungunu could not resist the temptations of Rongomaiwāhine.

Kahungunu and his wives

Kahungunu was born at Tinotino pa (Kaitaia), to Tamateapokaiwhenua, and his wife, Iwipupu (Haami, 1997). After being driven from the North, Kahungunu relocated with his parents to Tauranga, where he grew into manhood (Mitchell, 2011). He was regarded as an organiser, strategist in warfare and an excellent food gatherer (on land and at sea). Kahungunu was not regarded as a warrior, but rather a diplomatic pacifist (Mitchell, 2011).

Kahungunu was reputed to have been a man of great love and passion, who procreated throughout the country (Haami, 1997). He had many wives throughout the lands. It is uncertain exactly how many wives he had, with some saying that there were up to nine wives (Haami, 1997). John Mitchell (2011) records five wives;

1. *Ruareretai* – the daughter of Ruapani, chief of the Popoia pa (Mitchell, 2011). It is said that whilst pregnant, his wife asked Kahungunu to fetch her some birds to eat. Kahungunu found a nest of tieke in the hollow of a tree. Not long after this Kahungunu's daughter was born. Her name - Ruahereheretieke (F) is attributed to this kōrero.

2. *Hine-puariari* – was the daughter of Panui from Whare-ongāongā. She fell in love with Kahungunu and shortly after they became man and wife. From this marriage, there were two children - Te Powhiro (M) and another (name unknown).

3. ***Kahukurawaiararaia*** – was the sister of his second wife (Hine-puariari), who also lived at Whare-ongaonga and gave birth to two children - Tuaiti (M) and Potirohia (M).

4. ***Rongomaiwāhine***. The love story of Kahungunu and Rongomaiwāhine, begun when Kahungunu was married to his second wife, Hine-puariari (This story is told in detail later in this case study). Rongomaiwāhine and Kahungunu had the following children:

> Kahukuranui (M)
>
> Rongomaipapa (F)
>
> Tamate-kota (M)
>
> Mahakinui (M) – died early in life, leaving no issue (Huata, 1983, p. 21)
>
> Tauhei-kuri (F)

Each of these children married well (with the exception of Mahakinui). Kahukaranui had three wives, Ruatapuwāhine, Tuteihonga and Hinekumu. Rongomaipapa had two husbands, Ruapani and Tuhourangi. Tamate-kota married Rongokauae and the youngest daughter married Tamataipunoa (Huata, 1983, p. 21).

5. ***Pouwharekura*** – was a high-ranking woman, who was captured by Wekanui. Kahungunu sought the assistance of Wekanui to avenge the death of his son, Tuaiti. When Pouwharekura was captured, Wekanui wanted to take her as a wife, so did Kahukuranui (another son of Kahungunu). In resolving the issue, Kahungunu took Pouwharekura as his own wife. From this marriage, a daughter named – Ruatapui (F) was born (Mitchell, 2011).

Rongomaiwāhine and Tamatakutai

Tamatakutai was the first husband of Rongomaiwāhine. He was a carver. At the time of their marriage they lived on the Eastern side of the Mahia Peninsula (Tipuna, 2007). From this marriage, two daughters were born:

1. Rapuaiterangi
2. Hine Rauiri

Rongomaiwāhine was pregnant at the time of her first husband's death, and upon her marriage to Kahungunu. Rongomaiwāhine second daughter was born after her husband (Tamatakutai) had drowned. This child was called Hine-Rauiri (Lady

Castaway). It is said that when Tamatea heard his son's (Kahungunu) wife was due to give birth, he travelled to meet his new mokopuna. Soon before his arrival, he heard that the child was not Kahungunu's but was in fact Rongomaiwāhine's previous husband's child. On hearing the news, Tamatea 'cast away' the fine gifts of clothing, hence the naming of Hine-Rauiri. Another version of her naming is that she was given the name 'Hine-rau-wiri (daughter of the fish net) in honour of Kahungunu's fishing abilities (White, 2011). This latter rendition of naming is not often recorded by the people of Rongomaiwāhine.

In accordance with her esteemed ranking, Hine-Rauiri should have been born in a whare-kōhanga, and given the rituals associated with high ranking birth. Instead, Hine-Rauiri was born like a commoner (Mitchell, 2011). Like their mother, Rapuaiterangi and Hine Rauiri were raised at Tawapata pa with their grandparents, Rapa and Moekakara (Mitchell, 2011).

The love story of Rongomaiwāhine and Kahungunu

> *This was one of the most important love matches of the East Coast, not only because of the intrigue surrounding it, but because it undoubtedly changed the whole Māori history of the East Coast* (Mitchell, 2011, p. 79)*.*

When the people from throughout the land heard of the marriage between Hine-puariari (2nd wife) and Kahungunu they came to congratulate the couple (Haami, 1997; Mitchell, 2011). Hine-puariari was asked what her husband was like, in responding she said:

> *Kaore hoki tera te hangā o taku tane, kaore e rupeke mai ana, takoto noa mai te nuingā i waho.*

> The remarkable thing is that the treasure of my husband could not be admitted and the major part of it was obliged to remain outside (Mitchell, 2011, p. 76).

This story spread quickly amongst the women and it wasn't long before Rongomaiwāhine heard of this man. Rongomaiwāhine remarked:

Na temea ano ra he kopua papaku, mehemea e taka mai ana ki te kopua hohonu a Rapa e tuhera atu nei, pokopoko ana ia ki roto.

It is because it is a shallow pool; should it have fallen into the deep pool of Rapa (her father) now opening towards him, it would have been lost out of sight (Mitchell, 2011, p. 76).

Kahungunu never forgot this challenge, and after his third marriage he went in search of this woman, who was gaining great fame throughout the region. Upon his arrival at Tawapata pa, Kahungunu learnt that Rongomaiwāhine had recently married, an expert carver named Tamatakutai (Haami, 1997; Huata, 1983; Mitchell, 2011). This did not deter Kahungunu, he was determined to have Rongomaiwāhine.

Kahungunu was not known to the people of Mahia and kept his identity from them (Mitchell, 2011). Kahungunu set about gaining the respect of the people of the Mahia Peninsula. He persuaded them that the most important task was the ability to gather food for the people. He demonstrated his skills both on land and in the sea. Rongomaiwāhine parents were pleased with Kahungunu's abilities to feed the people and commented; "This indeed is the son-in-law for us, not the lazy man who knows nothing but how to carve" (Haami, 1997, p. 64). Kahungunu was successful in his plan. He had won the hearts of the people of the Mahia Peninsula, who praised his ability to feed them.

In determination to secure Rongomaiwāhine as his wife, he then set the next phase of his plan into action. Upon returning from the sea, gathering an abundance of kaimoana (seafood), Kahungunu asked that the paua roe be set aside for him (Haami, 1997; Mitchell, 2011). Kahungunu knew that the paua roe would create a violent smell.

When the people of the pa settled for the evening, Kahungunu waited till his tummy rumbled. He then approached the whare where Rongomaiwāhine and her husband were sleeping, passing gas within their proximity. Tamatakutai awoke to the

repulsive smell and yelled at his wife for not having placed sweet-smelling shrubs to deter from the smell. Kahungunu repeated this action, causing the couple to argue (Haami, 1997). Rongomaiwāhine, in thinking that it was her husband releasing such as offensive smell said; "all you are good for, you lazy fellow, is to eat and discharge wind" (Mitchell, 2011, p. 78). She left the marital bed and slept alongside her mother.

The next morning Tamatakutai was on the beach preparing his waka to ride the waves. Kahungunu was watching and asked Tamatakutai if he could participate in this sport known as 'whakaheke-ngāru' (Mitchell, 2011, p. 78). Tamatakutai accepted the request of Kahungunu. After a couple of trips, Kahungunu asked Tamatakutai if he could steer the waka. Tamatakutai obliged Kahungunu's request and swapped positions with Kahungunu. Kahungunu being very competent on the sea, led Tamatakutai to ride great waves, which eventually swamped the waka, causing the death of Tamatakutai. Tamatakutai drowned (Haami, 1997; Mitchell, 2011).

Shortly after this event, Kahungunu approached Rongomaiwāhine and asked her to dress his hair. Rongomaiwāhine combed and oiled Kahungunu's hair and was preparing to bind his topknot with flax. The flax broke, and his hair fell, Kahungunu reached for his tatua-pupara (war girdle) and pulled from it, the softened flax from Kawhainui, near Tauranga. This was successfully bound around his topknot (Whaanga, 2013). In completing this task, Kahungunu stood turning north towards the clouds over his father's lands, declaring his identity:

> *E te putiki wharenui o Tamatea I mahue atu ra I rungā o Tauranga*
>
> Here is the binding broad-leaved flax of Tamatea that was left at Tauranga (Mitchell, 2011, p. 79).

By stating this, Kahungunu declared his identity as the great grandson of Tamateamaiawhiti from Tauranga. Rongomaiwāhine became the permanent wife of Kahungunu.

Retelling the story through waiata

Traditionally, Māori were not literate in the sense of reading and writing 'the written word'. Māori conversed through oral, artistic, practical, and physical activities that disseminated their knowledge (Royal, 2009). The love story of Rongomaiwāhine and Kahungunu is well known throughout Aotearoa and was recorded by Tommy Taurima in the action song:

Kotiro Māori E

Kōtiro Māori e, taku ripene pai	*Māori lass, my gay ribbon,*
O makawe hoki ngā ngāru ate tai	*your hair is like the ripples of the tide*
Ko te pare huia	*a topknot of huia feathers*
He tohu rangatira e	*an aristocratic symbol*
*Ko **Rongomaiwāhine***	*Rongomaiwāhine*
O Nukutaurua e.	*of Nukutaurua.*
Rongongia tō ataahua	*Your beauty is known*
E te whenua katoa	*throughout the land*
Tae atu te kohimuhimu	*then the whisper reaches*
*Ki a **Kahungunu** e*	*even to Kahungunu.*
Ko wai te wāhine e	*Who is the woman who*
Whakakapakapa te manawanui?	*breaks so many hearts?*
Ko Rongomaiwāhine	*It is Rongomaiwāhine*
O Nukutaurua e	*of Nukutaurua.*
Piki ake, kake ake	*He travels up the coast*
Ki Te Mahia e	*to Mahia peninsula*
Ka kite tana hiahia	*and sees his desire.*
Aue Ko Rongomai e.	*Oh yes! Oh Rongomai!*
Haere mai e tama rukuhia	*Come young man, dive*
Ngā pāua a Tangāroa nei	*for the paua belonging to Tangāroa*
Ma Rongomaiwāhine	*as a gift for Rongomaiwāhine*
O Nukutaurua e.	*of Nukutaurua.*
Nāhau rā Kahungunu	*Kahungunu has the gift,*
Tangāta whakanene	*of being a trickster.*
Na te pāua	*It was the paua*
I raru ana koe Rongomai e	*that defeated you Rongomai.*
Maranga mai e hine	*Come young lady*

> *Ka haere tāua e*   Let us two travel
> *Ki Maramatea*   to Maramatea
> *O Nukutaurua e.*   of Nukutaurua.

Retrieved from http://folksong.org.nz/rongomaiwāhine/ on 07/09.2017.

Today, this action song continues to be sung by the people of Rongomaiwāhine and Kahungunu lineage.

Siege at Maungakāhia pa

After their marriage, Rongomaiwāhine and Kahungunu lived at Maungakāhia pa, which is said to have been built by Kahungunu (Mitchell, 2011; Whaanga, 2013). Kahungunu was an old man when he died at Maungakāhia pa (Mitchell, 2011). Kahungunu was not known as a warrior of war, but the siege at Maungakāhia, is probably the most well acclaimed war that involved Kahungunu as a strategist.

In building this pa site, Kahungunu built three strong palisades within the earthwork to protect the people of Mahia (Mitchell, 2011). This was not strong enough to stop the warfaring party from Opotiki from attempting to invade on Mahia. Tu-Tamure and his brother Tama-Taipunoa brought with them some 500 warriors to attack Mahia to avenge the death of their sister, Taneroa (Haami, 1997). After the outside palisade gave way, Kahungunu (an old man by this time) sent his daughter Tauhei-Kuri down to investigate who the chief of the war party was. She returned to tell her father that it was Tu-Tamure. Kahungunu advised his daughter that this was her cousin, and that to cease the warfare, she should marry him. His daughter Tauhei-Kuri agreed to this and was dressed in all the fineries before being presented to the people of Tu-Tamure (Haami, 1997; Mitchell, 2011).

When she arrived, Tauhei-kuri was uncertain which brother was the chief, Tu-Tamure. She fell at the knees of the younger brother, who pushed her forward to Tu-Tamure (Whaanga, 2015). He gazed at himself in the nearby pond and realised he was not as handsome as his younger brother, Tama-Taipunoa. He requested that Tama-Taipunoa marry the betrothed maiden, and peace was made (Mitchell, 2011). Because of this incident, the pond at the foot of Maungā-kahia pa which Tu-Tamure looked into is known as, "Te Wai Whakaata-a-Tutamure" (Whaanga, 2015).

—G. O. K. Sainsbury Photo.

SITE OF MAUNGAKAHIA PA.

Kahungunu's stronghold on eastern side of Mahia Peninsula.

Figure 13: Maungakāhia Pa

Retrieved on 09/09/2017 from http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/MitTaki-fig-MitTakiP004b.html

Rongomaiwāhine whakapapa

There is little known regarding the whakapapa of Rongomaiwāhine. Mitchell (2011) suggests that it is probably because she was the ancestress of Rongomaiwāhine, her prior whakapapa was not of great importance.

Rongomaiwāhine is said to have acquired her whakapapa from two waka that traversed from Hawaiki. Ruawharo (Tohunga of Takitimu waka) and Popoto (Commander of Kurahaupo waka).

Popoto was one of three commanders on the Kurahaupo waka. Upon the waka's arrival to Aotearoa they went in search of their ancestor Toi staying with him for a short time. They then journeyed on looking for land to settle on. Popoto stayed at Nukutaurua on the Mahia Peninsula, whilst the other two commanders carried on.

There are varying stories regarding how and when Popoto landed at Mahia, but it is certain that he is recognised by Rongomaiwāhine as their tūpuna (Mitchell, 2011).

Ruawharo is said to have given the naming rights to Te Mahia. In citing White (1887, p.63), Phillips (1948, p.43) asserts that, "Ruawharo stood up and said: 'This is Te-mahia,' and when they got near to Nuku-tau-rua (moving double canoe) point, they landed and examined the place". On embarking at Te Mahia, Ruawharo retrieved sand from his basket and performed ceremonial rituals over the whenua (Phillipps, 1948). It is claimed that the name and sand, descend from 'Te Mahia-mai-tawhiti', the homeland of Ruawharo (Whaanga, 2015).

Rongomaiwāhine's father was Rapa, a descendent from both Ruawharo and Popoto. Her mother was Moekakara is said to have descended from Paikea (Mitchell, 2011, p. 301).

Rongomaiwāhine

Rongomaiwāhine is the tribal grouping located on the Mahia Peninsula in the Northern coastal area of Hawkes Bay (Tipuna, 2007). Rongomaiwāhine is the ariki tapairu (woman of very high rank) and is the principal ancestress of Mahia. Rongomaiwāhine had mana over the whenua at Mahia (Jones, 2013; Mitchell, 2011; Tipuna, 2007). The descendants of Rongomaiwāhine are said to be the daughters of Rongomaiwāhine and her first husband (Tamatakutai), Rapuaiterangi and Hine-Rauiri (Whaanga, 2013). It is said that the mana of Rongomaiwāhine was bestowed upon her first-born children (daughters) through her first marriage (Tipuna, 2007). This does not deter from the mana of her latter children with Kahungunu, but distinguishes the ancestors of Rongomaiwāhine, as the children from the first marriage. The children of Kahungunu and Rongomaiwāhine, will often refer to 'Ngāti Kahungunu me Rongomaiwāhine' as their iwi (Tipuna, 2007).

In clarifying this further, Tipuna (2007) raises the notion of whakapapa. From the first marriage of Rongomaiwāhine, the children of her first marriage are the tūpuna of Rongomaiwāhine. From her second marriage, the children follow their fathers (Kahungunu) lineage. This does not exclude the children of Kahungunu as it is

recorded that Mahia is the home of the people of Rongomaiwāhine and Kahungunu (Tipuna, 2007).

Church of England

Figure 14: *Church of England – Mohaka*

Retrieved from:
http://www.gisbornespecials.co.nz/themes/gisbspec/images/Christianity%20on%20the%20Coast%2030%20November%202014%20Maste%20opt.pdf, p.71. The St James Anglican Church opened in 1902 at Mohaka, later burnt down in 1974.

In approximately 1894, there was a move for the Church of England to strengthen their Christian hold within the North Island. This saw 'inspirational rallies' taking place throughout the North Island. One such rally took place in the Hawkes Bay region. As part of the rallies, each group was tasked with the job of choosing its strongest tūpuna and designing a flag depicting their ancestor (Mitchell, 2011). The tūpuna chosen by the people of Rongomaiwāhine was Rongomaiwāhine and the flag is a depiction of their ancestress. On the following page is a photo of the people of Rongomaiwāhine and their flag outside the whare kai at Mohaka (known as Rongomaiwāhine).

Figure 15: *Rongomaiwāhine Flag*

Retrieved from: https://www.teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/237/a-flag-depicting-rongomaiwāhine - photo of the Rongomaiwāhine flag taken in 1902 at the opening of the Mohaka Church.

Eraihia Maru, who was the leader of the Mahia group composed two waiata based on the information supplied by Paora Tunge and other elders of the Wairoa region. One was a challenge, and the other was an invitation song. Eraihia and group attended all the Church of England hui (meetings) and sung their waiata. At the hui, each group would march onto the marae, carrying their flag asserting their mana. The flag of Rongomaiwāhine was always flying and was placed at this highest peak of the flag pole, above all other flags (Mitchell, 2011).

Waiata whakamanawa

This song was written by Eraihia Maru, as a challenge to the rest of the Church of England challengers that participated in the rallies:

Te upoko o te ika, me waengānui e o te hiku o te ika e e.
Kia huri te taringa ki te whakarongo e ki taku tipuna e,
kia Whaitiri e e takahi i rungā ra e e.
E wha aku mana tuturu o te ao, ko Ihowa,

To the head of the fish (North Island), the middle and the tail thereof, Harken unto my ancestress Whaitiri that tramped above. I have four permanent *mana* (prestiges) in the world, namely, Jehovah, Christ, the Holy Ghost and Rongomai-wāhine.

ko Te Karaiti e, ko Te Wairua Tapu, ko Rongomai-wāhine e e.

E Tipi taku mana kia Houtaketake he paitini kararehe, na Te Huauri e, na Mahakinui e e.

E tipi taku mana ki te Tairawhiti kia Ranginui e, e hara hoki koe i te mana totika e, to whare karakia ko Te Mihaia, ko to minita e

ko Hoani Tekateka, kei roto, kei waho e e.

E tipi taku mana ki rungā o tawhiti, kei tua a Porou ana mana putuputu, aku tari pakupaku e, ko to minita e ko Piripi Awarau

kua tiporotia e te horopekapeka o Hine-nui-tepo e e.

E tipi taku mana kia Te Wheuki e kia Hikataurewa he kai-tiaki

koe, no taku whata kao i Toka-a-kuku rawa e e.

E tipi taku mana ki rungā o Tauranga, kei Rotorua e kei Te Awhengā ra, ko Ahukawa ra ia taku whaka-rauora e e.

Tawhai taku mana te puhi o taku waka, kia Netane e aku hoia e,

i te houkuratangā e, itenei rangi koe he kai-waha i te peene,

hei pōwhiri mai i to kuini e i a Rongomai-wāhine e e i.

My *mana* will strive with Houtaketake (witch doctor) who is the poisoner of the animals of Te Huauri (tribe) and the great Mahaki (Gisborne).

My *mana* will strive to the East Coast over Ranginui, whose *mana* is of no account, for his church house is Te Mihaia, while his minister,

Hoani Tekateka. is continually slipping in and out.

My *mana* will strive on top of Tawhiti beyond which live the Ngāti-Porou who have closely established *manas*, which are my minor offices.

Their minister, Piripi Te Awarau, has been chopped off by the sexual power of Hine-nui-tepo.

My *mana* will strive over Te Wheuki and Hikataurewa, for they were made the guardians of my platform for drying food (slaughtered bodies).

My *mana* will strive over Tauranga, at Rotorua and Te Awhengā (battlefield) where Ahukawa was made my prisoner.

My *mana* will then stride on to the head-piece of my canoe (Ngāpuhi) to Netane and people, who in the gay old days were my soldiers, but who are now the carriers of a band in order to welcome their Queen Rongomai-wāhine. (Mitchell, 2011, pp. 90-91)

The Mohaka round house

Another example of naming associated with Rongomaiwāhine is the naming of the whare kai, *Rongomaiwāhine* at Waipapa-a-Iwi marae in Mohaka. It is said that on her

journeys Rongomaiwāhine, travelled through Mohaka and was asked to leave behind something that her people could remember her by, she accepted the request and said that they could have her name. It is said that later (near on 300 years), the round house was built and the people of Mohaka placed the name of Rongomaiwāhine on their whare kai (Walters & Walters, 2014).

It is uncertain when the unique round house was built, some say that it was in 1885, others believe that it was built as a replica of the house of Rua Kenana. Given that the photo of the Rongomaiwāhine flag was taken outside the round house in 1902, it is likely that the Mohaka round house was in existence prior to Rua Kenana whare (built around 1907).

Another form of validation of this round house being built in or prior to 1885, is provided by Robin Maru and Sam Walters in their kōrero with Marjorie Rangi (Walters & Walters, 2014). Marjorie told Robin, that Daniel O'Keefe, a whaler that had married a local girl had been to Africa and had suggested that they build a round house, like what appears in Africa.

It can be ascertained that the naming of the Mohaka round house is through the whakapapa connection and is in recognition of the mana of Rongomaiwāhine.

Kahungunu = Rongomaiwāhine

Kahukura nui = Tu-teihongā

Rakai-paaka = Te Rumakina, descends from Kahungunu and his fifth wife (Pouwharekura), daughter, Ruatapui

Kaukohea = Mawete

Tu-te-Kanao = Tama-te-ahirau descends from the youngest daughter of Rongomaiwāhine and Kahungunu, Tauhei

Tu-reia = Hine Kimihangā (descends from Rongomaiwāhine and Kahungunu through their son Tamatea-kota)

Te Huki = Te Rangi tohu mare (1st wife)

Puruaaute II = Te Matakāingā

Te Wainohu = Taotahi

Te Wainohu was renamed Te Kahu o Te Rangi and is the paramount chief of Ngāti Pahuawera (Mitchell, 2011). He is a direct male descendent (Ure pukaka) back to the marriage of Kahungunu and Rongomaiwāhine. The Whare nui at Waipapa-a-iwi is named after the Pahuawera tūpuna, Te Kahu o Te Rangi.

Figure 16: *Mohaka Whare Kai named after Rongomaiwāhine*

Taken in approx. 1910 retrieved from: https://www.teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/23925/rongomaiwāhine-about-1910

Takitimu house

Before entering the house of Takitimu, you are approached by the statue of Rongomaiwāhine. Over the doorway on the pare (door lintel) is a carving of Rongomaiwāhine, with her legs spread apart. To enter the marae, you have to walk through the doorway (Kuwaha), under Rongomaiwāhine (Mitchell, 2011).

The ancient custom stems back to the mischievous actions of Maui, where he attempted to defy death. Whilst Hine nui te po slept, Maui entered Hine nui te po hoping to achieve immortality. Hine was awoken and crushed Maui to death. The pare over a marae kuwaha is a representation of a protective ancestress, who

ensures that no wrong doing will take place within the whare. As the principal ancestress of the Mahia region, Rongomaiwāhine is described as; "… the famous mother of the Ngāti Kahungunu people" who stands over the kuwaha to protect her people (Mitchell, 2011, p. 86).

Figure 17: Pare of Rongomaiwāhine at Takitimu house

Retrieved from https://teara.govt.nz/en/Ngāti-rongomaiwāhine on the 7th September 2017.

Whaikōrero

Traditionally, it was not uncommon for Māori women to whaikōrero. In some iwi and in some situations, how they (Māori women) conveyed their kōrero was on the ātea and in other situations its was on the verandah (Irwin, 1992; Open Wānanga, 2011).

The interview and findings

For this case study, I could find one participant that was able and prepared to discuss the contributions of Rongomaiwāhine. He has a whakapapa back to Rongomaiwāhine, Rākaipaaka, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Pahauwera. His interview

is recorded in these findings as Tane. The remainder of the information has come from documental and archival research.

Knowledge acquisitions

Tane gained his knowledge from his upbringing and then from further research that he undertook. This research led him to investigate his whakapapa and to re-think some of the traditional ideologies that he had been raised with.

Mana wāhine and the dissemination of mātauranga Māori

The mana of Rongomaiwāhine is recognised by her people in many ways, this includes the naming of an iwi, a flag designed for the Church of England rallies and a whare kai in Mohaka.

In discussing the whakapapa of Rongomaiwāhine, Tane 1 could explain:

> *She was the chieftainess of Mahia and descended from Ruawharo of Takitimu and Popoto of Kurahaupo … she was the ancestress of the Rongomaiwāhine iwi of Mahia* (Tane).

Whilst there is little written regarding the whakapapa of Rongomaiwāhine, the above whakapapa connections are well recorded by theorists (Mitchell, 2011; Whaangā, 2015). It is inferred that the reasoning for the limited whakapapa of Rongomaiwāhine is quite probable that the earlier whakapapa was not necessary as the importance is her as the ancestress of Rongomaiwāhine (Mitchell, 2011).

When asked if Rongomaiwāhine had mana, Tane 1 was able to assert; "I think she did while she was living" (Tane). He then extended his kōrero to say:

> *She was a woman of very high ranking and had beauty and mana … Because of her high ranking and her union with Kahungunu, this changed the Māori history of the East Coast … Her beauty and prestige glorified her and gave her independence* (Tane).

In discussing the mana of Rongomaiwāhine, Tane felt that the mana of Rongomaiwāhine did not die with her. He asserts; "… when she passed, she was placed on the kuwaha of the house of Takitimu". He was also able to articulate that:

> *… this custom goes back to the days of Maui but that's another story, the short of it all is that if evil was to try and enter the house, Rongomaiwāhine would close her legs and not allow the evil to enter (Tane).*

This kōrero goes back to the story of Hine Nui Te Po, where Maui tried to outsmart death and enter Hine Nui Te Po to become immortal (Mitchell, 2011).

Rongomaiwāhine's position over the pare at Takitimu house is a visual, tangible and intangible example of her status, not only to the people of Rongomaiwāhine, but to the people of Ngāti Kahungunu. This is encapsulated by Tane:

> *She was the mother of two iwi … during her lifetime she was very much respected by her people … In death, she was put on a pedestal where she remains today as Rongomaiwāhine iwi* (Tane).

Conclusion

This case study is an investigation into the history of Rongomaiwāhine, who was the chieftainess of her own iwi, and that of her husband's iwi, Ngāti Kahungunu. It also sought to aid in addressing the first research question in this thesis; *Prior to colonisation were Māori women seen to hold mana, and how did they convey mātauranga Māori?*

Today Rongomaiwāhine remains a significant woman within the history of Māori in Aotearoa. Whilst she was well before colonisation and imperialism, her people continue to acknowledge her mana and status as a wāhine rangatira (Tane).

CHAPTER 6 - Findings

Introduction

This part of the thesis introduces the interview participants who gave voice to this thesis and presents the findings for the overall thesis. Central to this thesis, is reclaiming the roles and positions of wāhine and engages in research that permits for the re-telling, re-writing and re-righting of history from within a mana wāhine lens (Murphy, 2011). By reclaiming these narratives, Māori women can culturally construct their Indigenous identity by "… stripping away of the unwanted layers of another people's culture…" (Murphy, 2003).

The interviews and questionnaires

The first part of this chapter provides an analysis of the participants. Here you will find the demographics of those who have participated in the research and a brief quantitative analysis. These findings are extended later in the chapter, where they take on a narrative and more qualitative approach to research. It was felt that having undertaken a thematic approach to analysis, the information was valuable to the overall research findings.

The interviews for the participants in the two case studies are also reflected in the findings. The two participants within the first case study (Three generations of mana wāhine) are coded as wāhine 1 and wāhine 2. The participant in the second case study (Rongomaiwāhine) is coded as Tane 1.

How they were selected

A total of 18 people chose to participate in the questionnaire, which was administrated by either an email questionnaire or through semi structured interviews. (The questions for each process were the same and are appendixed).

Emails were sent to every 20th wāhine on my email list (excluding persons with direct conflict with my research i.e Supervisors), a total of 74 emails were sent out asking if people wanted to participate. From this list 11 were happy to consent and provided answers via email. From the 11, 2 were returned unsigned and therefore not used as

no response to consent was ever attained. Of the 9 remaining participants 2 were Pākehā and another was from overseas. They were not able to contribute as they were unaware of the subject matter. The emailed respondents total 6 participants that have signed and completed each stage of the research process.

Following this, a panui was made available to all staff, students, clients, and service providers on campus asking for anyone that would be happy to participate in the interview process. The figure is difficult to accurately ascertain but 100 panui were made available on campus (I work for a Māori PTE). From the panui 10 said they were available to be interviewed. From the 10, one consent form was not signed therefore has been omitted from the research, one was unable to allocate time due to personal matters going on and another decided that they were not comfortable in the subject matter. From those who accepted the invitation to be interviewed 7 have completed the initial interview, those same 7 have confirmed the transcripts and their narrative is included in the research, with their support.

I was then fortunate on my travels for work to then gain the assistance from another two work colleagues who both accepted the opportunity to be interviewed (after hearing about my doctoral thesis). This took us into the late hours, long after our hui for work and it is greatly appreciated.

The extra two interviews brought the total consented interviews to 9 and the emailed questionnaires to 6 as well. This left the research with fifteen participants, and the addition to the findings being 2 wāhine from the first case study, and then a tane from the last case study. To protect the identity of the participants, the following coding system has been applied within the thesis, including the type of questionnaire completed.

| Participant Coding	Type of Questionnaire
1-DL Wāhine	Semi Structured
2-JDF Wāhine	Semi Structured
3-KT Tane	Email
4-PL Wāhine	Semi Structured
5-RM Wāhine	Semi Structured
6-SG Tane	Semi Structured
7-SDG Wāhine	Email

8-SS Wāhine	Email
9-SW Wāhine	Email
10-SBG Wāhine	Email
11-SF Wāhine	Email
12-TTW Wāhine	Semi Structured
13-TG Wāhine	Semi Structured
14-PT Wāhine	Semi Structured
15-MK Tane	Semi Structured
Case study participants	
16 - Wāhine 1	Semi Structured
17 - Wāhine 2	Semi Structured
18 - Tane 1	Semi Structured

Based on the overall examination of participants. Four Māori men participated in this research. 1 was well known to the researcher for his knowledge on Rongomaiwāhine, the other 3 who participated within the overall research for the following reason:

1. 2 were husband and wife and were interviewed together,

2. 1 was the only boy raised with women and had female children.

The demographic of the participants provided for an insight into the scope of the interviews and questionnaires.

Overall analysis of participants
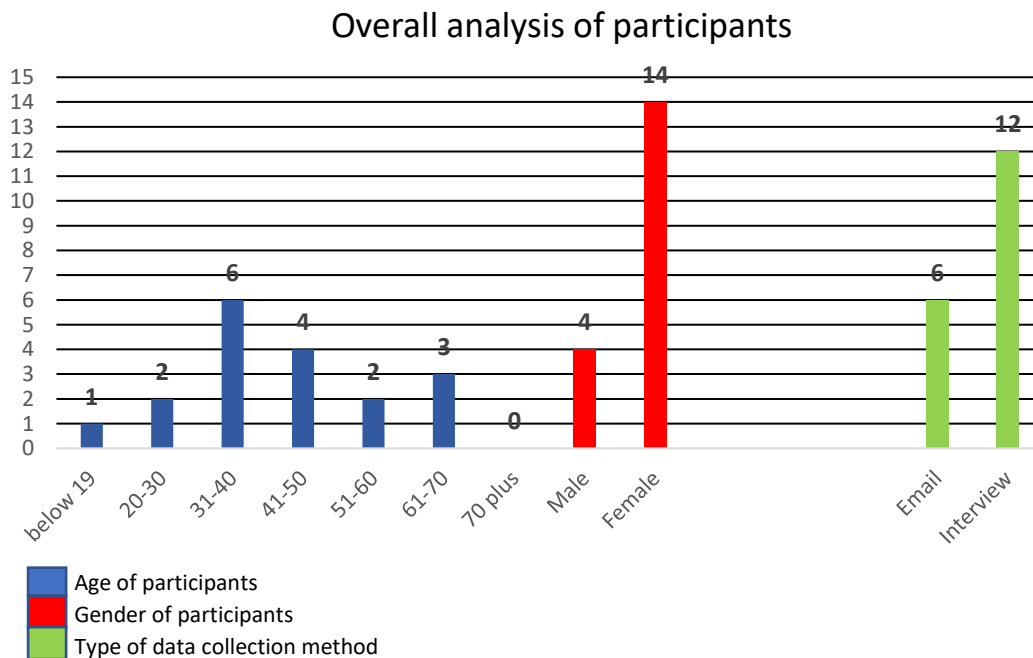
Based on the above information the following statistical analysis is provided as an overall examination of the participants demographics:

- 1/3 of the participants answered the interview questions via the internet. The majority of the participants (2/3) were interviewed.
- 77% were female
- 55% of the participants were aged between 31-50.

A snapshot of their responses

This information is provided as a small quantitative analysis of what the participants thought regarding the mana and the knowledge base of Māori women. This thesis is not intended to be a quantitative approach to research, but having undertaken the process of thematics, it was felt that this could add value and credibility to the research.

Some of the questions were open ended, and others were closed. The following information has been attained from the closed ended questions. Whilst many of the participants extended their kōrero, this is a summary of their answers to the closed ended questions.

Were Māori women prior to colonisation recognised as powerful and transmitters of knowledge?
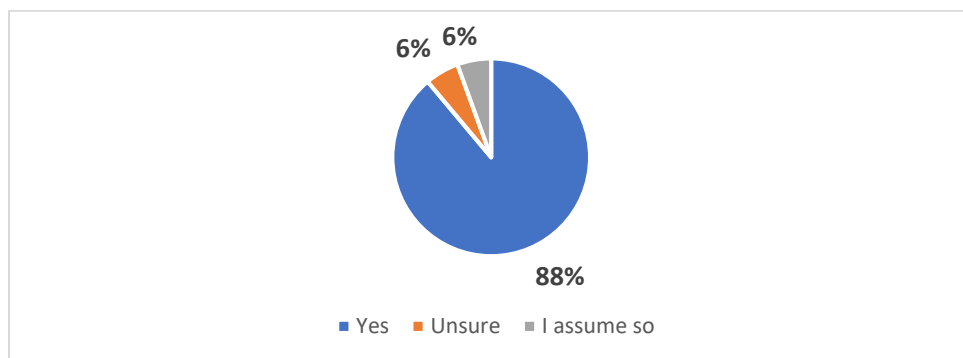
Did colonisation have an effect on the traditional role of Māori women?
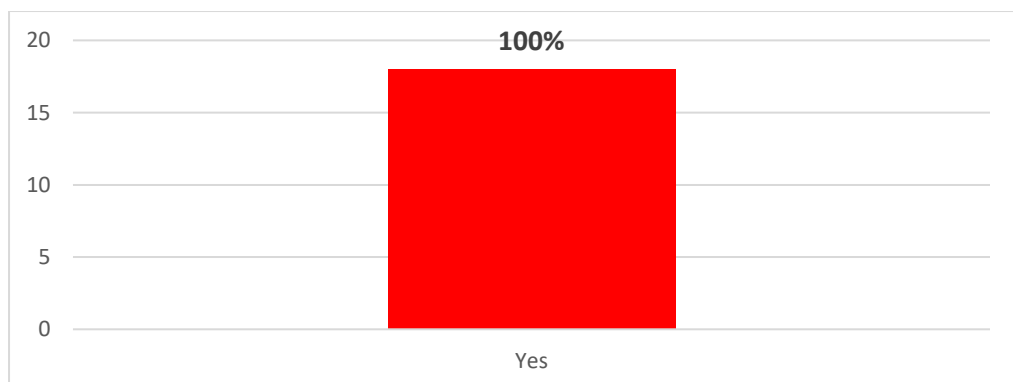
Was the mana of Māori women affected?
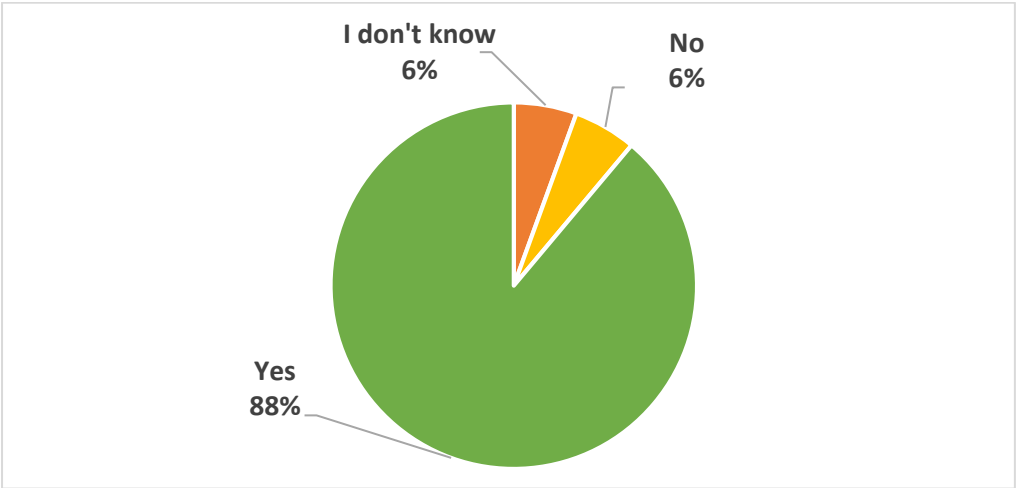
Were Māori women seen as powerful and knowledgeable?
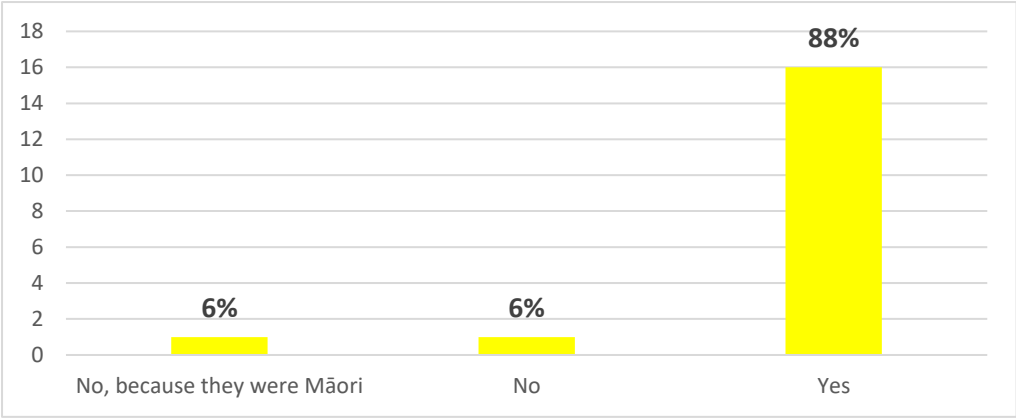
Was the knowledge base of Māori women affected?
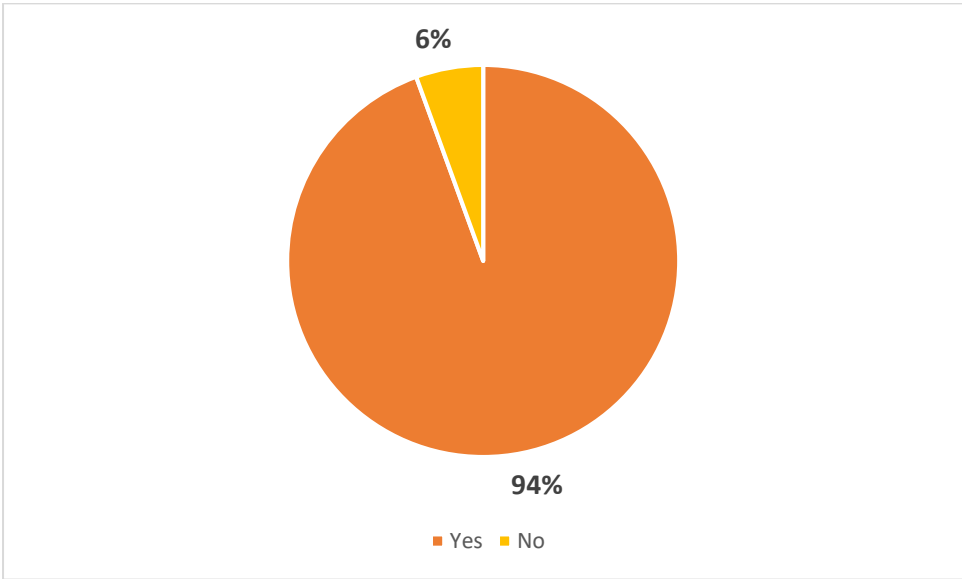
Was power used over Māori women to lessen their role within colonised society?
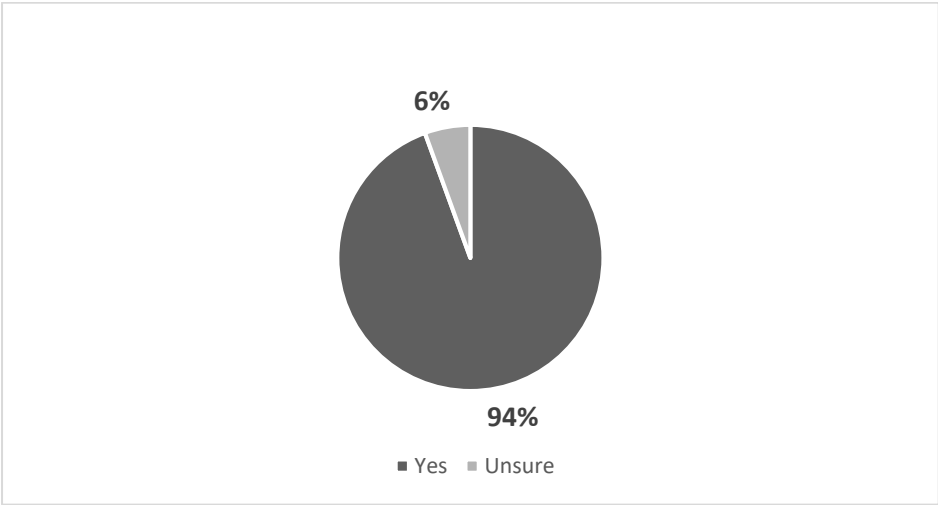
Do Māori women still transmit mātauranga Māori?
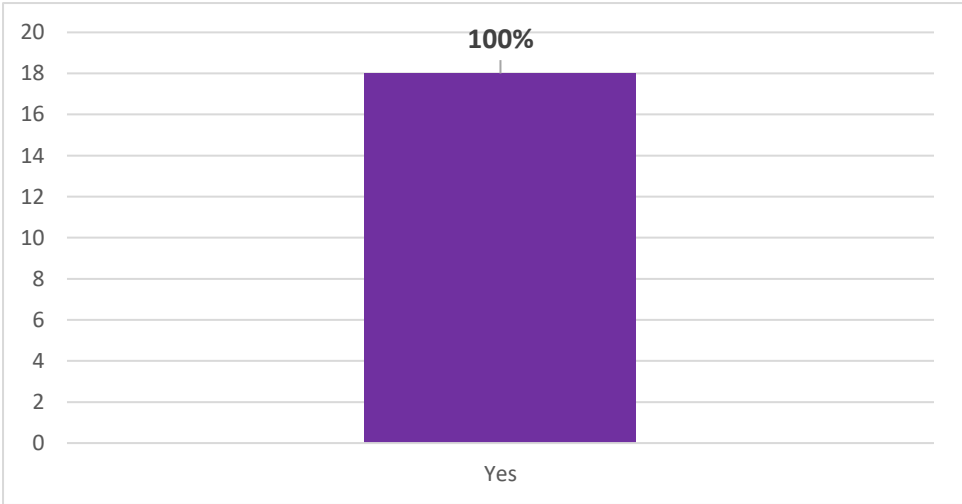
Do Māori women still have mana?
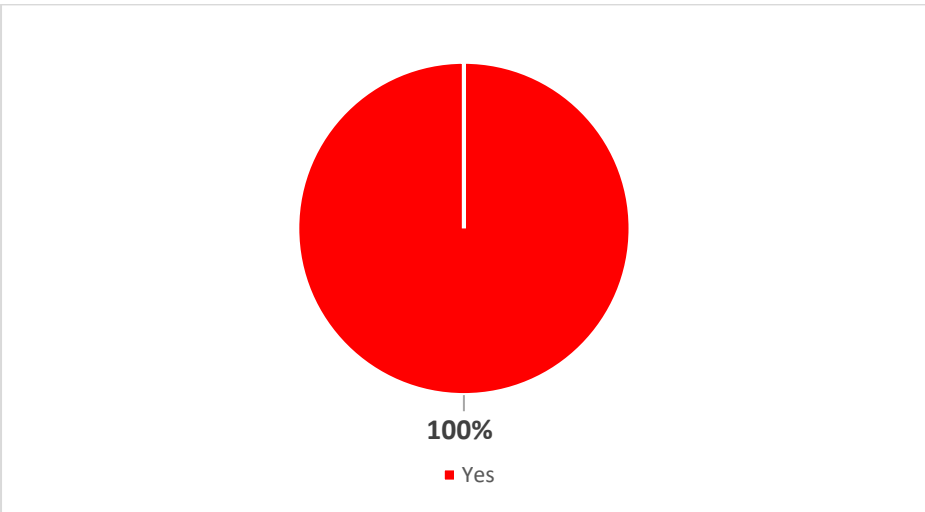
Has the knowledge base of Māori women and their power base survived colonisation?
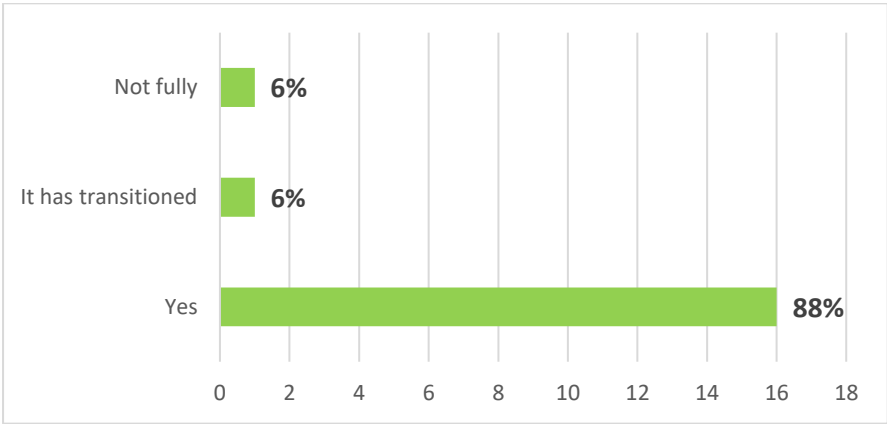
Is mana relevant to Māori women today?
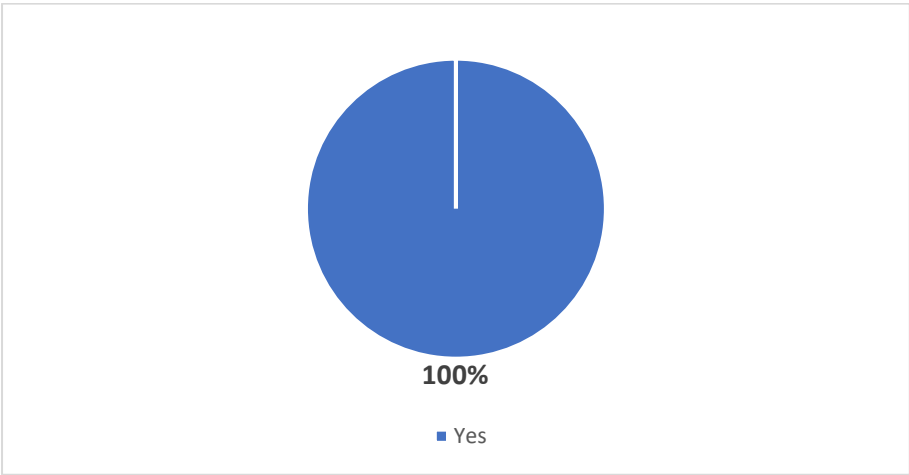
Is the traditional knowledge base of Māori women still relevant today?

Can mana and mātauranga Māori contribute to empowering Māori women?

100%
■ Yes
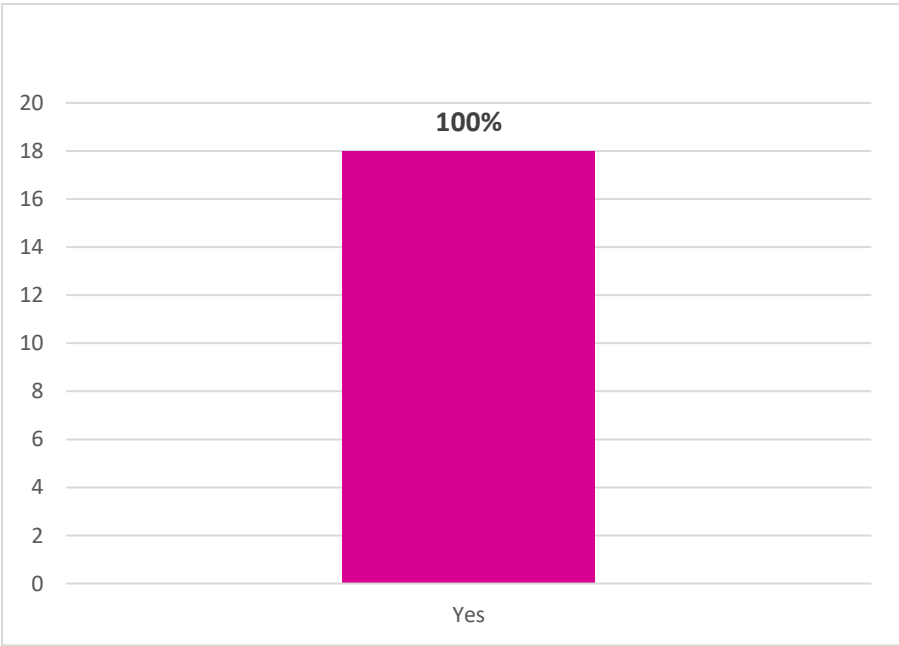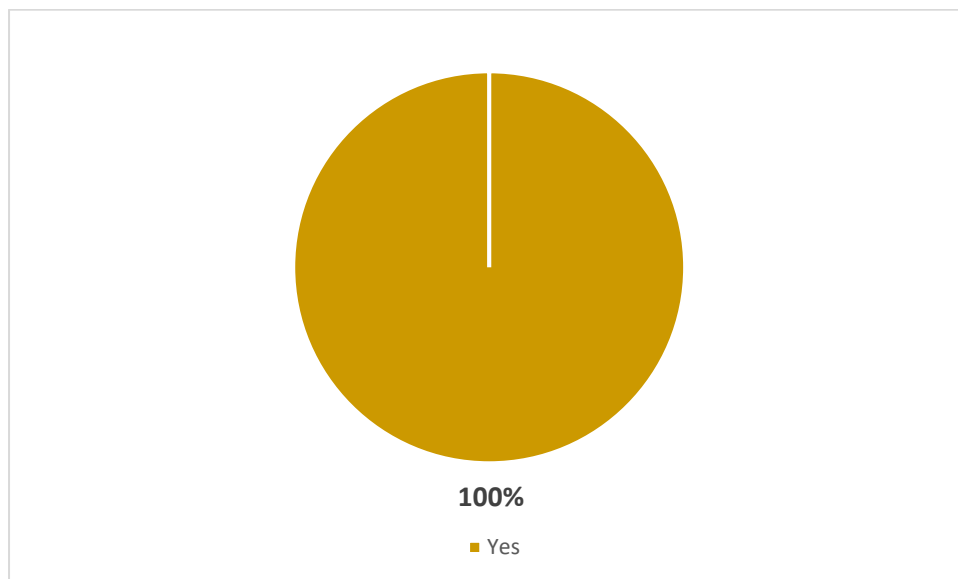
Summarizing through the quantitative approach

The answers to the closed ended questions provided by the participants within this research were very similar. A summary of their collective answers is provided;

Majority of the participants (88%) voiced that prior to colonisation Māori women were recognised as powerful and conveyors of mātauranga Māori. The participants (100%) all felt that colonisation had affected the traditional roles of Māori women. 88% of the participants stated that the mana and knowledge base of Māori women had been affected. The majority (94%) also stated that power was used to lessen the position of Māori women.

There is a 100% agreeance between the participants that Māori women still have mana and transmit mātauranga Māori today. All participants (100%) felt that mana and mātauranga Māori remain relevant today, and that they (mana and mātauranga-a-wāhine) can contribute to the empowerment of Māori women.

THE FINDINGS

Before the colonisers and imperialists arrived in Aotearoa, Māori women and their kinsmen lived lives based on respect and balance. The arrival of Western ideologies brought tragedy to the traditions of Māori society (Mikaere, 2003):

> *Pākehā practices became the norm and affected how*
> *Māori women were viewed. They became possessions and*
> *not who they were – the bearers of the next generation …*
> *[that] should be nurtured* (JDF wāhine).

This thesis does not assume that Māori should resume their traditional roles, it looks to understand the impact that Western ideologies had, enabling Māori to take stock of their potentiality. Specific to this thesis is the positioning and roles of Māori women since colonisation and how "… colonisation has resulted in a lethal combination of oppression by race with oppression by gender" (Mikaere, 2003, p. 126).

Whilst it is an acceptable fact that Māori endured colonisation (Mikaere, 2003), this thesis sought to identify whether Māori women lost their mana and ability to transmit mātauranga Māori. It also sought to address whether there are lessons within history that can assist Māori women in freeing themselves from systems of alienation and oppression.

The findings are laid out under each of the research questions and seek to identify whether the research has anything to offer to both academia and to Māori women, and whether there is potential for further research.

How did the atua and tūpuna demonstrate mana and transmit mātauranga-a-wāhine?

Through processes, structures and systems introduced by imperialists and the colonisers, the cosmological history and whakapapa of Māori was reconstructed as a mythical and heathen beginning (Mikaere, 1994; Pihama, 2001). Māori women within the historical renditions of literature were silenced or portrayed as being savages needing salvation (Mikaere, 2003). Mikaere refers to the destruction and distortion of the Māori world view as "… a colossal wall of Pākehā myth-making about the nature of Māori society prior to contact with Pākehā ideas" (2017, p. 7). The manipulation of mātauranga Māori and the roles of the atua are articulated in the interview process:

> *… you look at all the pūrākau about female atua, but you never hear about them, you always hear about the men atua. You know it's like Kupe – everybody knows he discovered Aotearoa, but very little is said about his wife naming Aotearoa* (DL wāhine).

The silencing within the literature of Kupe's wife (Kuramārōtini) and the naming of New Zealand is quietly hidden with a greater emphasis being placed on Kupe's discovery and navigation skills. The silencing of culture is further exampled through the actions and behaviours of literature that undermines Māori women. Hine ahu one was perceived as a woman made from dirt and given life by man. This account was recorded by men who did not understand the Māori culture, nor did they understand the balance that Māori women had with their men (Mikaere, 2003).

This 'culture of silencing' within the early written literature is not too dissimilar to Wāhine 1 korero in her interview regarding the written literature on Te Rauparaha. It is suffice to say that there was substantial work completed regarding Te Rauparaha as a war faring warrior, but a very limited knowledge about regarding the wāhine that supported his efforts and often recitifed his errors (Mikaere, 2017). I hope that this work raises the voice of my wāhine rangatira and permits for their voices to be heard.

Naming was a central tenet for Māori that connected them to the whenua and local landmarks. Unfortunately for Māori, and the history of Aotearoa, many of the places named by Māori have been renamed (through the process of colonisation) causing a loss of identity and a disconnection. This has consequently distorted the associated pūrākau associated (Loader, 2013). The sacredness of local geographies and the relevant history of Māori was undermined through the settlement of Pākehā in New Zealand (Loader, 2013).

Pūrākau connected Māori with their environment (Carter, 2005) and formed both an identity and a relationship. Because of their roles and mana, Māori women were significant in these landscape identities and is articulated by DL wāhine:

… before the missionaries, Māori women were powerful, …
you have iwi, hapū, [and] marae named after very strong
women….

In the second case study, Rongomaiwāhine provides an example of a wāhine tūpuna having an iwi and whare kai named after her (Mitchell, 2011). Additional support to the role of Rongomaiwāhine being a powerful Māori woman was provided by Tane 1 in his interview where he informed that Rongomaiwāhine was so important that the house of Takitimu has Rongomaiwāhine on the pare. This pare is not just an acknowledgement of the mana of Rongomaiwāhine but is an example of the scholarly competence of Māori and their relationship with their wāhine prior to colonisation.

The pare is a counter methodological framework that fights against the hegemonic discourses of Māori women. The history and whakapapa of the pare and Māori extends back to the metaphyiscal realm to our atua tūpuna and in the actions on Hine-nui-te-po. Through the actions of Maui and Hine-nui-te-poi, Māori learnt from the atua how life on Earth should be. From this came another lesson in tikanga and a way of balance that the stories of Maui (as recorded by Western theorists) disturbed through his actions. The narratives accorded by the atua and later on through the tūpuna are exhaustive, if you are prepared to listen and to acknolwedge their knowledge base.

The first case study in this thesis, provides another example of Māori women being significant in the naming of the landscape in Aotearoa. A waterfall in the Kapiti region was named after Rakapa (Carkeek, 2004). The narrative told by Ngāti Toa Rangatira honours Rakapa as having swum from the small waterfall, known as Te Mimi o Rakapa, to an outer island opposite (Carkeek, 2004; Loader, 2013). This is one example conveyed by the people of Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa of the pūrākau that connects the tūpuna wāhine to the whenua, giving it an identity and a sense of belonging.

Figure 18: *Te Mimi o Rakapa*

Uplifted shore-line with rock arch at mouth of Te Mimi o Rakapa stream. 'Tomato Beach' in distance, 25 February 1921, Kapiti Island, by Leslie Adkin. Gift of G. L. Adkin family estate, 1964. Te Papa (A.005915); Retrieved from: https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/123488

Traditionally, pūrākau were lessons from the atua that were transmitted through to the generations on Earth. These lessons informed of the Māori way of being and understanding the world. These ancient pūrākau were a form of knowledge from the atua passed to the physical world as a taonga. This knowledge base was a treasure, a gift from the atua, that enabled Māori to understand their position and role within the world. Pūrākau not only informed but maintained the relationship between the atua and tangata whenua (Jenkins & Mountain Harte, 2011; Smith-Henry, 2015).

As learners, Māori were not literate in the sense of the written language (Sharples, 1994). Their methods of learning involved artforms and methods of narrative (Royal, 2009). From the metaphysical realm, Māori learnt ways to transmit knowledge and that all things have a whakapapa, inclusive of their methods of learning and knowing. The traditional forms of literacy and knowing derived from the atua are voiced by JDF wāhine:

> *Everything we learn as Māori comes from the atua. Our*
> *tikanga is embedded in us through our atua and is handed*
> *down to us ... from the atua we learn how to act and what*
> *is expected from us. We learn to respect our environment,*
> *we learn how to treat each other ... We didnt learn how to*
> *do tāniko and raranga by accident, we were gifted these*
> *arts [from the atua].*

An interesting point that JDF wāhine raises in her korero, is that Māori are taught by the atua how to treat each other. Pūrākau are not lessons of one gender being superior and the other being subservient, they were lessons based on an equilibrium that complemented the livelihood of iwi, hapū and whānau (Mikaere, 2003). The relationship between Māori men and Māori women within the spiritual realm is well articulated by RTM wāhine. She concurs with Mikaere (2003) and Pihama (2001) that Māori women had roles in the spiritual world and were important:

> *… our history as Māori women shows that even in the*
> *heavens we were important. Hine Ahu One was the first*
> *human life force on Earth as we know it. Papa was just as*
> *important as Rangi, the two of them are our Earth mother*
> *and Sky father, they are our foundation* (RTM wāhine).

Traditionally, Māori women and their men lived a life of balance (Mikaere, 2003). As Māori, prior to the influences of Western ideologies, Māori were equals within the metaphysical and pre-colonial era; this is voiced by the participants:

> *… I believe that women were powerful and equal to men*
> *and recognised as such* (SS wāhine).

> *New Zealand wasn't an easy place to live, men and women*
> *had to work together so they could survive. Māori travelled*
> *here and had to learn how to survive … they needed each*
> *other. On that journey they brought with them our history*
> *… we didn't just arrive here from nowhere, we had a being*

> *before our arrival at Aotearoa, the gods sent us here* (TG
> wāhine).

The pūrākau regarding Māori women and their position within the metaphysical realm has been undermined and silenced for the betterment of historical curiosity. The literature was written from within Western ideologies and reframed the traditional roles and positions of Māori women (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001). The Western historian's reinterpretation of Māori women created a 'culture of silence' and a sense of 'powerlessness' (Freire, 1983) that has been indoctrinated into the psyche of Māori women.

Discussing further the role of wāhine within the metaphysical realm many of the participants felt that both mana and mātauranga Māori were directly associated and attributed with the atua. In addressing how Māori women acquire/d their mana, RTM wāhine could articulate that:

> *Everything in the Māori world has wairua because it comes*
> *from the realm of the atua. My understanding is that when*
> *Tane climbed to the highest heaven he brought back this*
> *knowledge from the heavens, where we learn[t] the ways*
> *of our atua, and [their] knowledge. This is how we gain*
> *mana, it is through the mana of the atua and their*
> *knowledge base.*

In defining wairua, Pihama (2001) uses the wording of Rose Pere (1988) to explain that wairua is the spiritual flow between the metaphysical and the physical worlds. The notion that wairua comes from the atua is consistent with theorists such as Simmonds (2009) and Pihama (2001) who agree that hegemonic discourses have affected the spirituality of Māori. Pihama (2001) explains that part of the challenge for Māori women today is to make visible their wairua through narrative that affirms their spirituality.

The idea that everything has wairua and mana was supported by other participants, who also felt that they were a derivative of the metaphysical world:

> *Everything has mana, the trees, the fish. As a Māori we all gained our mana from the atua, it is a form of wairua or spiritual power that we as tangata whenua acquire[d] through birth* (DL wāhine).

For some Māori, the traditional ways of knowing and understanding the world have been interrupted by imperialism and colonisation. This has had a dire consequence for Māori and has affected the very soul of Māori, causing them to denounce or rethink their origins (Mikaere, 2003). Many of the participants felt that Christianity was pivotal in alienating Māori from their own beliefs:

> *Colonisation had an effect on all aspects of the traditional Māori life, with religion being particularly harmful to the Māori way of life and belief systems* (SS wāhine).

> *When the missionaries landed on our shore, they said we didn't make sense with all our gods … they changed our way of thinking* (SDG wāhine).

> *… the church brought new ways of understanding the world. They brought their bible filled with a different kind of history … Māori thought they were dumb and had to learn the new knowledge* (TG wāhine).

Mikaere (2017) also pulls into question whether in fact Māori did convert to Christianity as prolifically recorded, or whether many of the authors who wrote these accounts misunderstood the hospitableness of Māori through manaakitanga. Other participants within the research could relate both religion and legislation as instruments that were used to undermine the traditional Māori methods of knowing the world:

> *… when the churches came here, things changed Māori women and their identities changed, some of them lost [their] Māoritanga because it was illegal to practice it, and*

a lot of them were told to follow Pākehā way[s] of life (DL
wāhine).

*Growing up we were always told not to talk about our
Māori ways to Pākehā. My nan would tell me that the
Pākehā used to put our people in jail if they practised their
spiritual rituals* (SDG wāhine).

The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 was detrimental to the Māori ways of knowing
and being Māori. Many of the activities that Māori undertook as daily activities were
deemed illegal. Legislation had a damning effect on Māori women with many laws
either excluding their existence, or 'othering' them. This Crown-perpetuated
discourse weakened the identity of Māori women (Mikaere, 2003):

*The Western concept of women being chattels for example
was imposed on Māori and this had a major effect on the
role of Māori women. Women were not viewed as equal by
the colonisers and this view was imposed strongly* (SS
wāhine).

***Prior to colonisation, were Māori women seen to hold mana, and how did they
convey mātauranga Māori?***

It is undeniable that Māori men, (like Māori women) were affected by the colonisers
and the imperialists ethnocentric ideals. Yet the oppression of Māori men is not the
same. Whilst Māori men were subjected to racial disparities, Māori women were
further oppressed through gendering. Systems of hierarchy introduced through
colonisation saw Māori women reconstructed as lesser to Māori men (Mikaere,
2003). The tradition of balance between Māori men and Māori women was
destabilised.

Within the traditional lives of Māori, Māori women and Māori men worked as a
collective and were equals that worked for the sustainability of their iwi, hapū and
whānau (Mikaere, 2003). Colonisation and imperialism was calamitous to the

traditional relationships that Māori men and Māori women had, causing fractionization and fragmentation (Mikaere, 2003). The Western world views created an unequal relationship between Māori men and Māori women through misconceptions of Māori culture. One of the participants was very vocal in discussing the perceptions taken:

> When I was growing up, on the marae, I remember all the aunties would tell our koro, who was coming onto the marae, the whakapapa connections and the aunties would tell them the waiata that they would sing. From an outsiders view it might have seemed as though the men doing their whaikorero were running the show, but it was actually the aunties and nannies organising their men (SDG wāhine).

It was conclusive amongst the participants within this research that colonisation affected the traditional roles of Māori women. Most of the participants felt that the mana of Māori women, and their knowledge base was affected because of colonisation. Ultimately Western cultural and Christian beliefs became 'normalised' within New Zealand at the demise of Māori cultural and spiritual beliefs (Johnston & Pihama, 1994). In discussing the impact of colonisation, TG wāhine expressed:

> I'm pretty sure the roles became … controlled by men, and that is definitely not the way Māori run … the respect and mana of Māori women [was] stripped by the Europeans.

In exercising their power, the colonisers instigated the subjection of Māori women through the 'five faces of oppression', that Iris Young (2004) discusses. Māori women were exploited, marginalised, became powerless, endured cultural imperialism, and suffered from violence. Colonisation and its 'five faces of oppression' affected all parts of Māori society. Māori were disconnected from their whenua, and became "… isolated from their people and their lands" (DL wāhine). Their identities, roles and

positions within society changed. The reality of being disconnected from the whenua and its whakapapa is supported by KT tane:

> *If it wasn't for my wife and her family, I wouldn't know anything about being Māori … I only worked out what being Māori was when they took me to see my lands and told me how we got those lands … after that korero I felt like I was part of the land and then decided I wanted my kids to know their history … I felt like I belonged somewhere, even though I no longer have a right to the land … [the government took it] and I became a landless native.*

KT tane did not know his history, or connection and whakapapa to the land. He was very thankful to the wāhine in his life who gave him this through pūrākau. KT tane acknowledged that this provided him with the identity and connection to the whenua. Another of the tane interviewed felt that the invasion of Western worldviews demeaned Māori women and created a positioning that caused them to become menial through subjecting them to Western hierarchical ideologies. He was able to voice that this was done because *"… the Pākehā thought they were right and lived good lives, they thought us Māori's were dumb, and they treated us that way"* (MK tane).

There is a great consensus amongst the participants that Māori women prior to colonisation were powerful women who transmitted mātauranga Māori. In analysing the closed ended questions, 13 of the 15 participants felt that Māori women, prior to colonisation were transmitters of mātauranga Māori who actively exercised their mana. The other two participants concluded that they were either "unsure", or of the opinion: "I assume so".

They all acknowledged that colonisation affected Māori women but were also of the opinion that even after colonisation, Māori women still maintained a significant role within Māori society, but not from within Pākehā society:

> *I think basically European society was ignorant to the mana women had obviously … When they came they tried to treat our women like their women … which was basically little slaves and nothing more* (TG wāhine).

Causal to the effects of colonisation was the positioning and the re-positioning of Māori women. Colonisation; "*… degrad[ed] women, taking away their rights as an equal … belittling [them] by trying to diminish their mana*" (SG tane). This was influential on Māori, and ultimately created a belief system where Māori were undermined and ultimately begun to internalise the degradation. The impact that colonisation has had on Māori women is captured by Mikaere:

> *… Māori women were regarded as inherently noa, born to perform menial tasks, while men, being inherently tapu, were the leaders; that women were associated with misfortune and death while men were associated with divinity and life; that taking multiple partners, in the case of a man, was the mark of a rangatira, while multiple partners, in the case of a women, were a proof of her promiscuity and depravity; that female babies were put to death while male babies were celebrated* (2017, p.7).

The effects that research within New Zealand has had on Maori women exemplifies the Pākeha power of myth. Through forming their own version of our lives, the traditional researchers were able to subject Māori way of knowing the world as mythical. Gross generalistaions were made based on uninformed interpretations of the Maori world view and its narratives (Wilson, 2017).

In discussing how Māori women demonstrated their mana and transmitted mātauranga Māori prior to colonisation, there was a consensus amongst the participants, that birth and nurturing children was pivotal. TTW wāhine voiced:

> *… we held a special place in our traditional tribe. If my*
> *recall is accurate, us women were regarded as the ones to*
> *carry on the line through bearing babies, we would inherit*
> *the family land …*

The participants found raising children and giving birth were examples of the mana of Māori women and a crucial way in which they transmitted mātauranga Māori. SDG wāhine voiced that Māori women:

> *It was the nannies who told us our whakapapa and taught*
> *us about our lands and our tūpuna* (SDG wāhine).

> *… we carried children and therefore whakapapa which was*
> *extremely important traditionally* (SS wāhine).

The role of Māori women as 'whare tangata' was both significant and tapu. Māori women were recognised for their ability to house the future of the iwi and were respected for this role (Mikaere, 2003). Pregnancy was recognised as a method of sustainability for iwi and a connection between the unborn child to the atua (Ruwhiu, 2009).

In what ways did Māori women exercise power and transmit knowledge, even after encountering the European world?

In addressing this question, one of the greatest memories I have had on this journey is that of one of the tane I interviewed. He (KT tane) was quite vocal in explaining to me that his family couldn't tell him about his lands, their connections to the whenua, and ultimately, how they lost them.

During the interview, he asked if we could visit his lands. He was intrigued by his mother-in-law's statements but wanted to hear and see the story of his whenua and his tūpuna. I was extremely excited by this and his wife's kuia was more than happy to oblige. Listening to this kuia giving the whakapapa to the whenua and explaining how his iwi settled on the whenua and how they gained their lands, gave him (KT

tane) satisfaction. This kuia demonstrated that regardless of the situation, there are Māori women that have retained their cultural identity, history and purakau.

In his fortune, Tane 1 voiced that his mother, was a recognised wāhine within his community and in her own right and a transmitter of mātauranga Māori:

> *My mother was greatly respected within the community*
> *for her kindness and generosity … she taught us many great*
> *things, life skills and taught us to be strong.*

Other participants could concur with KT tane and felt that returning to their whenua was an intrinsic part of their identity. They were also able to relay that their history was recorded orally. One of the kuia interviews stated:

> *I always go back to my kāinga whenever I can … [I] always*
> *have one of the moko with me. I take them to the urupa*
> *and korero with them about who their whānau are, the*
> *land connections and the stories I remember being told*
> *when I was a child* (DL wāhine).

Another of the wāhine interviewed, expressed that the whole ideology of whānau, and family in New Zealand has changed. She voiced:

> *There are many grandparents raising their moko, which is*
> *good in some ways as I think they have some knowledge*
> *that might help the moko return to their lands and people*
> (RTM wāhine).

Traditionally within Māori society, children were not raised in isolation like the Western family nucleus. Children were raised by the collective, Māori men, Māori women, kuia and kaumatua all participated in raising the children (Mikaere, 2003). Children acquired their knowledge *… through the skills of listening, watching and being shown how to do things* (JDF wāhine). This was how the children learnt and as

noted by RTM wāhine, is being revitalised and has the potential to retrieve the traditional knowledge base of Māori.

In reflecting on how Māori women contribute to the knowledge base of Māori, two of the wāhine interviewed articulated that the marae was a wealth of knowledge and freedom. Wāhine 2 (from the first case study) informed that:

> *On the marae, we could do anything, but there were times when we had to listen, this is how we learnt.*
>
> *My koro and kuia always prayed to the atua for everything, when my nan begun to teach me how to weave, she always did a karakia and this was taught to me… she would tell me about the atua and their role[s] and our coming to be* (DL wāhine).

In elaborating on her korero, DL wāhine, could recall learning to weave and make kete with her kuia. This is a form of mātauranga-ringa (Wiri, 2014) that Māori women used to transmit their knowledge base. In recollecting on how she acquired mātauranga-a-wāhine:

> *… what my nannies would do was make kete whenever we were travelling. These kete were different and had different purposes, some held our local delicacies. My nannies would sit for long times to make sure that their weaving was perfect as it was a reflection of their knowledge, art work and in turn their mana and that of the taonga* (DL wāhine).

Another of the participants could reflect on the practical lessons learnt through working along the wāhine in her family:

> *My mum would teach us whenever we went to our home town. She would take us around and tell us stories of the*

> *places and of family that had passed away… also my nana*
> *would tell stories while picking puha, watercress and*
> *karingo* (TTW wāhine).

These practical examples provided by the participants are supported (Wiri, 2014) as methods of transmitting mātauranga Māori. The participants also acknowledge that part of the practical activities was the oral transmission of knowledge as a mechanism for learning. In the first case study regarding the Ngāti Toa Rangatira wāhine, Waitohi, Te Rangi Topeora and Rakapa Kahoki, both participants acknowledge that they expressed their mana and knowledge base orally through their waiata. Like the people of Ngāti Toa, this oral form of knowledge transmission is still recognised by Rongomaiwāhine, in the song of dedication to Rongomaiwāhine (Mitchell, 2011). Oral forms of knowledge such as waiata, contain mātauranga Māori that details the events, lands, wars and lives of Māori (Royal, 2009).

Finally, in re-introducing to my thesis, the overarching question that this research seeks to address is:

Can understanding how power operates, its implications and functions aid Māori women in achieving their own empowerment on their own terms?

The participants within this research primarily regarded Māori women pre-colonisation as powerful, with the exclusion of two participants, one being unsure and the other of the assumption that they were. At the time of colonisation, through their closed ended questions, 16 of the participants felt that Māori women maintained their status of power, and two of the participants felt that the position of Māori women and their powerbase had been negatively affected, with one of the participants saying, "… *because they were Māori* "(SF wāhine).

In discussing the power of Māori women, at the time of colonisation, many of the participants felt that there were some Māori women, who were still recognised as powerful, but religion, education, and legislation were central to undermining the power of Māori women. These institutions are well recorded by Māori scholars as

instruments of colonial and imperialist power, used over Māori women (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011; Smith, 1999). Ultimately, the imperialists and colonists used their agents, institutions, and structures as their 'source of power' to execute power over Māori women (Fitzpatrick, 2015; Simmonds, 2009; Smith, 1992). Through being subjected to 'power over', Māori women became both the 'subjects and subjected to power'.

Through the missionaries, the traders and the later arrival of the colonisers, ethnocentric ideals, and patriarchy were brought to New Zealand (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001, Smith, 1992). The traditional Western ideologies associated with patriarchy and their oppressive nature are articulated by SG tane:

> *During the time of European contact, I don't think*
> *Europeans saw women as being powerful or having mana*
> *in the same way as men*.

The participants in this research all communicated that colonisation and imperialism had affected Māori women. They all voiced, and some could provide examples of how power was used over Māori women to make them subservient and inferior. They could also provide examples of Māori women who maintained their power, in the newly developing colonised world of Aotearoa. Because of colonisation, many Māori women were only seen as powerful by Māori within their own society.

In discussing whether understanding power can aid Māori women in becoming empowered, one of the participants did not think that the use of power was a positive way for Māori women to gain back their positions and roles. She stated:

> *Power is not a good thing … someone has to win, and*
> *someone has to lose. My moko are both Māori and Pākehā,*
> *just because we have suffered as Māori, I don't think it's*
> *right that Pākehā suffer. That doesn't help us to be proud*
> *people* (DL wāhine).

The participants articulated that empowerment for Māori women is through mana and the lessons contained within mātauranga Māori. One of the participants was adamant:

> *Māori women have power, they have mana, they just need to use it* (TG wāhine).

Another of the participants was supportive of this idea. In defining mana, she felt that mana was a form of power unique to Māori, and a powerbase that Pākehā cannot take away, because they can't access it:

> *For me mana is my power, its gives me my strength … Pākehā don't have mana, the atua gave us our mana, and our tūpuna raised us with it … mana teaches you how to live a good life, what to do and what not to do … it is a power and a strength. It is when you don't use your mana properly, that it can be taken away from you* (RTM wāhine).

In concluding the participants ideas of power being a tool to empower Māori women, all of the participants talked of mana and mātauranga Māori as being intrinsic and intertwined with each other. They all acknowledged that the way forward for Māori women in becoming empowered was through mana and mātauranga Māori.

> *… without mana wāhine and mātauranga wāhine, everything within Māoridom will eventually cease to exist and Māori as a people we will no longer be* (Tane 1).

The participants all felt that Māori women were powerful and that their strength is within them. They expressed that within their own homes and upbringing, Māori women were very powerful and pivotal to the decision-making processes. The participants were also very clear, that power was not a positive way to regain our position within society. In concluding, one of the participants was quite vocal in

supporting the idea that power is not the solution (as discussed earlier). JDF wāhine was able to express:

> *I only know power as a way of controlling people, I do not understand why we would use power to fix the things that have happened to us ... we need to fix the problem not create another one.*

CHAPTER 7 - Conclusion

The journey

When Mum and I began our Master's thesis at Victoria University, there was an expectation that we would follow Victoria's theoretical frameworks, but it did not sit well with either of us. We had to fight to write our Masters from within a kaupapa Māori theoretical framework. Eventually, with the support of Kathie Irwin and Wally Penetito, we were given the go ahead to write our thesis from within a Māori framework.

Being Māori, and writing about Māori, it felt natural to write from within a Māori framework. A lesson that I have learnt is that academia can be very mind boggling because it is so Western and can often conflict with your own ideals and ways of understanding the world. Fortunately, things are changing, there has been a huge contribution to academia from Māori and other Indigenous people that are now starting to reshape academia.

It is with some joy, that this work is now completed. My thoughts and ideas are now a contribution to society, open to discussion, criticism and hopefully a doorway opening for other academics. This thesis is dedicated to the social justices that Māori women have endured and is a contribution to knowledge informed through my upbringing, education, and employment. This thesis counters hegemonic frameworks that have tried to silence Māori women by remembering the narrative of the atua and tūpuna through retelling *herstories.*

Practical implications

Given that this is a Professional Doctorate, I have always known in my field of work as a CEO of a Māori PTE and as a Career Practitioner that Māori suffer from disparities. Typically, Māori men are represented highly in the harsh realities of drugs, alcohol, crime, and non-employment. Māori women and their children have typically endured violence, low incomes, and impoverished lifestyles. It is not to say that this is not a vice versa situation, because the reality is that both Māori men and

Māori women have endured these consequences. In my field of work, this has typically meant that Māori women are raising their children on benefits, children are being placed into low decile schools and lacking the necessities of health care, education, and nutrition. It has also meant that Māori women have had to deal with government departments, to address parenting and their socio-economic issues.

I have personally seen the barriers that this has placed on Māori families and particular to this thesis, the impact it has had on Māori women. Many do not have the skills to converse with government organisations and many of them feel that they are judged prior to their kōrero with agencies. Others get on the defence because they are doing the best they can and don't see a solution.

In my professional capacity, I have also seen many Māori women in a situation where they believe that they cannot do any better, and in turn they have internalised and educated their children into the same belief system. There are many Māori families that I have worked with, who believe that their children will become welfare beneficiaries or low-income earners. They have internalised their situation and are now raising their children with the same ideals.

Many of these Māori families are isolated from their wider families and are disconnected from their cultural identity. They have limited funds to return to their homelands and struggle to maintain contact with their whānau, hapū and iwi. The continuum of this behaviour has caused many Māori children to become unable to identify with their true iwi, hapū and whānau links.

Because of my own personal situation of being a Māori woman, with five daughters, and in my professional capacity of working with Māori women, I have endeavoured to understand and find solutions to the disparities that Māori women have endured. In one breath, I can say that it is pleasing to know that some of the professional associations that I am a part of are making headway in dealing with Māori. In the other breath, there has been no change.

Personally, within my career, I believe that as a Māori and a female, I have had to work harder to prove myself worthy of having a voice. This has probably been most

evident in education, where men have held a very strong role in leadership. I have experienced the attempts of men trying silence me, and the worst has been seeing Māori men trying to silence me.

On the 28th August 1963, Martin Luther King delivered his message to the United States of America in Washington. This speech was entitled; "I have a Dream". I too, have a dream, I dream that Māori women will get the support they need so that they can give that same support to their children. My dream is that there will be greater opportunities for Māori women, inclusive of educational, employment and social services. This dream believes that Māori women will see themselves as worthy of a life that offers opportunities. It is a dream that gives Māori women the choices to have a healthy life where they are in control of their own identities, beliefs, and destiny.

It is with this dream, that I have worked tirelessly to educate myself and to work fulltime, to be a mother and wife, and to participate in Māori and community initiatives. My dream will become realised when I see my own daughters and my moko safe in their identities and free to make their own choices in life.

Even with the attempt to silence us, Māori women, their knowledge and mana has survived. By remembering the tūpuna, rangatira and atua, our history of being powerful, authoritative, and knowledgeable women comes asserted.

Limitations

One of the hardest things has been finding time, being a mother of five, a wife, and working full time it has been a challenge to find not only time, but a clear mind to be able to research and write.

The travel to and from Whakatāne also caused some issues, the expense, time and the re-arranging of work and family was often hard. Having said that, it was also the best time for researching and writing. This was because of the excellent resources, staff, and peace in our room to be able to concentrate and reflect on the research.

Another limitation for this research was the late ethics approval. Whilst it made me panic, luckily being Māori, having close whānau ties and working with Māori, I was able to access participants and complete the interviews.

Living in a small town also causes barriers, the resources are limited. The local library has most Māori books registered as restricted, meaning that you cannot borrow them. This has meant many hours being spent at the library within their hours, rather than some freedom to study outside of those hours.

Overall findings

Power was certainly used over Māori. This is not too dissimilar to other colonised peoples. Fundamentally, whilst Māori have experienced this, Māori women have been prejudiced further through being Māori and being female. Consequently, this disparity has rendered Māori women as economically subservient. In turn this has positioned many Māori women so far outside of society that many of them do not believe that they can participate within society.

Western patriarchal worldviews and Christianity were fundamental in marginalising Māori women. Consequently, colonisation caused Māori women to become subservient through identifiable differences such as race, ethnicity, gender, and culture and positioned them on the outer periphery of society.

The voices of the atua wāhine and tūpuna atua were silenced through undermining mātauranga Māori as a valid form of knowing. By silencing pūrākau, the lessons, roles, positions, and knowledge base of Māori became subservient, rendering Māori women as inferior, invisible and othered. Traditional relationships of balance within Aotearoa changed (after imperialism and colonialism) into dominance and subjugation. The mana and knowledge base of Māori women and their relationships with their Māori men were undermined through systems of domination and hegemonic discourses.

Based on the interviews and questionnaires, majority of the participants acknowledged that prior to colonisation, Māori women had mana and transmitted

mātauranga Māori. This is also supported by contemporary literature that was not written, nor supported by Western ethnographers.

As a people and as a minority group we as Māori women are making space, but this space needs to be widened. Since the early 70's and the writings of academic women from the 80's, there has been steady progress. Given the escalation in Māori researchers, it is time for our voices, as Māori women to be heard.

I personally thought that the answer lay in understanding how power works and its operation. Based on the korero that I have heard from the participants in this research, they have made it quite clear to me that the answer lies in our own form of power. A form of power that does not strip someone else from their power, but a force that we have inside us as Indigenous peoples. For Māori this is mana. It is a form of power that is not imposed over people, it is a power that is transmitted to human beings from their atua and tūpuna through protocols and lessons associated with tikanga. Mana cannot exist without tikanga. Tikanga cannot exist without mātauranga Māori. As Māori these are the lessons that we have learnt and been told.

In this regard, I have learnt that power is a negative connotation that Māori accept as a colonising tool. The participants that I have spoken to felt that power was not a powerful source for emancipating Māori women. In fact, they felt that it would derogate somebody at the benefit of Māori women. This is not what they perceived as a solution.

The majority of the participants felt that Māori women do have strength, and that they needed to use their strength to overcome the barriers that they have had to endure. The message was very clear from the participants, power was not a good thing and that the way Europeans see power is not the way that Māori see power. From this korero, I learnt a very valuable lesson:

- Power colonised us;
- Power was a tool used to marginalise us;
- Power in a Western sense is not a tool to empower us;

- Power for Māori is derived from our mana. Mana is the tool that we need as Māori, coupled with tikanga and mātauranga Maori

As an Indigenous researcher, I am aware that understanding how power operates enables Māori women to understand what happened to them. This need for a conscious awareness is crucial to Māori women being free to position themselves politically, socially, culturally and within their workplaces, and homes. In understanding what and how Māori women were marginalised, Māori women can begin to transform themselves.

I chose a Pākehā viewpoint on power and made that present in my thesis. After having undertaken this journey, I have learnt that 'power over' was a mechanism used by the colonisers and imperialist to marginalise Māori women. Māori have an empowering form of power, that is 'power with, power to and power within': it is mana. I have become very conscious of another way of understanding power; a cultural way that can dismantle oppressive systems and be transformative. Part of engaging in research is being able to say what you did right and what you did wrong. On my journey I have learnt a lot. I have learnt that theory does not always equate to practicality. Māori are a very practical group of people and of Western ideologies of power do not complement the way in which Māori exercise their cultural power; mana. Along with mana, comes the lessons from the tūpuna, and the atua. This is how Māori learn their knowledge (mātauranga Māori), and their ethical and moral ways (tikanga). Through the narratives of the participants within this research, I learnt that mana, mātauranga Māori and tikanga, give us the knowledge, power, strength, and authority to transform and empower ourselves.

Suggestions for future work

There is always room for more research that promotes the well-being of Māori. In completing this journey, it became evident to me that the participants felt that Māori do have power, a different form of power; they have mana.

In writing this thesis, much work went into the literature review on the ideas of power, in the light of understanding its negative and positive forms. There was

certainly a consensus that power can be transformative and empowering but for the participants, this needs to be undertaken through exercising mana. Whilst there has been a rapid growth in Māori research, I think there is certainly space for further research regarding mana wāhine and its capacity to empower Māori women.

Another area for further research, is that of Māori women that defied the oppressive notions of binaries. Through exploring the lived lives of the many powerful wāhine in our history, Māori women can regain the strength of their tūpuna and reassert themselves. Women like Waitohi and Te Rangi Topeora, who were strong leaders, strategists, and peacemakers in war have never had a book written about them, yet Waitohi's brother Te Rauparaha has had that luxury on many occasions. There remains much work within the archives and in family records that have the capacity to challenge hegemony.

There is also space for literature to expand on the wāhine atua. Whilst in academia this is expanding, there remains space to extend these pūrākau. Kupe and Maui have held a long history of being educational resources within the New Zealand education system. It is time that material was written for this target market, so that our babies at school learn about their wāhine atua.

Summary

Colonisation brought its own set of patriarchal values and behaviour that saw Māori women as chattels, which resulted in the oppression of Māori women through destroying their economic and social power. One of the many burdens of patriarchy was its ability to reframe the Māori cosmology, enabling the history and role of Māori women to be framed in a negative manner and in many instances, created an invisibility.

Binary oppositions such as Māori/Pākehā, male/female and, coloniser/colonised enabled Māori women to be classified and differentiated. In creating identifiable differences, Māori women became subservient to Māori men, Pākehā men and Pākehā women. Māori women were rendered became powerless and invisible.

Defining Māori women through binaries created systems where power could be exercised over them. Māori women became classified and delegitimised through systems of Western dominance which ultimately created a system of unequal relationships. This formed a power relationship based on hierarchical oppression.

Becoming decolonised requires Māori women to address the power relationships of domination and oppression, that have shaped the inequalities endured by Māori women. It is important that Māori women are able to identify and name the experiences that have dispossessed and disempowered them through patriarchal sabotage. The challenge is to reassert ourselves as mana wāhine competent in transmitting mātauranga Māori, through recognising the effects of colonisation, and re-remembering the lessons of the atua and tūpuna. We need to retrieve our traditions and history and utilise them to reassert ourselves as power, strong, and authority transmitters of mātauranga Māori.

Whāia te iti kahurangi ki te tūohu koe me he maunga teitei

Seek the treasure you value most dearly: if you bow your head, let it be to a lofty mountain

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

This glossary represents the translation of Māori to English words and has been sourced through The Reed dictionary of modern Māori (Ryan, 1995).

Aotearoa	Now used as the Māori name for New Zealand
Ariki	A paramount chief, high chief, chieftain, lord, leader, aristocrat, first-born in a high-ranking family
Ariki tapairu	A female ariki
Aroha	Affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love and empathy
Atua	God, deity
Haka	Performance of dance - vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words.
Hapū	To be pregnant, conceived in the womb or the relationship of the wider family
Harakeke	Flax
Hongi	The pressing of noses in greeting
Hui	The gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar or conference
Huia	A native bird, feathers were regarded as a taonga
Iwi	The extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race - often referring to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor
Kaikaranga	The caller - the woman (or women) who has the role of making the ceremonial call to visitors onto a marae, or equivalent venue, at the start of a pōwhiri. The term is also used for the caller(s) from the visiting group who responds to the tangata whenua ceremonial call. Traditionally this role was based on one's status within the hapū or whānau, the eldest sister normally being given the role. Skilled kaikaranga are able to use eloquent language and metaphor and to encapsulate important information about the group and the purpose of the visit
Kāinga	Home, address, residence, village, habitation or habitat
Kaitaka	Highly prized cloak
Kaitiaki	A trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian, keeper
Karakia	Chants recited rapidly using traditional language, symbols and structures. Also referred to as a prayer

Karanga	The formal call, ceremonial call - a ceremonial call of welcome to visitors onto a marae, or equivalent venue, at the start of a pōwhiri. The term is also used for the responses from the visiting group to the tangata whenua ceremonial call
Kaumātua	Refers to an adult, elder, elderly man, elderly woman, old man
Kaupapa	Topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme or theme
Kawa	Protocol - customs of the marae and wharenui
Koha	A gift
Kōhanga Reo	Today a Māori language preschool, traditionally is was the nesting place for children
Kōrero	To tell, say, speak, read, talk or address
Kuia	An elderly woman, grandmother, female elder
Mana	Power, authority and rights
Mana tāne	Men's rights
Mana tangata	The mana of the people as a collective
Mana wāhine	Women's rights
Manaakitanga	Hospitality
Manuhiri	The visitors or guests
Māori	Indigenous New Zealander/ Aotearoa
Marae	The open area in front of the wharenui, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the marae
Mātauranga-a-wāhine	Māori women's knowledge
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge - the body of knowledge originating from Māori ancestors, including the Māori world view and perspectives, Māori creativity and cultural practices
Mihi	A speech to greet, pay tribute, acknowledge and/or thank
Moko	A tattoo, sometimes used as an abbreviation for mokopuna (grandchildren)
Moko Kauae	Chin tattoo of Māori women
Noa	To be free from the extensions of tapu, ordinary or unrestricted
Oronga	Umbilical cord or link to the child
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Papatūānuku	Earth mother and wife of Rangi-nui. All living things originate from them

Pepeha	Proverb, boast, witticism or motto
Pōwhiri	Welcome, invitation, opening ceremony
Ranginui	Sky father, refer to Papatuanuku
Ruahine	An older Māori woman capable of acting as a medium to remove tapu
Tā moko	Practice of tattooing
Tangāta whenua	Local people, aborigine, native
Tangihangā	Mourning
Tāniko	Embroidered boarder, braid, tapestry
Tapu	Sacred, forbidden, confidential, taboo
Tauiwi	Foreign race – sometimes used to refer to Pākehā
Te Ao marama	The birth canal, coming into the light
Te Korekore	The waning moon, sterile, torn, scarcity, no activity
Te reo Māori	The Native language to New Zealand
Te po tipu	The night of growth or the dark night.
Tikanga	The custom, obligations and conditions
Taonga	Property or treasure
Tohunga	Skilled person, chosen expert, priest-a person chosen by the agent of the atua and the tribe as a leader in a particular field because of signs indicating talent for a particular vocation
Tūpuna	Ancestors, grandmother, great grandmother, grandfathers, great grandfathers, great uncles
Tūrangawaewae	The place to stand or position, situation, site, foundation and soak or steep in water
Wāhine	A female
Wāhine tūpuna	A female ancestor that has passed away
Wāhine rangatira	A female chief or highly ranked woman
Waiata	A song. There are various forms of waiata, such as songs of love and revenge
Wairua	Spirit, soul, quintessence-spirit of a person which exists beyond death
Whaikōrero	Formal speeches usually made by men during a pōwhiri and other gathering
Whakapapa	A family tree and the connection of being part of mother earth
Whakatauāki	A proverb or saying
Whānau	The extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people, sometimes used to include

Whānaungātanga	The relationship, kinship, sense of family connection-a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging
Whare Kōhanga	A building erected for childbirth
Whare kura	A school-traditionally the place where esoteric lore was taught
Whare mātauranga	The house of education, knowledge, wisdom, understanding and skill
Whare tangata	Refers to the ability of the womb to house future generations
Whare wānanga	University, place of higher learning-traditionally, places where tohunga taught the sons of rangatira theirs peoples knowledge of history, genealogy and religious practices
Whenua	Country, land, nation or the placenta, afterbirth

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Ethics approval

Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

EC2016/01/044
ECR2016/01/044

08.08.2017

Monique Gemmell
10a Bary Street
Springlands
Blenheim 7201

Tēna koe,

Re: Ethics Research Application EC2016.01.044

The Ethics Research Comittee Chairman of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi considered your application. I am pleased to advise that your re-submission has been approved.

You are advised to contact your supervisor. The Ethics Research Committee wishes you well in your research.

Ngā mihi nui

Professor Nathan Matthews
Chairman
Ethics Committee
Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

Private Bag 1006
Francis st
Whakatane 3158
Aotearoa

Waea / Telephone :(07) 307-1467
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Appendix 2: Consent, confidentiality, and Information sheet

WHO HOLDS THE POWER AND WHATS COUNTS AS KNOWLEDGE: A STUDY OF POWER RELATIONSHIPS FOR MĀORI WOMEN POST-COLONIAL SETTLEMENT

CONSENT FORM

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SEVEN (7) YEARS

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of study explained to me.

My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I agree to participate in this study under conditions set out in the Information Sheet, but may withdraw my consent at any given time.

Signature: _____   Date: _____

Full name – printed: _____

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

| **Participants Rights** | **P a g e - 247 - | 266** |

You have the right to:

- Decline to participate;
- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw from the study at any time;
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- To be given access to a summary of the project finding when it is concluded
- I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audio/video tape to be turned off at any time during the interview

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SEVEN (7) YEARS

I _____ (Full Name – printed) agree

to keep confidential all information concerning the project

Signature: _____Date: _____

DEMOGRAPHICS:

What age group do you fit into?   20-30   31-40   41-50   51-60   61-70   70 plus

Are you: Male   Female

What ethnic group are you: _____

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS SUMMARY SHEET

Background to the subject

This research focuses on the multiple sites of power relations and aims to provide a critical understanding of power, both in its negative context and more importantly to the direction of this research; whether Māori women of traditional times offer us an analysis of power as a positive tool that could assist Māori women on our emancipative journey.

An imperative part of this research is the intention to provide a document that investigates Māori women who retained their mana and disseminated mātauranga Māori, providing a platform that promotes emancipation.

The aim of this proposed research is to rejoice in mana wāhine and to acknowledge the power of Māori women in a time of colonisation, one that also demonstrates how as Māori women mātauranga Māori was maintained. I intend to answer the following questions, through the collection and analysis process,

1. Prior to colonisation how did Māori women gain mana, and how did they convey mātauranga Māori?

2. As Māori women, did we exercise power and transmit knowledge, even after we encountered the European world?

3. Whilst we sit in a world determined as post-colonial are there reflections of our atua and tūpuna that explain how mana is displayed and how mātauranga a wāhine is transpired?

Appendix 3: Questionnaire and Interview

Pre-European Contact
What is your understanding of what mana is?
Where or how did Māori women acquire their mana?
What is your understanding of what mātauranga Māori is?
Did Māori women transmit mātauranga Māori?
If so can you give some ideas on how they did this?
Were Māori women prior to colonisation recognised as powerful and transmitters of knowledge?
At the time of European contact
Did colonisation have an effect on the traditional role of Māori women?
If so what was the effects?
Was the mana of Māori women effected?
Were Māori women seen as powerful and knowledgeable?
Was the knowledge base of Māori women effected? And if so how
Was power used over Māori women to lessen their role within colonised society?
If so, can you give examples of how this impacted on their mana and their knowledge base?
Contemporary Aotearoa
Do Māori women still have mana?
Do Māori women still transmit mātauranga Māori?
Can you give examples on how Māori women transmit mātauranga Māori today?
Can you give example/s of how Māori women demonstrate mana today?
Has the knowledge base of Māori women and their power base survived colonisation?
Future for Māori women
Is mana relevant to Māori women today?
Is the traditional knowledge base of Māori women still relevant today?
Can mana and mātauranga Māori contribute to empowering Māori women?

Appendix 4: Case Study One Questions

Can you tell me what you know about these three wāhine rangatira?
How did you learn about these wāhine rangatira?
There is much recorded history of Te Rauparaha (the son of Waitohi, younger brother of Te Rangi Topeora and uncle of Kahoki) and his life. Can you think of any reasons why there is not the same amount of written history around these three Ngāti Toa wāhine rangatira?
Are you able to provide your understanding of mana wāhine?
Are you able to provide examples of how each of these women transmitted mātauranga Māori?
Are you able to provide examples of how these wāhine rangatira demonstrated their roles as mana wāhine?
Other information

Appendix 5: Case Study Two Questions

Can you tell me what you know about Rongomaiwāhine?
How did you learn about Rongomaiwāhine?
Can you think of any reasons why there is little written history about Rongomaiwāhine?
Are you able to provide your understanding of mana wāhine?
Are you able to provide examples of how Rongomaiwāhine transmitted mātauranga Māori?
Are you able to provide examples of how Rongomaiwāhine demonstrated her role as a mana wāhine?
Other information