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A

Whaia te iti Kahurangi
Contemporary Perspectives of Māori Women Educators

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for the Degree of Masters
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Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the experiences of six Māori women educators who are currently working in educational organisations. The study explores significant themes that arise from the women's experiences situated within three specific sites - the home-place, the school and the work-place. A life history approach using oral narratives is used to examine the reality of the women's lives growing up, being educated and working in the dual worlds of te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā. The women's narratives are grounded in a Māori world-view and a theoretical perspective which draws heavily on a Māori philosophical tradition. The women's voices record how their sense of identity was conceived and understood, what their familial relations were growing up in rural and suburban settings and who were the strong models of womanhood that influenced them. It explores the women's educational experiences within particular schooling sites. A historical perspective of schooling for Māori women and girls provides a context for analysis.

The women's workplace experiences, focuses on the nature of their experiences and those influences that affected the direction of their careers as educators and the multiple realities of working in various sites of the educational work-place. It explores the multiple tensions that underpin the experiences of the women as they contest, create and capture space for mana wahine Māori in the educational workplace. It looks at people, places and events that have significantly influenced them and shaped them as Māori, as women and as educators. This study places women as active agents of change who recognise the barriers that confront them but refuse to be limited by them. Above all the study reflects the complexity of their existence within dual worlds of te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā.

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Introduction

Māori women are distinguished in part by simultaneous membership in three distinct groups. As Māori we are subsumed within whānau, hapu and iwi. As women we are inextricably bound in common experiences that emerge from western patriarchies. As Māori women we not only share cultural and colonising experiences alongside Māori men, but such experiences have been experienced differently. Each group then presents distinct histories, experiences and viewpoints. There is a dearth of studies that focus on the work-place experiences of Māori women. This study endeavours to present a Māori women's view of the experiences of six Māori women educators to add to the knowledge about Māori women.

Chapter one reviews the literature relevant to Māori women and education. In particular, those commentaries that continue to perpetuate the stereotypical writings about Māori women written by Victorian male anthropologists and ethnographers.

Chapter two presents a description of a kaupapa Māori research methodology including philosophical understandings of research as it pertains to Māori people.

Chapter three explores the theoretical perspective of a Māori worldview within which this study is grounded. An analysis of the cosmological narratives provides a starting point to gain significant insights into a Māori conceptualisation of the world.

Chapter four is about identity. It examines the women's experiences of their home-place and how their sense of home-place was established and understood. It focuses on the women's upbringing, on familial relations regarding the division of labour in the home and models of womanhood that influenced them.

Chapter five investigates the educational experiences of the women and the way in which their experience within particular schooling sites has influenced them. A significant factor for four of the women is the influence of church boarding schools in constructing a notion of the 'boarding school' girl and a 'cultured girl'.

Chapter six tracks the women's career paths through the education system. It highlights significant experiences that influenced the direction of the women's professional careers as middle and senior managers in education.

Chapter seven explores the multiple tensions that underpin the experiences of the women as they contest, create and capture space for Mana Wahine Māori in the education workplace. Themes that centre on the women's experiences of change, negotiating unknown territory and 'swimming against the tide' serve to illustrate ways in which they strategise in their attempts to resist barriers to ways of being Māori and women.

Chapter eight deals specifically with the women's work-place experiences in terms of 'te ao Māori' and interrelations between Māori men and women, that emerged as significant.

Chapter nine attempts to draw the threads of the thesis in a concluding statement.

Chapter 1

Literature Review

In this chapter, studies specific to Māori women are reviewed. An overview of the structural position of Māori women in the education sector is presented and recent research on the status of Māori in education generally and Māori girls in particular is outlined. A review of historical accounts of Māori and education examines the way in which colonial constructions of Māori people and Māori women perpetuate stereotypical and Eurocentric views that continue to have credence in contemporary writings by non-Māori commentators. Accounts by Māori scholars that deconstruct Eurocentric constructions are explored and more recent publications written or edited by Māori women are presented. Finally some studies and writings by indigenous women that also deconstruct 'Eurocentric analysis', are offered.

While there is a burgeoning body of research on Māori people and Māori education generally, there remains a paucity of studies that have as the central focus the education and schooling experiences specific to Māori women and girls. There are even fewer studies that focus on the experiences of Māori women educators working in educational organisations. For example, in official education reports, Māori women have remained 'hidden' in the texts and official discourse subsumed within definitions of 'Māori' and 'women' (McKinley, 1995:117).

Leonie Pihama and Tania Ka'ai (1987), found that most of the material written concerned the education of Māori people as a whole rather than Māori women. Their study was one of three commissioned by the Women's Advisory Committee on Education (WACE) as a response to the lack of data reflecting a Māori perspective with which to formulate national policy for the

Education of Girls and Women. They focused on writings about the education of Māori women from the turn of the century through to the present. A number of recurrent themes were identified that included the psychological effects of the denial of Māori language and culture; the imposition of Pākehā values; the differential curriculum that emphasised domestic skills for Māori girls; and experiences of racism at both the institutional and classroom levels.

Mary Ann Meha's project (1987), the second of the studies commissioned by WACE, while limited in size and scope to a very small number of Māori girls and women, records the work-place experiences of Māori women teachers. The study was based on a series of interviews and written comments from Māori women teachers and female pupils in several rural and urban schools. Meha found that despite the constraints imposed by racist attitudes among non-Māori staff and pupils, unsympathetic male principals and an absence of any real commitment by the majority of these schools to affect positive gains for Māori children, most of the Māori women teachers she interviewed remained positive about their work. As a participant researcher, Meha compiled a distillation of the experiences, concerns and aspirations of the women and girls she interviewed and surveyed, its descriptive narrative unencumbered by analytical synthesis. This is both a strength and a weakness of the project. On the one hand the voices of the women and girls, their personal statements left uninterpreted, provide a powerful means to reveal the reality of their experiences as current participants of education and schooling in Aotearoa. The potent effects of racism for example, which emerged as the major theme, are shown in first hand accounts to severely limit their participation, achievement and experiences in schools.

But the lack of commitment by the WACE to both these studies is revealed by the absence of an adequate analysis of the data. This deficiency

does not allow for the researchers to contextualise the experiences and writings of the women surveyed within the broader socio-political and historical contexts. Thus the scope of the projects are significantly constrained. Since racism emerged in both studies as a major factor, an interrogation of the complex faces of racism and the structures that support such complexities, is denied fervent exploration and critical analysis. The resultant National policy statement (WACE 1988) puts a substantial emphasis on the education of Māori girls and women.

The third commissioned study is a summary of Department of Education statistical information on Māori girls and women by Slyfield, Kerslake and Sheenan (1988). The data produced, clearly illustrates the structural position of Māori women and the educational inequalities they endure in terms of formal qualifications, participation and employment opportunities.

More recently, these inequalities are supported in part by Davies and Nicholl (1993). Their statistical profile of the current position of Māori across the New Zealand education system, reveals that in terms of participation and attainment, while Māori generally share a common disadvantage with retention levels and qualifications which lag well below their non-Māori counterparts, Māori females in particular are lower relative to Māori males. The implications these differentials have in terms of outcomes for Māori women, appear to limit their future education, training and employment options and ultimately their life chances.

This is borne out in the results by Dunn, Pole and Rouse (1993). They provide the first definitive statement on the position of Māori employees and some indication of the position of Māori women in the education sector. The location of Māori women in the lower paid teaching and non-teaching positions is invariably related to, among other factors, the school experiences

they have as female Māori pupils including the subjects they take and the credentials they attain. Even in all-girls' schools, Māori predominate in non-academic options. O'Neill (1990) has alerted attention to the effects of subject specialisation for women generally and Māori women in particular. In demonstrating the structural inequalities that exist in all educational provisions for women in Aotearoa, she emphasises the disproportionately high numbers of Māori girls taking 'manual' subjects such as Handicrafts, as opposed to the 'academic' areas (science or mathematics) which prepares them for entry into lower paid, less skilled areas of employment or in many cases, unemployment (Ibid: 77). While O'Neill has drawn attention to the structural position of Māori women and girls in her profile, an adequate analysis of this position remains subsumed within a socialist feminist critique of women in general in Aotearoa. An alternative would be a critique in which Māori women and girls remain central to the analysis.

Factors identified by researchers as impinging on and often determining the status of Māori in education include racism both at the institutional level (Awatere, 1984; Mitchell, 1984;) and at the classroom level (Simon, 1984; Alton-Lee et al, 1987). The way in which schooling processes contribute to the marginalisation of Māori were also identified. Such processes as classroom practice, formal assessment and scaling of senior school examinations (Simon, 1984; Lauder, Hughes and Taberner, 1985; Benton, 1987), and the retention and promotion practices in primary schools (Benton, 1987; McDonald, 1989). Other factors include low teacher expectations (Simon, 1984; Ennis, 1987) and peer pressure (Mitchell and Mitchell, 1988).

Carkeek, Davies and Irwin's (1994) research titled *What happens to Māori girls at School?* - is an ethnographic study which looks at school-based factors affecting the achievement of Māori girls in immersion, bilingual and mainstream primary school programmes in the Wellington area.

Among information gathered by the research team were the role and opportunities for Māori girls. The study found that Māori girls enjoyed increased opportunities specific for them in kura kaupapa Māori based programmes evident in customary female leadership roles such as karanga and waiata. The children expressed realistic views about leadership and some potential consequences of being a leader as something that needed to be managed with care.

Teachers were identified as the people most likely to provide care and attention at school. The implication for Māori girls where there are no Māori teachers is in the provision of culturally appropriate care, such as dealing with menstruation and other health and welfare concerns. The researchers suggested that the girls should have access to older Māori girls or a Māori woman.

The study also found that Māori girls in immersion classes participated actively in classroom interactions, did not participate fully in class life in bilingual classes and interacted in mainstream classes by standing back and waiting for attention from their teachers. In schools operating immersion kaupapa Māori based programmes, the girls were more confident in interactions with teachers and in capturing teacher attention. In mainstream programmes the girls were less confident and effective in interactions with their teachers compared to those in the immersion classes. Schools with bilingual classes were positioned somewhere between the immersion and the mainstream. The researchers concluded that programme type did not guarantee positive schooling outcomes for Māori girls.

Contemporary experiences of education and schooling by Māori generally and Māori women in particular cannot be separated from the historical context in which these experiences are embedded. However, most historical accounts, written by Pākehā males, tend to represent official views

of educational provisions for Māori people as a whole. The androcentric bias of these accounts highlights the complacency of past approaches to the writing of history, policy and literature in respect of women generally which renders them largely absent from written commentaries. The marginalisation of Māori women from most historical accounts was predicated in part on the imported assumptions about women's lives embedded in the private, domestic world of the nuclear family and not as public actors in the political arena.

Barrington and Beaglehole (1974) provide a historical review of the development of the provisions of schooling for Māori. Despite A. G. Butchers' (1932) earlier account of the native school system, this study written some four decades later, represents the first comprehensive and full-length view of Maori education spanning the early nineteenth century Missionary era to the end of the separate system of Māori Schools in 1968. Māori women and girls, while not entirely absent from this account, remain largely incidental, relegated to comments regarding the establishment and development of girls schools and a differential curriculum based on domestic studies. Whereas the ideology of assimilation and of the superiority of western language and culture largely underpinned Butchers' approach, the underlying theme in Barrington and Beaglehole's study is one of progress in terms of race relations and the researchers' contention that, despite many shortcomings western education for Māori had some potentiality for good.¹

Ranginui Walker (1985, 1990) offers an alternative view in a radical critique which highlights the damaging effects on Māori society of missionary 'civilising' practices, state assimilationist policies and large-scale land alienation. On Missionary involvement in education, for example, Walker is uncompromising. Missionaries as the advance party of cultural invasion

¹Openshaw et als, 1993:32.

...regarded Maori mythology, traditions and customary usage's as abominations to be extirpated...conversion to Christianity was synonymous with transforming the Maori from barbarism to civilized life (1985:73).

In contrast to Walker, Tanya Fitzgerald (1994) focuses on the significance of missionary wives in the education of Māori women and girls. Based on the activities of two early missionary women, Fitzgerald highlights the education role these women held that was previously assumed by historians to be the sole responsibility of the missionary men. Fitzgerald argues that the process of 'reshaping' Māori women and girls in order to recreate the new social order was the prerogative of missionary wives.

The gender dimension within the process of colonisation through missionary education is the focus of Karen Vaughan's research (1993). She describes the way in which Māori were equated with the British working class. While there was an English ideal of Victorian woman-hood this was differentiated along social class lines.

Colonial constructions of customary practices in Māori society by Pākehā male historians, ethnographers and economists attempted to show a universal view of Māoridom and a representation of Māori women informed by deeply embedded cultural practices located in patriarchy and imperialism. The writings of Elsdon Best, Percy Smith, John White and Raymond Firth exemplify this approach. Such interpretations form the basis of Berys Heuer's (1972) attempt at reconstructing the role of Māori women.

Heuer collates and analyses the references by Victorian and early twentieth century commentators to the customary role of women in family and tribal life in ethnographic literature. She discusses such topics as societal attitudes towards women; the institution of marriage; women's role in

procreation and socialisation; women's ownership of property and women's ritual functions.

In her analysis of cosmological narratives Heuer affirms, among others, the Victorian interpretations of women as destructive and the bearer of misfortune and disaster (Ibid: 10) and in reference to the menstrual cycle, as unclean and defiling (Ibid: 11). Men are the providers and women the passive receptacles for the dominant male spirit (Ibid: 10). Within the wider social institutions of marriage and whānau, women are described as the property of men (Ibid: 16) and in terms of full inheritance rights children are either legitimate or illegitimate (Ibid: 20).

While the value of Heuer's study is in having pulled together the predominantly Pākehā male-centred views of Māori women scattered among the literature, its efficacy however, is undermined by the serious shortcomings much of her analysis reveals.

Heuer's emphasis upon the negative and destructive elements associated with Māori women, her proclivity to analyse social institutions and familial relationships in terms of western assumptions and her generalisations which universalise the position of Māori women, thus overlooking important tribal and regional differences, serve to illustrate, among other things, the imposition of describing Māori society and Māori women from within a Pākehā woman's framework informed by a male hegemonic orthodoxy. Reference to the very few Māori writers consulted in this study is used primarily to support a Eurocentric analysis and statements by Pākehā males. Furthermore, Heuer's writing continues to provide a basis upon which to perpetuate stereotypical analysis of Māori women.²

Valerie Carson's study (1991) examines educational provisions for Māori females and the impact that European schooling had on them during the

²See for example Ruth Fry (1985:156) and Valerie Carson, 1991.

period 1814 to 1939. Carson argues a number of points. First, that while European educational policy focused primarily on males, there was always some Europeans who supported the primacy of providing schooling for Māori women and girls as well as for Māori men and boys. Second, that the ideology of cultural salvation, religious or secular, underpinned the intentions of Europeans in their support of schooling provisions for Māori women and girls. Third, that such provisions were neither bold or innovative but largely reflected the educational experiences of the Europeans themselves. Fourth, that considerable numbers of Māori women and girls actively sought opportunities for schooling. Lastly, that in the education of Māori females the influence of Education Board schools was just as great as Māori schools.

By focusing on educational provisions for Māori women and girls, Carson extends the work of Barrington and Beaglehole (1974) in the period under review. She also maintains one of the underlying theme's inherent in their work which was that missionary education had the potentiality for 'good'. However, Carson goes further than these writers to argue that, in the education of Māori women and girls, some positive results were in fact achieved largely due to the efforts of missionary wives (1991: 221)

A further focus is the agency of Māori women in decisions regarding their own education and that of their daughters. Carson shows that Māori generally and Māori women and girls in particular, were not simply passive bystanders to the evangelical zeal and fervent will of the Missionaries or their wives. Missionaries were generally unable to control or determine the extent to which Māori supported or resisted their endeavours to provide schooling. For example, parent demands for payment for the domestic duties undertaken by their girls, particularly where the missionaries were seen to be the principal beneficiaries, severely undermined missionary efforts to fund such schools (Ibid: 196).

As a study of European educational provisions for Māori females, Carson provides a comprehensive overview of the historical development of education policies and practices embodied in state discourses which emphasised among others, the building of a nation, the assimilation of the natives and the role of women as nurturers and principal upholders of morality. But significantly, this study also exhibits a Eurocentric perspective on customary roles and status of Māori women. This is apparent in two distinct ways.

First is through the perpetuation of stereotypical views and misconceptions of the customary societal role of Māori women. Eurocentric interpretations of such roles are afforded primacy over the views of Māori scholars. While it is acknowledged that such writings are sparse, the absence from Carson's study of references to authoritative writing about Māori women by such scholars as Api Mahuika (1973) or Rose Pere (1982) and the relegation of the work of Makareti (1986) as one which presents a 'romanticised' view to that refracted through a Victorian male bias (Carson,1991:21), illustrates the marginalization of Māori academics in scholarly enterprises. Exclusions of indigenous accounts by western scholars inevitably risks monocultural bias in their interpretations. Makareti's study is grounded in the lived reality of a Māori woman scholar from Te Arawa. Te Aue Davis (1985) has warned of the dangers of 'ghetto feminism' in trotting out well-worn myths of Western feminism's in the portrayals of the role and status of Māori women in Māori life. Carson's support of studies as seriously flawed as Berys Heuer as discussed above, lends credence to Davis's contention.

Second, the use of Māori language and whakatauki by non-speakers of Māori who rely on literal translations and interpretations to support a particular point of view, risk seriously misguided representations. For

example, the whakatauki *Kei raro te whare o aitua, e hamama i runga ko te whare o te ora* is literally translated as “The house of misfortune is below, gaping open above is the house of life” (p35). According to Carson’s interpretation this proverb,

emphasized the earth as a place of adversity and affliction. Since the female principle was derived from the Earth Mother it was only natural to associate women with disaster, death and other undesirable aspects of life. In addition to this Maui’s demise in the body of Hine-nui-te-Po testified to the formidable destructive powers of the female sexual organs (p35).

The works of Makareti, Mahuika and Pere alone, notwithstanding the enormous collections of *mōteatea* (Ngata & Jones, 1974:1980), show that, at least in their tribal areas of Te Arawa, Ngāti Porou, Tuhoe and Ngāti Kahungunu, it is neither ‘natural’ nor an accepted practice to ‘associate’ women with ‘undesirable aspects of life’. These and other such portrayals of women as ‘receptive’ and ‘passive’ and men as the ‘active, fertilising, creative agent’ in a relationship in which they are ‘superior’ to the ‘inferior role of women’ (p86), serve to reinforce and perpetuate colonial constructions of Māori women by Victorian male anthropologists and ethnographers. As Te Aue Davis (1985) maintains, the grounding of Māori women’s experiences in such myths as that outlined here has been promoted as fact for too long and it is time it was laid to rest.

What is problematic about Carson’s approach is her assumption about the customary roles and status of Māori women which situates them within Eurocentric analysis. Furthermore, the tendency to universalise the women as

'Māori Women' undermine their distinct tribal and regional differences and excludes among others, any discussion about what the impact of schooling outside of their tribal areas might have had on them.

The problematic of Pākehā women interpreting Māori women's experiences from within their own cultural frameworks is demonstrated by Ruth Fry in her work *It's Different for Daughters* in which she includes one chapter on the education of Māori girls. Fry writes that;

In Māori attitudes towards a woman's place, there was on the surface, little conflict with the Victorian espousal of a limited domestic sphere (1985:156).

Fry's interpretation not only demonstrates her lack of knowledge of the customary role of women in Māori society but an oversimplification of the complex relations between Māori women and men based on cultural imperatives (McKinley, 1995:123). This serves to perpetuate stereotypical views of Māori women based on the interpretations of Pākehā women and men. While Fry's contribution to women's education history is acknowledged, her inclusion of a chapter on Māori girls illustrates several underlying assumptions.

First, as a separate topic, the education of Māori girls is treated as an 'addition to' a history of girls curriculum rather than as an integral part of the whole story of the education of girls in New Zealand. Primacy is given to the notion of a universal female subordination thus assuming that such experiences are more important.

Second, a sample of chapter titles reveals that Māori girls were not involved in such aspects as 'Aesthetic subjects' despite Gordon Tovey's extensive work with Māori advisors of Art education for Māori students in

the 1950's for example (Davis,1976:27-9). This sets ethnic inequalities in the 'too hard basket' on the grounds that while they are important there is not enough information with which to include in any analysis.

Third, the exclusion of Māori girls in all but one chapter assumes that they are not 'real' girls. They are not the 'girls' for whom the book most often references. In other words, the book is primarily about the history of the curriculum for Pākehā girls.

Makareti (1986) writing in the early 1900's, provides a Māori woman's perspective of customary life drawn from her experiences of living and growing up in her tribal region of Te Arawa. Reflecting very much the writing style of the period (use of masculine pronoun for example), her study is the first comprehensive ethnographic account by a Māori scholar. As such it addresses a number of misconceptions held and criticisms made about Māori by early Pākehā commentators. These include claims of polygamy by chiefs to gain status (p81 and p133), Māori indifference to sick children (p148), prostitution among the women (pp102-104) and the immorality of some customary practices (p100). Makareti maintained that,

...a person has to realize... and understand all the Maori's customs, knowing why he does certain things and not others, before he can sit down and write about the Maori. Otherwise his criticisms lack understanding (p76)

For Māori the credibility of Makareti's approach to her research is reflected in a number of ways. For example, her first hand experience and intimate knowledge of the language and customs gained from the early childhood teachings by her elders and nurtured over a life-time. Other

examples include, her references to oral sources, such as Mita Taupopoki and other tribal elders upon whose expertise and knowledge she was able to draw; her refusal to translate into English the karakia and other examples included in her study and her seeking the sanctioning of each stage of the research process and her manuscripts by Te Arawa before allowing any publishing to proceed. Her methodology in respect of tribal lore and practices remain basic principles of tribal research methodology³.

She was highly critical of the "outrageous untruths of ignorant writers on the Maori world" (p ix) and saw her own work as an attempt to address this. In terms of interpretation of Māori language, Makareti warned against using literal translations since "literal translation does not always express the meaning of a Maori word" (p57).

In addressing misinformation and misinterpretations concerning women (such as allegations of immorality among Māori women p101), Makareti was able to draw on first hand knowledge of customary practices and traditions (regarding childbirth and marriage) and on oral sources of her tipuna whāea. Makareti's work challenged, among others, many misconceptions held by Pākehā writers about Māori customary practices generally and knowledge relating to Māori women in particular.

Mahuika's (1973) study also challenges the views of early commentators on the Māori. In particular, commonly held assumptions regarding leadership based primarily on systems of patriarchy. This view afforded primacy to males as a prerogative to leadership, the relegation of their leadership rights by first born females to male relatives and primogeniture based on male issue. By examining the customary leadership of Ngāti Porou, Mahuika located significant differences in emphasis in the application of commonly held views (1977:65). Drawing on tribal history

³For example, the Tribal Research Methodologies course in the Maori Studies Department Massey University.

found in such sources as waiata, haka and whakatauki, Mahuika showed that leadership in Ngāti Porou was not determined by either gender or primogeniture and that women leaders were significant. For example, he demonstrated that more senior sub-tribes were named after women than men (ibid:69). He concluded that "the fact that women in Ngāti Porou have the right to speak on the marae indicates they were leaders in the fullest sense"(ibid:70). The study contributes to dispelling western conceptions about the customary status of women in Māori society for at least one tribal group. While the focus is leadership, Mahuika also illustrates that tribal history is far from silent on women as actors at the centre of the historical stage. Furthermore, access to tribal literary sources (waiata, haka and whakatauki) and more importantly the facility (knowledge of te reo me ona tikanga) to engage with the literature, provided the researcher with a counter-balance to a Eurocentric pool of writers.

Recent research by Māori women that focus specifically on Māori women's experiences, highlight contemporary issues that bring into focus the historical legacy of the processes of colonisation including the imposition of colonial constructions of Māori women.

Glynnis Paraha (1992) explored the images of Māori women within visual discourses constructed by male colonial painters in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Paraha described how colonial ideologies, assumptions, beliefs and practices underpinned, and were reinforced by, specific painterly paradigms. Such paradigms - encompassing neo-classical, romantic and empirical themes, reinforced binary concepts of Māori as savage, inferior and ignorant to that of the civilised, superior and knowledgeable European. These themes augmented the visual marginalisation of Māori women and reinforced a gendered Eurocentric construction of Māori women in the imported patriarchal image of European women. Among

examples given are the numerous images of Māori women engaged in domestic chores considered women's work within the domestic sphere (Ibid: 75-6). These images also serve to illustrate the assumptions European men held of their own women.

In her analysis, Paraha also highlighted the way in which patriarchal, class and gender defined messages were reinforced by the exploitative convention of decontextualising and then recontextualising images of Māori generally and Māori women in particular. The relocation of images of Māori women into classical and romantic settings, often bare-breasted and reclining (Ibid: 81) or in pseudo Greek attire (Ibid: 72) or as mythological nymphs complete with appropriately designated 'props' (Ibid: 73) or in more realistic mode as antiquitous, museum-like mannequins (Ibid: 89) provide examples. These themes, very often inspired or influenced by politicians or churchmen, under whose patronage many artists were commissioned (Ibid), perpetuated romanticized and stereotypical images of Māori thus obfuscating and distorting the often harsh conditions of their reality (Ibid, 98).

In response to the Eurocentric visual discourse of colonial painters and their patrons, Paraha offered a case study to explore the contemporary views and work of Māori film-maker, Merata Mita. As a counter-view and resistance measure to extant colonial images Mita seeks to "demystify, decolonise and indigenise the image, processes and the screen" (Ibid: 16) and propagate lived Māori realities through reclamation and the assertion of indigenous control of the image. Mita's three-fold approach to a critical understanding of the process of colonising the image and her commitment to praxis or 'theory in action', forms the theoretical basis upon which Paraha developed her study of the visual construction of Māori women and the historical legacy of this construction, broadly defined. The theoretical adequacy of Mita's framework lies in its potential to illuminate received

categories of analysis not only of the visual image itself, as Paraha has adequately demonstrated, but also of the wider but hidden socio-political discourse in which such images are embedded. From this latter perspective, Paraha's critical analysis of the colonisation processes inherent in the early painterly traditions and her interpretation of the powerful messages the resultant images portray provide useful insights into the colonial assumptions, beliefs, practices and ideologies held about Māori and Māori women at that time. The persuasiveness of these beliefs and practices are acknowledged although protracted engagement in a critique of the cultural root of such practices encompassed in organising concepts like 'gender,' 'class' 'patriarchy' and 'domestic sphere' remain imperatives largely unexplored and not clearly defined in this study. Perfunctory explanations do not provide a sound basis with which to discard definitions considered colonial impositions.

Paraha's focus then, emphasises an aspect of the construction of Māori women as it relates to the visual images of colonial painters and the contemporary response to such images both in theory and praxis by a Māori woman film-maker.

Helene D. Connor's (1994) study focuses on issues relating to the social construction of Māori women in terms of European models of 'ideal womanhood'. She examined the history of women's imprisonment and penal education and the 'prisonization' experiences of three Māori women . She outlined how the process of colonisation eroded a sense of Māori identity and, at least for the women in her study, how the reclamation of identity "was a cathartic experience, enabling the women to heal and empower themselves"(p103). The 'realignment of identity' emerged as a significant theme of empowerment through a focus on the women's personal 'symbols' (a matau, a tattooed band and a carved portrait of three women). Their stories

that emerged focused on a reclamation of Māori identity and the resurgence of mana wahine as a response to the effects of metaphorical (such as racism/sexism) and literal prisonisation. A post-structuralist reading of the women's stories provides the basis for analysis. As a study of Māori women who have experienced the realities of imprisonment it records their courage and determination as they struggle to make sense of their lives.

Kura Marie Taylor's study (1994) examined the life stories of seven Māori women educators within that age-group now enjoying "dignified maturity" (p387). Taylor focused on the women's schooling to seek answers to her question, 'Were Māori women used as agents of assimilation through schooling?' The experiences of the women growing up in rural areas during the depression years was characterised by the importance of extended family and the female influence of 'industrious women' - their mother, grandmothers and aunts. At primary school the women experienced, among others, corporal punishment for speaking Māori language, irregular schooling to attend tangi or hui, a curriculum that reflected Pākehā (English) knowledge, values and interests. Common among the women's experiences were confronting racist attitudes exhibited by some of their teachers and working as school cleaners and housemaids for the Headmaster's house.

Taylor found that despite state assimilationist policies which in education, validated and legitimated English language, culture and knowledge, the women sustained a strong sense of Māori identity, adapted western technologies to accommodate their life-ways, and maintained control over their lives as Māori, as women and later as educators.

While Paraha focused on colonial constructions of Māori women's images and the politics of contemporary visual representations, Connor examined the prison experiences of women and their journey of reclamation of identity as Māori women and Taylor explored the lives of older women

educators, Rachel Selby investigated Māori women's success in tertiary education.

Selby (1996) recorded the oral narratives of six Māori women who currently hold positions of responsibility and decision making in various education institutions and agencies. All of the women were pupils at Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls in 1961.

Her focus on Māori women's success in education was a response to the emphasis on failure, underachievement and barriers to success that have characterised recent research and education reports. Selby set about to identify the factors that contribute to success for Māori women in tertiary education. All of the women in the study have experienced success at tertiary institutions over a 30 year period. She identified seven factors that contributed to their success; te kura tuatahi - primary school; Queen Victoria School; ngā taumata, ngā tumanako, ngā wawatatanga o ngā whānau - aspirations, hopes and dreams of whānau; tūrangawaewae; kaiākihaere mentor; kaiwhakapakari - those who provide strength to others; intergenerational influences - successful tertiary educated whānau members who were influential in the women's lives.

Selby's study suggests that factors that lead to success include a commitment to whānau, holding fast to the best aspects of te ao Māori and ensuring that strong whānau support systems are available. The importance of gaining knowledge and access to new technology (such as computers and the internet) was also emphasised. It was stressed that educational institutions need to respond in imaginative ways and support issues of success for Māori as well as failure. Of particular concern was the need for adequately funded research that was ongoing, and that addressed issues of success as well as failure. Encouraging research by Māori women about and for Māori women would not only address such issues but it would challenge inappropriate research and researchers.

Although each of the studies about Māori women discussed above that have been undertaken by Māori women researchers are based on small participant numbers, the scope of the topics are broad and provide invaluable contributions to a small but burgeoning body of literature that records the lives of Māori women.

Recent publications written or edited by Māori women that record Māori women's stories provide further sources with which to gain valuable insights into their lives.

Te Timatanga-Tātau, Tātau! ((Rogers & Simpson,1993) is a compilation of 'talk' of sixty-six foundation members of the Māori Women's Welfare League. At the time of publication, the women's ages ranged from 60 to 100 years. In telling their stories some of the women speak only in the Māori language. Others, oscillate between Māori and English their idiomatic, regional and idiosyncratic phrases allowed to 'talk' 'straight off the page.' Their stories are rich social histories that record personal accounts of their lives often marked by material hardships and the trials and joys of being born into large families. They tell of courtship, marriage and raising families and of aspirations for their whānau. They speak of their commitment to the welfare of Māori generally and particularly Māori women and children. Most talk briefly of their education, many only reaching the end of primary school. Others like Hārata Solomon, Te Maari Joe and Maude Isaac, who went on to attend secondary school (Hārata and Te Maari as boarders at Hukarere Māori Girls College), trained as teachers. Hārata at Wellington Teachers' College in 1942, Te Maari as a junior assistant at Mohaka School in 1948 (the colleges had closed briefly at the outbreak of a polio epidemic) and Maude in a 'pressure cooker course' at Ardmore in 1951. The women's accounts of their teaching experiences are brief glimpses within the context of their life-stories. But they give some insight into the broader aspects of their lives that centred

around whānau and working for Māori women. Hārata who, even after she retired continued in a teaching role, used her skills teaching choral singing eventually touring Europe with her choir. Te Maari's brief but enjoyable teaching experience was with standard one and two at Mohaka school before marriage and family. Maude's memories were of 'hassle' free times teaching Māori children in Māori schools. This collection of stories provides a rich source of primary material about the lived experiences of that generation of Māori women who survived the colonial continuum of dispossession (such as land, language and resources) through strong cultural and spiritual ties.

By contrast a more recent social history is presented in *Mana Wahine: Women who show the way* (Brown, 1994) which profiles twenty-four Māori women whose ages range from senior high school students to women who have reached middle age. Many of the women are prominent figures in law, politics, teaching, the creative arts, theatre and film, medicine, broadcasting and academia. Others are not so well known students and quiet achievers. The women's stories explore contemporary issues and concerns that confront Māori women today. Issues of identity, Māoritanga, the effects of urbanisation, Māori language, education and the roles of Māori men and women are just some of their concerns. In telling their stories the women convey a sense of the multiple realities of Māori women's lives. From those who have led sheltered and privileged family lives to those who have known the ugly reality of dysfunctional families, of violence and of abuse. Their stories bring into focus what it means to be Māori and women within the context of two worlds, Māori and Pākehā. For example, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku describes the privilege of growing up on the marae, of being nurtured by the nuns and terrorised at high-school by 'those disgusting obnoxious mean-hearted teachers.' Kathie Irwin expresses her concern about cultural patterns of change that accommodate patriarchy, such as the speaking

rights of non-Māori men over Māori women. Margaret Raureti Hiha advocates sport as a way of promoting positive self-image among Māori. The strength of this publication for research on Māori women is in the breadth of the women's lived experiences. Their collective experiences provide a powerful statement on mana wahine Māori.

The diversity of Māori women's experiences is apparent in *Toi Wāhine: The worlds of Māori women* (Irwin & Ramsden, 1995). As an anthology of Māori women's writings it presents a full range of Māori women's creative expressions. This includes both fiction and non-fiction, theoretical, experiential, and autobiographical approaches. Elizabeth McKinley's (p117) critique titled *Māori Women in Educational Policy, 1960-91: A discourse analysis* analyses the construction of Māori women in educational policy texts from 1960 to 1991. She focuses on the content of official policy documents. Her argument centres on the state as a complex system of competing groups of Pākehā, Māori and women with each group serving within the state to reproduce their own interests. McKinley shows that generally Māori women are absent from the texts of official documents, that the women contribute to very few of them and that in many cases the documents work against them.

Everdina Fuli (p45) in her essay *Whāia e Koe te iti Kahurangi: Striving for Excellence and Taking up the Challenges* describes how she worked successfully with children. As well as utilising the skills received from teachers' college, Fuli drew upon the strong cultural values that stem from her Māori and Tokelau roots. She comments on how the racist attitudes of Pākehā teachers serve to undermine the work-programmes of Māori and Pacific Island teachers. She compares this to teaching Māori children in a Māori rural community within her tribal area. There she experienced the

freedom of 'being able to be Māori' and to express her thoughts 'without having to explain it in a Pākehā context.'

Questions of identity and difference in terms of 'being Māori women' are explored by Patricia Johnson and Leonie Pihama in *What Counts as Difference and What differences Count: Gender, Race and the Politics of Difference* (p75). In discussing the notion of difference they distinguish between the two positions outlined in the title. The first position 'What counts as difference' is argued from an international context while addressing the various views of difference held in New Zealand. According to the authors, what counts as different for Māori women are those differences defined by the dominant group that are oppressive in character. Such definitions have historically constructed Māori women in oppositional dualities of inferiority that undermine and work against them. Furthermore it fails to take account not only of the dualities of differences associated with Pākehā men but also with Pākehā women and Māori men. What differences count are those central to the experiences of Māori women and framed within cultural constructions.

Studies and writings by Māori women about Māori women's experiences that emphasise, among others, issues of culture, identity, self-determination, colonisation, racism, sexism and the deconstruction of Eurocentric constructions of Māori women find similarities with studies and writings by other indigenous women.

Nancy Greenman (1996) a pueblo woman from the Tewa of North America used a narrative approach to her study of Tewa women as a means of giving greater voice to American Indian women in an attempt to deconstruct Eurocentric and androcentric constructions of woman/womanhood. Greenman, like other American Indian women,⁴ find this approach to be effective for clarifying the centrality of women in

⁴Greenman references Gretchen M. Bataille and Kathleen Mullen Sands (1984) *American Indian Women: Telling Their Lives*, University of Nebraska Press Lincoln, N. E.

American Indian cultures. Her study focuses on "some American Indian women's perceptions of what 'woman' is in relation to the notion of 'mother' as embodied in the status of the Tewa concept, 'gia'." In analysing the women's perceptions, Greenman points out the imposition of the western model of 'domestic' versus 'public' dichotomies in analysing categories of woman which links the categories to women's activities in society. This is because social relations in Pueblo society operate within a complex pattern of status and power that focuses on collective well-being. Strategic interests of women and men are not clearly defined or separated along dichotomous lines of power but tend towards relationships of complementarity (ibid:53). Customarily, Tewa women were the owners of the land on which crops were grown and they controlled the distribution within and outside the group. According to Greenman the women used their economic autonomy "to build institutionalized positions of power beyond their households" (ibid:54). Thus the social organisation was along matrilineal lines. Greenman found that as a result of the influences of western society, the perceptions of 'woman' by the Tewa women in her study embodied both contemporary and western perceptions of women. This included notions of women and 'gia' as 'strong' - "the backbone of a family," "quiet but with a lot of strength," "being strong without having to wear the feathers," "initiators of change - setting up the conditions for people to change" and women as 'assertive' (ibid:56).

The notion of woman as the 'backbone' of Native North American Life is reiterated by Mariana Jaimes in her essay *American Indian Women At the Centre of Indigenous Resistance in Contemporary North America* (1992). She documents contemporary initiatives by Native American women who have assumed crucial leadership roles in the struggle for self-determination and claims to customary resources such as fishing and land. An important aspect of this essay is Jaimes powerful expose' of Eurocentric constructions

of Native American culture and particularly the roles of men and women such as the 'myths of male dominance' and female subordination. As a counter-measure she presents a broad historical overview of Native American customary traditions relating to the roles of men and women in Native American society. She critically analyses racist and stereotypical ideologies about Native American Culture perpetuated by the dominant culture through Hollywood lenses and uninformed columnists, critics and other writers (ibid:315). Jaimes outlines the effects of colonial domination that led to the disempowerment of native women and their oppression as women, as Native American and as Native American women. She focuses on issues that relate to them as women that are often subsumed within the broader politics of indigenous struggle. Involvement in the politics of the feminist movement is one example. According to Jaimes alliances with other racial minority groups of women (Asian Americans, Chicanas and Latina's) is more likely to be effective in advancing the position of Native American women than joining the more divisive politics of the 'mainstream' women's movement (ibid:335). This essay covers a broad scope of the contemporary issues that confront Native American people generally and the women in particular. The historical context provides useful insights into the lived realities of women whose whole way of being, like those of Māori people and Māori women, has been assaulted by the colonial experience.

Conclusion:

This chapter has shown that there are few studies that focus on Māori women working in education. Constructions of Māori people generally and Māori women in particular refracted through Victorian male bias perpetuate stereotypical views that continue to have credence in contemporary writings. It has been shown that historical accounts by Māori scholars deconstruct

Eurocentric views. Recent publications written or edited by Māori women give further insights into the lives of Māori people which provide a theoretical basis upon which to analyse the experiences of women working in educational organisations.

Chapter two discusses the philosophies that underpin a kaupapa Māori approach to the research process and describes the methodology applied in this project.

Chapter 2

Research Methodology

...The collation of statistics has done nothing for us except reinforce to us that we are no good. If we could design what we want to know about ourselves, collect them ourselves and use them for ourselves then we'd be talking about self determination. (From a Māori woman informant in Parata, N., "for the sake of decent shelter...", Māori Women's Housing Research Project Report, Commissioned by the Housing Corporation, June 1991).

This study is concerned with identifying significant themes or issues within the contemporary experiences of six Māori women educators. Their experiences are contextualised within a historical perspective that is based upon a Māori gestalt and theoretical position. From this standpoint, the construction of an appropriate research methodology is based on several underlying assumptions.

First, that a Māori epistemological and ontological perspective has validity and legitimacy since it is based on a world view that continues to exist and is experienced by real people. At the centre of that view is Māori knowledge, language and culture.

Second, that an integral part of the construction of an appropriate methodology encompasses such principles as outlined by Arohia Durie (1992) of *mana*, *mauri*, *mahitahi* and *maramatanga*. These principles are embodied in the whakatauki *He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tangata! He tangata! He tangata!*

Third, that a kaupapa Māori approach to this study, is fundamental to the research process. Linda Smith defines, kaupapa Māori research as research over which Māori maintain conceptual, design, methodological and interpretative control. In other words it is "...research by Māori, for Māori, with Māori"(1995:1). In assuming the existence and validity of Māori knowledge, the position I have taken here is based on the cumulative views of

Māori academics and other scholars engaged in the research process and their responses to the issues of research as it relates to Māori people. While such discourse has been documented elsewhere (Stokes,1985. Ngata,1988. Te Awekotuku,1991. Durie,1992. Smith, L.T.,1991;1995;1996. Bishop, 1991. Bishop and Glyn, 1992) it is my intention to reiterate some of the issues that have been expressed, not only as a rationale for the methodological process of this study but also to alert attention to the fact that, as Linda Smith asserts,

... there is next to no research, no literature, no guidance to the issues which concern indigenous, minority group researchers, carrying out research within their own communities (1995:8).

By engaging in the discourse of indigenous research it is hoped that this study will go some way to enhancing our knowledge and understanding of research as undertaken by a Māori woman with Māori women educators for Māori people generally.

I begin by providing a brief overview of Māori research as documented in customary narratives and some of the associated attitudes to knowledge held by Māori. A discussion is then presented from the literature of some of the issues and philosophical understandings of Māori research, their relationship to western research methods and in particular feminist research. Finally, drawing from both Arohia Durie's principles for conducting research in a Māori context and Linda Smith's Kaupapa Māori Research, the methodology for this study is described.

Cultural Context

It is acknowledged that since first contact with Europeans, Māori have always been involved in research but usually as the researched and not as the researcher (Durie, 1992:2. Smith, 1994b, 1994c: 8): From an analysis of the cosmology narratives, the first research project concerns Tane and his journey to the twelfth heaven to gain ngā kete wānanga the three baskets of knowledge (Smith, 1991:49). Two important points Smith emphasises from this narrative are that Tane sought wānanga on behalf of everyone else and that each basket contained different types of knowledge essential to the well-being of the whole whānau and iwi.

A further example of Māori as the researcher is found in the search by Tane for the uha, the female principle necessary for the creation of humankind. Again, an important point in this narrative is that Tane carried out the search on behalf of his brothers, a search which arose from the needs of the group (Buck, 1977:450). Research originating from a collective need and carried out on behalf of others, is a recurring theme here. The search by Tane for knowledge of the female element, his subsequent experiments to extract that knowledge and his consultation with his brothers during his pursuit confirmed the necessity of precision and correct processes. This was important since Tane was not only accountable to his siblings but also to the future of humankind. The final outcome, the creation of the woman Hineahu-one the first human, was for the benefit of all.

These narratives serve to describe some fundamental components of tikanga Māori relevant to research methodologies that investigate the lives of Māori people today.

First, some evidence of a collective need for a research project to occur in the first place. Tane's search for wānanga or knowledge came not from some individual self-interest. Indeed, topics of choice by Māori that engage

their communities would not necessarily be those selected by non-Māori as worthy. Crisis research⁵ has precipitated moves by Māori to control all aspects of the education of their children. This has, of necessity, included the control and development of research methodologies based on an epistemology and philosophy that is grounded in a Māori world view and takes into account the multiple realities of Māori people (Durie, 1994:1).

Second, the need for a consultative process whereby the researched are actively engaged in the research is important. In his journey to obtain wānanga Tane was guided and accompanied by others. In his search for the uha he consulted on several occasions (Buck, 1977:450). For Māori the underlying assumption is that the authority, control and ownership of the research is part of a collective identity and therefore located in multiple positions within the social structure of whānau, hapu and iwi. Matters to do with authority (mana), control (mana Māori) and ownership (rangatiratanga) are fundamental to any research method that has as its purpose identifying factors which will lead to successful outcomes thus breaking the negative mould of past emphases. What this means in practice is the researcher identifying where the authority, control and ownership are located and demonstrating some competency in “negotiating the social norms of Māori societies”(Durie, 1992:4). This is particularly significant since the researcher has an obligation to ensure that the expectations of the researched are met. This point is directly relevant to a third research element; that of a collective accountability to whānau, hapu or iwi.

Tane demonstrated his accountability to the group by ensuring that he persevered on their behalf until he had successfully procured the kete wānanga and found the uha thus satisfying their collective needs, the outcomes of which were for the benefit of all. The notions of collective

⁵This concept is used by Linda Smith (1991) and refers to research directed at explaining the causes of Māori failure and supposedly solving Māori problems (1991:31-2).

accountability and collective benefits are grounded in Māori attitudes to knowledge, in the accessibility of knowledge and in the sanctioning, preserving and protection of knowledge for the well-being of the whānau and iwi as a whole.

The kete wānanga that Tane retrieved came in three separate kits, the symbolic contents of which were; kete tuauri - peace, goodness and love; kete tuatea - prayers, incantations and ritual; and kete aronui - war, agriculture, wood-work, stone-work, and earth-work (Buck, 1977:449). Knowledge was and is highly valued, specialised and hierarchical. While knowledge and skills necessary for day to day community living were acquired by everyone, not all knowledge was universally available. In this instance, rights to knowledge such as tribal lore, whakapapa or kawa that are associated with mana were entrusted to only a few selected members of the whānau by tribal repositories - the kuia and kaumātua. The students then undertook a lifetime of learning and experience in order to gain expertise and in due course to become a tribal repository. However, it was the whānau and iwi and not an individual that retained ownership of all tribal knowledge. The people sanctioned and preserved 'accepted' knowledge through ritual and protected it for appropriate usage through the institution of tapu.

The whole ritual complex associated with raranga - karakia when taking flax, covering unfinished work, not weaving after sunset and giving away one's first finished piece - were ways of sanctioning, preserving and protecting 'accepted' knowledge (Smith, 1991:50).

The institution of tapu underpinned all rituals and learning processes as a vehicle for the protection and respect of associated knowledge. This is a

prevailing factor today especially in relation to knowledge that is whānau, hapu or iwi specific. As Ngoi Pewhairangi asserts;

When you learn anything Māori, it has to be taken seriously. It involves the laws of tapu: genealogies, history, traditional knowledge, carving, preparing flax, in fact, nature itself. Tapu is something that teaches you how to respect the whole of nature, because Māori things involve the whole of nature (1977:8).

This strong spiritual dimension to Māori attitudes to knowledge expressed in such terms as wairua, tapu and mauri is reiterated by John Rangihau who cautions against the indiscriminate use of knowledge and the possible affects such use might have on others.

I talk about mauri and some people talk about tapu. Perhaps the words are interchangeable....there are things you do... on certain occasions, chants you use in certain circumstances. Unless you know what these circumstances are, you could mix them up and step over the area, which isn't done. In other words you could step on the mauri, on the prestige of other people (1977:12).

Mauri as an organising imperative is fundamental to a collectively beneficial outcome to research that concerns the lives of Māori people. This attitude stems in part from customary practices where it was acknowledged that the skills and knowledge of each person were necessary for their collective survival (Stokes, 1985:7). It also emerges from the negative

aftermath of inferior research that has left a legacy of mistrust and deep suspicion particularly of Western philosophy, practices and methodologies (Smith, 1991:51. Durie, 1992:3). This mistrust stems from Māori concerns regarding the interpretation of their reality in the data that is produced, in the notions of validity (Smith, 1991. Durie, 1992. Bishop and Glynn, 1992) and in the differing sets of beliefs which underpin the research process. They are sets of beliefs that have tended to provide an interpretation that has misrepresented Māori reality altogether. As Linda Smith has found;

An analysis of research into the lives of Māori people from a Māori perspective would seem to indicate that many researchers have not only not found 'truth' or new knowledge: rather, they have missed the point entirely and, in some cases, drawn conclusions about Māori society from information that has only the most tenuous relationship with how Māori society operates (1991:51).

The exploitative nature of past research and the chronic disparity between what has been written by observers and the reality as experienced by the observed has led to calls by Māori that only Māori should research Māori things. As Bishop and Glynn point out, for Māori who support this stance;

Insisting that researchers should have Māori ancestry was not seen as 'biological essentialism' but rather as a safeguard against facile exploitation of Māori material, and as a means of guaranteeing accountability of the researcher to those being researched (1992:128).

Stokes agrees that Māori people have not been well served by non-Māori researchers but she also argues against the view that this has anything to do with race. She maintains that what should be of concern is whether or not the researcher is bilingual and bicultural, whether they are closely involved with the issues facing Māori society today and whether or not they have the skills, knowledge or expertise to confront and investigate the issues. Such researchers she contends may be Māori or Pākehā (1985:9).

Bishop and Glynn (1992;1995) also support a bicultural approach to researching Māori insisting that there is a place for non-Māori researchers and their expertise but only where the methodology is empowering and emancipatory. They suggest a collaborative and interactive approach whereby the power and control of the research process remain with the whānau and that the researchers (Māori or Pākehā) are accountable to them. What is problematic about this approach is an assumption that regardless of whether one is Māori or Pākehā the relationship to the researched is the same. It is not. Māori researchers are differentiated according to iwi, hapu, or whānau links. Furthermore, age and gender may also be a factor in the research process. Academic protocols regarding publication of research reports privileges the names of the researchers as the authors and therefore authorities. Problems arise when non-Māori key-note speakers are seen to be the voices of Māori at national or international conference venues.

The claim that Māori people are the best qualified to research into the lives of Māori is also problematic. What needs consideration here is the researcher's knowledge of tikanga, their tribal affiliations, their age and their gender. It cannot be assumed that all Māori who undertake research are necessarily conversant with tikanga. It is fair to say that the effects of colonisation have ensured that this is an exception rather than the rule. However, it is also argued that some Māori are inappropriate as writers on

essentially 'Māori' topics, because they not only lack understanding and knowledge of appropriate tikanga but also the necessary scholarship to research and record Māori issues (Walker, 1993).

A further difficulty for Māori researchers is the restraints placed on them by kaumātua as to what they can or cannot research. Whānau and hapu knowledge tend to be closely guarded by tribal elders so that access into the lives of Māori past or present very often depends on obtaining the permission of kaumātua and whānau members which in turn may depend upon, among other factors, a researcher's tribal links. For example, unless specifically invited by an iwi, researchers from outside a tribal group are likely to be disadvantaged, since iwi are generally suspicious of the motives of others from different tribes (Soutar, 1991).

In some instances, the conservative views held by some tribal kaumātua may even prejudice a researcher in terms of the person's age and gender. The association of knowledge with maturity means that a young person will need the guidance of elders for their work to be accepted by a Māori audience. (ibid:5) This is especially so when the knowledge sought has to do with the perceived relevance of the content (such as 'whakapapa' that is most often associated with men or 'whakawhānau or childbirth and associated with women) to be male or female specific. But this latter difficulty may well be a recent phenomenon since it is recorded that certain women as well as men were and are repositories of whakapapa (Mahuika, 1973:113) and in some tribal areas men were known to take part in childbirth and child-rearing practices (Pere, 1982:59).

Whether research undertaken by Māori will overcome the harmful effects of past research by non-Māori on Māori society remains to be seen. My own position supports that of Arohia Durie who maintains that research by Māori is more likely to be conducted with

an in-depth understanding of Māori values, attitudes and mores necessary for a successful outcome, as is the probability of an understanding and willingness to abide by a Māori system of ethics and accountability (1992:4).

Despite the complexities that are inherent therein, it is a willingness and need to abide by a Māori system of ethics and accountability that provides the justification for the methodological approach selected for this study. Without this approach, it is doubtful that this investigation would find acceptance by a Māori audience or research community. Therefore meeting the criteria is necessary for validity of findings and for purposes of accountability.

Critiques of Western approaches involved in investigating the lives of Māori people, generally agree that Māori are among the most researched people in the world (Stokes, 1985:3. Smith, 1991:47. Durie, 1992:3). Since the earliest contact period with Europeans, during colonisation and until the present day, Māori society has provided fertile ground for research (Smith, 1992:47). As the researched, Māori people have been the 'guinea-pigs' (Stokes, 1985:3) to mainly non-Māori 'hit and run' researchers (Durie, 1992:3). While the non-Māori researcher, and to some extent their academic community, has accrued career and personal benefits from the research, in too many cases the researched have seldom gained any benefits at all. Too often the outcomes of such investigations have raised the propensity for the belittlement of Māori history, knowledge and learning and the reinforcement of negative stereotypes (Bishop and Glynn, 1992:126-130). Much of the existing research on Māori is either descriptive offering few insights for Māori but merely describing what they already know (Stokes, 1985:3). Or the research is comparative defining shifts not in terms of genuine progress Māori have made but in terms of where they stand in relation to others. This is aptly described as a 'winners and losers' scenario (Durie, A, 1992:6) that is

oriented towards a social pathology type of investigation (Bishop, 1992:2) where Māori are seldom the winners⁶. As Stokes maintains, the Māori view of research "...simply for the sake of knowing is pointless"(1985:3).

Criticisms and rejection by Māori of non-Māori approaches to inquiry into the lives of Māori people is primarily about methodology and interpretation within western scientific practices, and in particular the so-called 'agricultural botany paradigm' (Elliot, 1991:216) located within the positivist tradition. To some extent concerns by Māori regarding an appropriate methodology for conducting research about Māori people, finds parallels with proponents of qualitative studies (such as critical theory and action research) and feminist research.

Qualitative research is a broad term which encompasses interviewing with open-ended questions, life history interviews, oral histories, studying personal constructs and observational studies (Delamont, 1992:7). In educational enquiry, qualitative methods gained popularity because of the difficulties encountered by researchers "...in attempting to apply a classical scientific paradigm of research to problems in which human behaviour, action or intention play a large part"(Stenhouse, 1982:261). This was because of the unpredictable nature of human actions and the inability of 'scientific' theories to predict accurately across cultural boundaries. Fundamental to this classical scientific paradigm are the assumptions that inquiry is value free, that the focus is on observable behaviour and that the methodology is objective. Basic imperatives include the primacy of behavioural language and method, the elimination of metaphysical terms and any unverifiable statements relegated as unscientific and therefore meaningless. Such a position arose from the Western belief in the unity of all sciences and the notion that the basis of scientific authority was empirical purity and logical reasoning (Smith,

⁶The Hunn Report, 1960 exemplifies the comparative approach to research.

J. 1989:96). It is a belief that philosophers of science refer to as positivism, and the 'scientific method' almost always means an approach to research based on positivism. Among reasons given for the decline of this position was that its advocates were unable to develop a value-free language. As Rorty put it,

(w)e have not got a language which will serve as a permanent neutral matrix for formulating all good explanatory hypotheses, and we have not got the foggiest notion of how to get one (cited in Smith J., 1989:98).

Positivistic methodology, such as experimental research for example, is thus seen as inadequate to an understanding of the complexities of social reality and the indeterminacy of human experience. Alternatively, qualitative research takes account of such complexities through the researcher valuing and taking seriously the views, perspectives, opinions, prejudices and beliefs of the participants in the research project (Delamont, 1992:7). Within this tradition is the potential for research that is empowering.

Research methodology that seeks to empower the researched is part of a theoretical debate over the positivist paradigm. This has in turn influenced the way that contemporary views of social research have come to be understood. In Germany in the 1960's for example, Karl Popper defended the orthodoxy of positivism while Jurgen Habermas argued from a critical theory perspective for a critical social science (Carr and Kemmis, 1986:128-149). A critical theory perspective supports a process of critique as a methodology concerned with exposing contradictions in the rationality or the justice of social actions. A critical social science is the social process that combines the process of critique with the political determination to lead to some social action or praxis (ibid:144). It was this view of a critical social science that

sought to move the 'interpretative' approach (Hughes, 1990) beyond an uncritical acceptance of the actors'/participants' own definitions of a situation (Carr and Kemmis, 1986:95). It is the critical theory tradition and reactions to positivism, that underpin recent feminist research and emancipatory movements through which indigenous positions such as those held by Māori can be established.

It is possible to show some areas of convergence between feminist approaches to qualitative research and those compatible with Māori concerns. While there was a deliberate distancing from the research enterprise by Māori for a multiplicity of reasons, survival being a major one, those areas of compatibility with feminist approaches can be seen in experiences of marginalisation and oppression. This is apparent in the absence of Māori and women in historical writings and research by non-Māori; the subjugation and oppression of Māori and Pākehā women through white patriarchal hegemony and of Māori people as a whole through colonisation. Although for Māori women particularly this constitutes a double oppression, alternatively, such absence of notice or 'gaze' allowed Māori women to get on uninterrupted with their own business.

The second wave of feminism stimulated a tremendous growth in feminist research a great deal of which has utilised qualitative data-gathering techniques (Middleton, 1988:127). One such technique that has gained prominence among feminist scholars is the semi-structured or unstructured interview (Reinharz, S. 1992:18). Its appeal to feminist scholars lies in the participatory, interactive and inclusive nature of the approach that is achieved between the researcher and the researched within the data gathering process.

Semi-structured or unstructured interviewing allows for free interaction between the researcher and interviewee that is not overly intrusive since the technique does not rely on long periods of researcher participation in the life

of the interviewee. It employs open-ended questions which permit the interviewee to respond in their own words and the researcher to generate theory by exploring people's views of reality. The grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987) approach to data analysis is very often applied, employing an inductive analysing of the data (Reinharz, S. 1992:18-19). In the study of women many feminist thinkers consider this an important aspect of the interview technique, as Reinhartz maintains;

(t)his asset is particularly important for the study of women because in this way learning from women is an antidote to centuries of ignoring women's ideas altogether or having men speak for women... (1992:19).

For the study of Māori people, this technique could also be seen as a remedy to the historical legacy of ignoring the voices and ideas of Māori or having non-Māori speak for Māori. Thus Māori learning from other Māori would be both facilitative and illuminative.

There are three further points about the importance of interviewing for some feminist researchers that are worth highlighting. First, is the cultural pattern of skills associated with the 'traditional feminine role' described by Kathy Charmaz as,

...a passive, receptive, open, understanding approach...recognizing and responding to the other's feelings and being able to talk about sensitive issues without threatening the participant (cited in Reinhartz:1992:20).

Second, is the way in which many women consider abdicating control over others and of developing a sense of connectedness with people (Ibid:20). Reinharz, for example, highlights Bev James (1985, 1986) application of feminist ideas to the interview process, including group discussions and participant observation. Here James;

...tried to interview in a way that built connections and 'avoided alienation of the researcher from the researched.' Furthermore, group discussions afforded participants a greater role in formulating the research project, consistent with her feminist aim of 'developing more egalitarian research methods' (cited in Reinharz, 1992:20).

While the notion of connectedness is compatible with a Māori sense of whanaungatanga or kinship, the idea of abdicating from a position that one assumes one has to begin with (that of a position of control) is not so.

Third, is a feminist framework that includes the power to name or rename and use unconventional terms such as 'participant' instead of 'subject'. The power to define such terms emerges from the proliferation of feminist projects in recent years and the sheer scope and variety of topics therein that are both grounded in mainstream disciplines and which represent a protest against them (ibid, 22).

The views outlined above provide some examples and useful reference points of convergence with some of the principles for conducting research in a Māori context. Principles defined by Arohia Durie as an integral part of the construction of an appropriate methodology when researching into the lives of Māori people, are expressed within the organising concepts of mana, mauri, mahitahi and maramatanga (1992:7). Methodology constructed upon these

principles provide for a holistic approach to the research process which emphasises the individual and collective well-being of all those concerned in an investigation. This is achieved by ensuring that the individual and collective mana of a group is enhanced; that an acknowledgement of and responsibility for the mauri of tribal intellectual knowledge is accepted and upheld; that the opportunity for shared monitoring of the process through the principle of mahitahi, a joint co-operation between the researcher and the researched, is maintained; that a positive contribution to the expressed needs and aspirations of Māori and to the enhancement of maramatanga is accomplished (ibid).

According to Reinharz the interview approach to research incorporates skills and attitudes that are associated with the 'traditional feminine role' and are perceived within a western paradigm as specific to women (1992:20). Within a Māori context such attitudes are embodied in the principle of mana tangata whereby the dignity of a person or persons, is upheld. This is a broad notion that is applicable to any investigation by men or women into the lives of Māori people. It includes the physical and psychological welfare of Māori by ensuring that "...the outcomes of the research do not cause physical or mental harm by trampling on the mana of the Māori individual or collective and thereby lessening it"(Durie, 1992:7). Thus the individual and collective well-being of all concerned throughout the research process is enhanced.

For feminist researchers, the interview technique allows for the abdication of control over others and for developing a sense of connectedness with people (James, 1985; 1986. Rheinharz, 1992:20). As explained earlier, for Māori the notion of 'control over others' is not an assumed position and therefore there is nothing from which to abdicate. However, a sense of 'connectedness' is embodied in the principle of mahitahi. Mahitahi as an organising concept, provides for a co-operative approach not only to

monitoring an investigation but also to establishing the terms and methodology of the research. A sense of 'connectedness' is established through whakawhānaunga and through other hapu, iwi or pan-tribal networks. Building connections is a two way process and includes the rights of iwi to,

...be informed of relevant research activity proposed for their area, whether the participants are tribal members or not, avenues for iwi and hapu groups to interact with the research group be established (Durie, 1992:7).

Avenues for interaction with iwi groups is associated with a dual accountability on the part of the research group - to the research participants and to the wider Māori community. This includes the research group acknowledging iwi leaders and their collective responsibility for the mauri of tribal intellectual knowledge (ibid:8) thereby ensuring that the locus of control is retained by the person or group providing the information.

According to Rheinharz a feminist framework includes the power to name and rename and to define terms (1992:22). This position has emerged over the past two decades from the enormous body of literature and research activities that have consumed the intellectual energies of feminist thinkers in the West. While not so prolific, an emergent Māori literature and research base is however gathering momentum, particularly with the establishment of university based research units.⁷ The power to name and rename and to define terms, is part of a kaupapa Māori research framework in which Māori control definitions and meanings. As Linda Smith rightly asserts, "(i)f we

⁷Te Pūmanawa Hauora Research Unit, Department of Māori Studies, Massey University. The Eru Pōmae Research Centre, Wellington Medical School, Victoria University. The Research Unit for Māori Education, Education Department, University of Auckland. Sir James Henare Research Unit, University of Auckland.

can not control the definition we can not control meanings and the theories which lie behind those meanings" (1995:1). Control by Māori of meanings and the theories that underpin them allows for the enhancement of maramatanga. What this means in practice is ensuring that the research findings are accessible in a range of oral and written forms to a diverse Māori and non-Māori audience (Durie, 1992:8).

Research Aims

This project is an original study and is distinct from most other studies about Māori and education because the focus is specifically about Māori women educators. Such a focus is timely. At the 1994 Hui Whakapūmau National Māori Development Conference⁸ held at Massey University, Māori leaders strenuously acknowledged the significance of Māori women and their contributions in all aspects of Māori development in the past, in the present and as future leaders. In education, the inequalities experienced by Māori generally and Māori women and girls in particular, makes this an important area of concern for New Zealand educators and policy-makers alike. Yet there are very few research studies that have Māori women educators as the major focus. By focusing on the experiences of Māori women who are currently working in educational organisations and the historical and cultural context in which these experiences are grounded, it is possible to gain some important insights into their careers as educators mediated by the diverse realities in which they live. Whilst acknowledging the losses in terms of educational outcomes for Māori generally, the emphasis in this study is on educational gains, the strategies Māori women employ to affect and deal with change and the implications their collective wisdom might have in defining visions for the future of Māori women in education.

⁸See Conference Proceedings, Department of Māori Studies, Massey University.

The specific aim of this study was to investigate the experiences of six Māori women working in educational organisations. I wanted to draw out significant themes or issues identified within the historical and contemporary experiences of the women. My focus is influenced by my personal history and experiences as a Ngāti Kahungunu woman whose schooling in a Pākehā urban environment and upbringing within the cultural context of my turangawaewae (home-place) significantly shaped me as a teacher working in various educational sites over a period of twenty-five years. A kaupapa Māori research approach, that is, research by Māori, for Māori, with Māori (Smith, 1995:1) provides the framework for this study that is based on principles of mana tangata, mauri, mahitahi and maramatanga (Durie, 1992).

In order to investigate the experiences of the women in line with kaupapa Māori principles I decided on a qualitative life-history method using a series of unstructured interviews. The life history method focuses on both individuals and their socio-historical context and "enables researchers to study people as creative strategists who devise means of resisting and resolving the contradictions they experience" (Middleton, 1988:128). Sue Middleton's study on post-war New Zealand feminist teachers focused on the women's individual biographies and their social context. She emphasised the processes of becoming an educator, becoming a feminist and their practice as feminist educators (ibid:129).

My study focused on individual biographies and the social context organised around three sites - the home-place or turangawaewae, schooling and the work-place. Each of the sites were metaphors to generate and to organise information about the women. The home-place establishes the women's identity - their relationships to their turangawaewae, whānau and hapu which ground them and significant aspects of their upbringing which have helped shape them. The schooling site provides an insight into the

women's personal experiences of schooling in Aotearoa. The work-place reflects the complex reality of the women's experiences working within an educational organisation. It includes significant influences in their career trajectories and the strategies they employ for ways of being Māori and women in educational settings. Information was gained by way of unstructured interviews.

Unstructured interviews according to Reinharz (1992) allow for free interaction between the researcher and the interviewee with opportunities for clarification and discussion. Furthermore, the interview method of generating data was considered important for this study because it provided access to the women's thoughts, ideas and memories expressed in their own words rather than in my words. The unstructured interview using open-ended questions allowed for greater flexibility in the interview process and for the production of non-standardised information. This was also less obtrusive and elicited valuable reflections of reality.

The Participants

In selecting the participants a combination of purposive and snowball sampling was applied. Purposive sampling allows the researcher to hand pick participants in terms of their typicality and relevance (Cohen and Manion, 1989:103). For this study my focus group were Māori women teachers. Participants who had attended a national residential course for Māori women in Educational management held in 1988 at the Frank Lopdell Centre, Auckland, provided a representative group from which to draw my sample. Women were recruited from various parts of the country and were a representative group in terms of tribal affiliations, backgrounds and age groups. Most of the Lopdell Course participants were middle-managers (for example senior teachers, deputy principals, advisors) and experienced

teachers with potential to be managers. For my study, budget constraints, time and accessibility to the participants meant narrowing my choice of participants to eight possibilities from one area of the country. I contacted one of the women (Makere) whom I knew personally and who had been one of the Directors of the Lopdell Course. We met informally to discuss my research proposal in detail and the names of possible participants I had identified. Of the group of eight course attenders, only three women remained in the locality. Makere provided three further names of women who had not attended the Lopdell course but who Makere felt would make interesting participants. This identification by an informant of other people who qualify for inclusion is referred to as snowball sampling (ibid:104).

I decided in the first instance to gain access to the six women through an intermediary person whose task it would be to gain the women's permission for me to make an initial approach. This was based on my knowledge of Māori attitudes and their distrust of researchers and the research process. I was an unknown quantity to all but two of the women and, despite the need for more research that centred on Māori women, they would certainly not miss the fact that this project was also part of a personal credential process (part fulfilment of a Masters degree). Māori have long experienced the 'hit and run' researchers (Durie, 1992) on the credential trail, the benefits of which accrue to the research community. Makere knew all the women well, and she agreed to approach them on my behalf. At this point her position in the study changed from a possible informant to an intermediary. As an intermediary I considered her role important as an advocate for the women and to ensure that their best interests were being served at all times during the research process. I kept Makere informed as each phase was completed but did not involve her in any other aspect of the study.

Once the women agreed that I could contact them an informal meeting was arranged with each person to discuss the project. At this stage, information about the research, the terms and conditions upon which the research was based, ethical considerations such as the participant's rights to decline or withdraw from the research activity at any time, and issues of confidentiality were discussed. Following this meeting, information and consent forms were sent to each participant to obtain their written agreement to take part.

All six women consented to participate. As a group they represent a range of tribal affiliations, backgrounds and age-groups. Although it was not my intention to necessarily seek managers, five of the women occupy senior management positions in various educational organisations and agencies. All the women have been classroom teachers but only one remained a full-time teacher at the time the project commenced. The tribal groups represented are Te Arawa, Ngāti Awa, Ngā Puhi, Maniapoto, Tuwharetoa, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngai Tahu, Ngāti Manawa and Te Atihaunui-a-Pāpārangi. Three of the women, Hariata, Lucy and Adelaide grew up in rural communities while Hera, Pania and Ngatai experienced an urban upbringing. The women's ages range from fifty-five to thirty five. A full description of the women is included in chapters four, five and six.

The Interview Schedule

A draft interview schedule was prepared and a copy sent to each of the women for their comments. This was in line with principles of maramatanga or enlightenment through explanation (Durie, 1992:7). A number of key points provided cues for open-ended questions to generate data about each of the three sites (refer Appendix 1).

Obtaining the participants' informed consent

Initially, as mentioned above, an approach was made in person to the six potential participants to discuss the project and to seek their consent to participate. A full description of the research project, the terms and conditions of the research, ethical considerations and issues of confidentiality, were discussed. This also included the usefulness, expected benefits, methods and possible risks the project presented. Formal letters were sent to each potential participant after the initial meeting which stated the aim of the project accompanied by a request for their written consent (refer Appendix 2). This allowed the women the opportunity to freely consent or decline to participate.

The women were involved in face to face interviews of up to three hours in duration. The choice of venue was up to each interviewee and sessions were tape recorded with their permission.

Consent was also gained for permission to audio-tape the interviews, to use quotes and to use pseudonyms to reference the quotes and thus protect the women's identity.

Procedures for handling data

The participants received information through written, telephone and face-to-face communication. Transcripts were transcribed by myself and one other Māori woman. I transcribed all tapes where the material was sensitive or

the women were known or easily identified by the other transcriber. All editing and/or modifications of the transcripts were a collaborative undertaking between the women and me. This ensured that my interpretations were in line with what the women intended. In terms of the audio tapes, transcripts and computer disks of data, I agreed to hand all such material back to the women at the conclusion of the study. This also included a copy of the completed thesis. The women agreed that information contained in the thesis may be used by me for publication purposes.

Confidentiality

From the outset, the women were made aware of their right to decline or withdraw from the research activity at any time, and their rights to privacy and confidentiality. In terms of identity, the choice of confidentiality or disclosure lay entirely with the women. They rationalised that if they wanted to be frank and forthright about their experiences, particularly in the workplace, they would feel much more unimpeded if their identities and those of other people whom they referenced remained confidential. For this reason the women decided on assuming a pseudonym. Most of them chose their own pseudonyms. A written assurance was given that such rights would be protected at all times. All information disclosed remains confidential.

Particular care was taken regarding descriptions of the women's experiences within tribal customary contexts. This concern relates to ensuring that the mana of a group is enhanced and acknowledging the mauri of tribal intellectual knowledge (Durie, 1992). Where necessary I consulted and collaborated with the women. Decisions about naming hapu and iwi is an example. In terms of the confidentiality arrangements I had agreed to, while I was not able to use the women's names, I was uncertain about naming their hapu or iwi which might identify them. I also knew that replacing iwi names

with a pseudonym was inappropriate and should not be done. Assuming a pseudonym in place of one's own name is one thing but changing names of hapu or iwi is quite another matter. Such names embody, among others, the mauri of tribal intellectual knowledge. Therefore in consultation with the women it was decided that I should name their iwi rather than use the more specific hapu name. In several instances, tipuna names and names of well known Māori people who are deceased, remain in the script where there is no potential harm to the women, their whānau or the whānau of the deceased.

Particularly sensitive data recorded on audio-tape were omitted from the transcriptions to protect whānau members from potential harm. It will remain the responsibility of the women themselves to erase anything from the audio-tapes.

Equipment

An equipment kit was assembled prior to doing the interviews. Two high-quality tape recorders (designed for voice recording) were used, one held as spare and at the ready in case the other failed. Where possible an electrical source was used but as a precaution new batteries were inserted into each recorder after each session. Lapel microphones were used which gave high quality clear recordings. Tape cassettes were the type (C-60) recommended for oral history interviews (Royal, 1992:48). Each cassette was named, dated and filed after each interview.

Interviews

The interviews were held intermittently over a period of four weeks at a venue nominated by the women. These were either at the work-place, at home or in my hotel room. Most interviews lasted up to two hours with some lasting as much as three. Each woman was interviewed twice and approximately four to five hours of audio recording taped. My approach to the interview was to work my way through the schedule and allow the women to talk uninterrupted. I had learnt very early on to keep my comments limited to asking questions and allowing the women's talk to flow. So as they talked I noted down any further points I wanted to discuss or clarify. Most of the women commented on how much they enjoyed the interviews but how exhausted they felt after each session. I realised that the interviews provided space for the women to talk at length about themselves and reflect on their lives which was something that they rarely, if ever, get an opportunity to do.

The interview process followed principles of mahitahi or co-operation and collaboration (Durie, 1992) whereby the interviews were a means of generating theory collectively (Middleton, 1988:132). Besides the interviews the women were involved in reading and responding to the transcripts and the analysis, and reading critically and commenting on my interpretations. The theory developed in this thesis is partly a collaboration between me and the six women. As a Māori woman and an educator I shared many of the cultural, social and political assumptions and experiences as the women in my study. It allowed me to avoid alienating the women's experiences from the cultural and social realities of their lives and interpreting their experiences in ways which takes account of this. Grounding their experiences within a Māori world view and allowing the women to check and assist my analysis of their life-histories minimised any dangers of misinterpretation.

Data Analysis and writing up

In analysing the data I loosely followed Sue Middleton's colour coding system of analysis (1989:134) to extract major themes and categories from the transcripts. This was done in two stages.

First, I read each transcript pencilling in major themes and categories along margins on the transcripts. I then listed the themes and refined them into ten colour coded categories with the themes listed beneath each category (refer appendix 3).

Second, two copies of each of the working transcripts (containing the pencilled analysis) was made, colour coding them to coincide with the categories on the checklist. I kept the working copy intact. One copy I sent to the women for comment and their reactions about the coding, the categories and the checklist. The second copy I cut up according to the colour code. In several instances sections of the transcripts were coded with more than one colour. These were photocopied again according to the number of categories and stapled to the appropriate file. There was a file for each category.

I then read across each file to extract the themes which formed the basis upon which my thesis is written. These themes I wrote up in a separate file inserting quotes from the data, making comments and links to the literature. The women's names and page numbers were listed from the transcripts for easy reference during the writing up phase. It took approximately two and a half months to complete the analysis phase.

The data chapters (4-8) are written in a pen portrait style with a heavy emphasis on the women's voices in the script. There are so few studies which centre on Māori women educators that I wanted as much as possible to record their stories using the 'voices' of the women themselves. My analysis and the theoretical dimension that I draw upon are thus woven into and between the threads of their kōrero. In terms of the analysis, I have drawn heavily from

Māori sources because our own distinctive and localised attempts at theorising our own experiences as Māori women (Smith, 1996:227) provide the most adequate explanations for making sense of our world. As Linda Smith maintains grounding Māori women's research in our own theories and world view,

...has not meant an unwillingness to engage in the wider politics of 'other' women...what it has meant is a prior focus on our own context of struggle because that is the one we must live in...(ibid).

Conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with outlining a kaupapa Māori research methodology based on Māori philosophical understandings of the research process. This is research by Māori, with Māori and for Māori people. Principles of mana, mauri, mahitahi and maramatanga provided guidelines for conducting the research into the lives of six Māori women educators in this study. The theoretical perspective upon which this study is based is outlined in chapter three.

Chapter 3

Towards a Theoretical Perspective

According to Yupiaq scholar Oscar Kawagley,

a world view consists of the principles we acquire to make sense of the world around us. Young people learn these principles including values, traditions, and customs from myths, legends, stories, family, community and examples set by community leaders...Once a worldview has been formed the people are then able to identify themselves as a unique people (1995).

This chapter explores the theoretical perspective of a Māori world view as it relates to power relations between men and women and the role of women in customary society. It is argued that insights regarding the nature of power relations may be gained from an analysis of the cosmological narratives. These narratives provide theoretical understandings about the position, status and role of women in customary society that continue to have relevance today.

Te Ao Māori - A Māori world view

An understanding of a Māori orientation to the world, provides significant insights into a world view that customarily did not perceive power relations between men and women in terms of gender. The cosmological narratives as a starting point provide such insights along with strong messages about the position, status and role women held prior to colonisation.

These narratives⁹ were perceived as a cultural reality and were orally transmitted in symbolic language richly imbued with metaphor. Today they remain relevant for Māori and not merely echoes of a distant past (Metge, 1976:267). Ranginui Walker (1978) for example, has argued that the messages embedded in the *myths*¹⁰ provide cultural images that are reflected in past and contemporary practices and beliefs.

Myths reflect the philosophy, ideals and norms of the people who adhere to them as legitimating charters. Sometimes a myth is the outward projection of an ideal against which human performance can be measured and perfected. Alternatively, a myth might provide a reflection of current social practice, in which case it has an instructional and validating function (p20).

The cosmological narratives offer some insights into the nature of gender relations in customary¹¹ Māori society and reveal how these relations were embedded in cultural values, attitudes and practices. The position, status and role of women as powerful, autonomous, independent beings and as bearers of knowledge are recurring themes. These themes are reinforced in tribal histories of whakapapa, waiata, whakatauki and korero tāwhito transmitted through the generations by both men and women. This perspective provides a basis upon which to examine the lives and experiences of Māori women today. The way they experience their lives, how they see themselves, how they understand themselves in relation to different groups of

⁹Narratives tend to be tribally specific and generally contain minor differences in interpretations. The interpretations here are drawn mainly from Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou and Whakatōhea traditions.

¹⁰Although not the case here, generally speaking the negative connotation of the term *myth* meaning *fictitious* or *untrue* is problematic when discussing concepts that are a cultural reality. My preference is for the term *cosmology* which suggests a broad interpretation that does not undermine or denigrate a world view that is often times in conflict with a western cultural imperative.

¹¹The term *customary* is used as a collective term for Māori society prior to colonisation

women and men, and how they seek solutions to problems arising from their diverse realities within the dualistic world views of te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā. The cosmological themes that are identified in tribal histories may still be applicable to Māori women working and living in contemporary society.

Constructions of women and men in customary Māori society, were grounded in a system of tribal practices, beliefs, attitudes and values derived from cosmological genealogies and narratives that codified and defined the origins of the world, basic elements of human culture and behaviour, the rituals of encounter and the relationships between human beings and nature (Walker, 1990:19-23).

Analysis of the Genesis traditions links the centrality of land to the physical, spiritual and material well-being of Māori; the specific relationship of women and land and the position, status and role of women in society derived from that relationship. (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988:158-9. Jenkins, 1992:39).

Land was regarded by Māori as life itself (Asher & Naulls, 1987:3, Norman, 1992:7)¹² associated with procreation and sustenance as illustrated by the following whakatauki.

Ko te whenua te wai-u mo ngā uri whakatipu.

The land is likened to a woman who sustains her young with milk from her breast. The use of such a simile emphasises the view that woman and land were considered fundamental to life. The benefits for humankind were contingent upon the homology between the welfare of women and that of the land. Women and land were analogous to the well-being of humankind. The

¹²Asher G. and Naulls D., 1987, Maori Land, NZ Planning Council, Wellington.

position, role and status of women were clearly defined in relation to the importance and value of land as reinforced in the following whakatauki.

He wahine, he whenua ka ngaro ai te tangata.

The literal translation of this proverb is often interpreted as meaning 'by women and land men are lost' (Te Awekotuku, 1991:45. Binney and Champion, 1986:26). The inherent ambiguity and metaphor that characterises Māori language allows for a more expansive interpretation. Rose Pere, for example, emphasises the notion that since women and land carry the same nurturing role, without them humanity is lost (1982:17). The significance of this link is illustrated by a definition of Māori terms.

The word for *land* is *whenua*, the personification of the body of Papatūānuku provider of nourishment and sustenance. *Whenua* is also the term used for *placenta*, the lining of the womb during pregnancy through which the foetus is nourished. The *whenua* of the new-born is ceremoniously linked to Papatūānukuā nuku when it is buried in a special place, thus affirming a child's genealogical nexus with the land-*whenua* as *tāngata whenua* (Pere, 1982:17. 1990:2). Furthermore, Pere's definition of the word *tāngata* as meaning *humanity* emphasises a non-gendered translation. The reference then is not that men are lost on account of women but that women and land hold status, are of equal importance and value. Attitudes to women were based on this assumption.

The status accorded women by customary society is reinforced by an North Auckland elder;

...the Māori says there are only two things they would die for, women and land and of course it is true for

kaiwhenua...Nga kaupapa i timata te mea nui he tangata he whenua me nga kai o runga o te whenua. Kore hoki nga kai ra e kore te wahine e ora. Hore kau he pononga o te tangata.

Fundamental principles in te ao Māori since the very beginning evolved around the importance of people, the land, and resources (food) harvested from the land. Without food women would not survive. Mankind, people could not survive (Norman, 1992:7).

The high regard with which women were held in society is exemplified by the non-sexist nature of the language. It is significant that there are no demeaning terms for 'woman' in the Māori language. Kinship terms denote a persons status or endearment. For example, a wife or husband, is known by the phrase *taku hoa rangatira*, 'my executive partner'. Pronouns like 'he/she' and 'his/her' are non-gendered terms, *ia* and *tana /tōna*. The term *tuahine* refers to a revered relationship extended by men to their sisters or female cousins (Kupenga et al, 1990:10). After marriage women retained their independence, identity and social power. They kept their own name and all their inherited rights to land and property (Makareti, 1986:80. Pere, 1988: 9) which gave them economic power. "With the exception of slaves (male and female), the women were never regarded as chattels or possessions" (Pere, 1988: 9). Indeed, power relations between women and men emphasised principles of complementarity and interdependence that were necessary for survival. Survival included the means to procreate.

Gender Roles and Cosmogony

Notions of procreation are apparent within the cosmological genealogy as allegorical expressions based on the assumption that female as well as male principles were essential for procreation to occur. Clearly absent from these very earliest traditions were patriarchal notions of female subordination and male domination such as can be seen in the western Greek tradition of Tertillian's argument that in the sperm the whole fruit was present (Cox, 1987:4). In terms of gender relations notions of complementary roles and a concern for the collective well-being provided a foundation principle upon which Māori society was structured. A closer examination of the cosmological genealogies provides some clues to questions regarding the nature of gender. How are gender relations manifest in the genealogies and narratives? Do the messages therein remain relevant to the lives of many of the women and men (the inheritors of these traditions) in today's world?

The cosmological sequence of creation begins with the genealogical compilation that conveys aeons of evolutionary definition encompassing concepts of consciousness, materiality and time from the first state of existence Te Kore - the void, through the state of Te Po - the dark, to the conception of life within Te Ao Marama - the world of light (Taylor, 1855: 14-6. Best, 1973:11. Buck, 1949:433-38. Simmons, 1985:17. Salmond, 1985: 244-5. Harrison, 1988:3. Walker, 1990:11-12).

Within the primal state of existence, Te Kore, "the realm between non-being and being, that is, the realm of potential being" (Simmons, 1985:17), notions of male and female principles are implicit and provide the earliest impression of the principle of complementarity.

The waiata whakapapa recorded by Te Kohuora of Rongoroa and published in 1855 by Reverend Richard Taylor, depicts concepts which convey notions of growth and procreation.¹³

Na *te kune*, te pupuke
 Na *te pupuke* te hihiri
 Na *te hihiri* te mahara
 Na *te mahara* te hinengaro
 Na *te hinengaro* te *manako*...(Taylor, 1855:14).

By way of explanation, a comparison of translations of the first few lines of this version is useful. In his translation of the lines quoted here, Best describes the concepts (in *italics*) as ‘conceiving, swelling, flowing forth, persevering, the power of thinking, desire and longing’ (1973:11). Salmond’s (1985:244-5) translation is similar to Best with only minor variations. For example, she translates *te kune* as *the source* compared with Best’s choice of the verb *conceiving*., which implies some kind of action. The word *kune* also means ‘to swell’ as in pregnancy, so that the idea of impregnation and germination is also implied.

Whereas Best and Salmond focus here on implicit sexual notions of growth, Taylor’s translation of Te Kohuora focuses on the concept of intellectual growth “...the epoch of thought...” described in such terms as conception, increase, thought, remembrance, consciousness and desire (1855:14).¹⁴

Despite the differences in focus, each interpretation alludes to the notion of growth, movement and creativity. While there are multi-layers of

¹³It must be noted that the cosmogony differs between tribes. See Buck, 1949:434.

¹⁴There are some variations in the orthography between the Māori texts in Taylor (1855) and Salmond (1985), the latter being a modernised version.

meaning embodied within the full cosmological recitals, and these varied tribally, implicit is the allegory of the growth of trees (Best, 1973:11), of plants (Buck:1977:435) and of gestation in the womb (Simmons, 1985:17). As Simmons explains,

Te Kore ...is the realm of primal elemental energy or latent being. It is here that the seeds of the universe and all created things come into being. It is the womb from which all things proceed...(Ibid).

Allegorical references to seeds, the womb, gestation and growth imply sexual notions of procreation. Implicit in these references is the idea that in order to have growth, there must be essential elements for growth to occur. Seeds that are symbolic of the male principle, gestate in a womb, a symbol of the female principle. For growth to occur principles of both male and female are essential. The following example helps to illuminate this point.

Te kore te wiwia
 Te kore te rawea
 Ko hotupu ko hau ora
 Ka noho i te atea
 Ka puta ki waho, te rangi e tu nei...
 (Te Kohuora in Taylor, 1855:16).

Taylor's translation conveys the idea of growth, power and the procreative act of "...(t)he living breath. It dwelt with the empty space, and produced the atmosphere which is above us" (1855:14). Salmond describes the idea of potential, "...(f)rom the nothingness the ability" and of increased

energy and growth “(f)rom the nothingness the becoming”. The act of procreation is “...the wind of growth and the wind of life, lay with empty space and the sky was born”(1985:244-5).

The notion of two elements joining in union resulting in birth is analogous to that of male and female copulating resulting in the birth of a child. The principles of male and female are essential for procreation. The complementarity of these principles in the evolutionary process is founded on the idea that one cannot exist without the other. They are interdependent and complementary. Each principle is complementary to the other and necessary for the creation of the principle of human life, the *ira tangata*.

The theme of complementarity is again reinforced in the sequence that explains how the *ira tangata* was procured and the first human, a woman, was created (Best, 1973:16. Buck, 1977:449-451. Walker, 1990:14).¹⁵ It is the process by which this act was achieved that provides some significant clues to gender relations in Māori society.

The sons of Rangi and Papa concluded that since they were all male the female principle, the *uha*, was essential for the creation of the *ira tangata* and therefore a search for this principle was necessary. Tane led the search and his experimental acts of procreation with female personifications in the natural world had produced trees, birds and insects, but not the appropriate female element (Walker, 1990:14). The brothers concluded that the *ira tangata* could not be derived from within their own realm, the *ira atua* but would have to be created. They then resolved to mould a female form from the red earth at Kurawaka, the pubic area of Papatuanuku (Ibid). Each brother took part in this creative process contributing knowledge and resources, deliberating carefully over each anatomical formation (Buck, 1977:450). Tane was delegated the task of breathing life into the inanimate form to create the *ira*

¹⁵Tribal accounts of this narrative vary. This version supports my own tribal account, that of the Ngāti Kahungunu, as outlined in Buck, (1977:449-451).

tangata, the first human a woman named Hineahuone (Buck,1977:450. Walker,1990:14).

This narrative serves to illustrate a number of points. Although all of the off-spring of Rangi and Papa were male, they were nevertheless powerless to create humankind without the female element. Their knowledge of this precipitated their decision to carry out a search. The search in itself confirmed their powerlessness. The brothers debate over where to search, their decision about the outcomes and the conclusion they reached to create a human form all serve to emphasise the importance and the status of the female element as the subject of hui (conference), kōrero (discussion) and mahi (action). This also serves as a precursor to the involvement of woman in all social and political activities of society.

Gender relationships of complementarity is also evident in historic Native American and Pueblo societies where separations between the strategic interests of women and men were not pronounced. Gender relations tended toward complementarity (Greenman, 1996:53). This is also the case in Aboriginal societies. For example, the women of the Antikirinja continue customary roles and to possess bodies of knowledge that are separate from and complementary to that of the men (Ellis and Barwick, 1989:38).

Papatuānuku is female, the metaphor for earth mother. Her power over humankind was revealed in her forced and violent separation from Ranginui, the sky father, by Tane. Firstly, the separation revealed that she contained the essential ingredient for the creation of humankind, the female element the 'uha', retrieved by Tane after a long and arduous search (Buck, 1949:450-1). Secondly, the power of Papatuānuku was invested in the notion that the procreative potential of humanity was dependent upon the nourishment and sustenance that only she could provide. Located within the sanctum of her body were the realms of each of her sons, the deities of the major resources of

the universe (Jenkins, 1992:39). Papatuanuku contained the female element 'the uha' and Tane the life principle, the *ira tangata*, thus illustrating the complementarity and interdependence of male and female.

The task of searching for the uha and of creating the human form by contributing knowledge and resources also emphasises the importance of getting things right and of having the appropriate ingredients. This theme is reinforced again by Tane who was delegated with the task of procreation. It also validates the reproductive qualities of women that acknowledge her reproductive organs, a most tapu area of the body, as the most significant point of creativity. On entering into the tipuna whare (meeting house), the rites of passage of passing beneath the pare situated above the door, is a ritualistic re-enactment and process of transformation from one state (noa) into another (tapu) that rationalises the importance of women. The pare is most often a carved female figure representing the origin of the life of the tribe, as protection against harmful intentions by any who might enter and to honour an ancestress (Mitchell, 1972:86).

The fact that women were also considered tapu negates commonly held views that only men were tapu. For example, women were considered highly tapu during menstruation and pregnancy. Menstrual blood was considered 'the flow of ancestral blood' and critical in the development of a future ancestor (Pere, 1982:22). Therefore, as Pere contends, the notion of women as 'unclean' or 'contaminated' during menstruation is completely incongruous with Māori thought (ibid). Observances of tapu ensured that pregnant women did not jeopardise their unborn child through over-exertion. Women's role as whare tangata (houses of humanity) was highly regarded, as the following expression reveals 'he tapu, tapu, tapu rawa atu te wahine' (ibid:23). Thus within a Māori world view, the concept of menstruation may be conceived as

signifying both life lost and the potential for life and women's role as the potential receptacle of existence and non-existence.

Towards a definition of Mana Wahine

Within tribal cosmological genealogies which describe the beginnings of the universe, notions of female and male principles were inherently embedded within allegories that affirmed their complementarity and interdependence.

As the personification of land, Papatuānuku provides the symbolic rationale for the physical, spiritual and psychological attachment of Māori to land and in particular the attachment and special relationship of woman and land. The significance of the female principle was also reinforced by the actions of Tāne in his search for the female constituent in order to create the first human. This was Hine-ahu-one, a woman earth-formed by Tāne from the body of Papatuānuku and endowed by Tāne with the *ira tangata* - the life principle. Thus the earthly element necessary to the procreation of humankind was acquired (Best, 1973:16. Buck: 1949:451).

In the generation of life Tāne and Hineahuone gave birth to Hinetūrama with whom Tāne also formed a union that resulted in off-spring. When Hinetūrama realised that her father was also her husband, she withdrew from Te Ao Mārama (the world of light) to the underworld of Rarohenga (the world of night) and became Hinenuitepō guardian and protector of the spiritual welfare of the dead (Best, 1973:18). Her reaction serves to establish the immorality of incest (Walker, 1990 :15) on the one hand and to demonstrate through her actions the contradiction of being at once powerless and powerful. Powerless in the sense that she was unable to undo the violation by Tāne upon her body and empowered by her autonomy, strength and courage to determine her perpetual and irrevocable self-exile and

inevitably to gain the most powerful position of all, that over the mortality of humankind.

The power of women's autonomy can also be seen in the account of the fatal attempt by Māui to gain immortality by entering the vagina of Hinenuitepō. His attempt was thwarted by the fantail's warning that woke Hinenuitepō and trapping him, she crushed Māui to death. This narrative not only provides the rationale for the state of the mortality of humankind (Walker, 1990:19), it also symbolises the awesome power of women over life and death (Jenkins, 1992:39). Women are intimately connected with the beginning of life, the welfare of humankind in the mortal world and after death, with the welfare of the soul. They are at once, the personification of life and death. As Pere states, "mortals born of a female return to the bosom of a female personification, Papa, at the physical death of mortals" (Pere,1982:15).

The power of women's autonomy was evident in the emotional and physical freedom they enjoyed. A measure of their freedom was in their ability to express their views and fully participate at all levels of tribal social and political affairs. However, it was also recognised that not all men or women were necessarily qualified (for example in terms of whakapapa) or skilled to participate as leaders or specialists. Some women, like men, were tribal leaders such as Hinematiroa of Ngāti Porou (Mahuika, 1977) and Mihi Kotukutuku of Te Whānau a Āpanui. There were tohunga like Raiha Piata of Ngāti Pāhauwera (Richardson,1996:61); warriors such as Topeora of Ngāti Raukawa. Many women actively participated in decision making processes at all levels of tribal politics (Mahuika,1973). They were keepers of knowledge and tribal histories dispersed through kōrero and waiata tawhito (Ngata:1928).

As tribal leaders and as active participants in tribal affairs, women were considered rationally autonomous individuals. A Māori woman had

autonomy which gave her personal freedom to move within the boundaries of tribal custom that applied to men as well. It gave her the freedom to maintain her own identity and to exercise control of her own body. It has already been mentioned that women kept their own name after marriage (Makareti, 1986:80) many choosing to remain with their husbands within their own hapu. All matters to do with menstruation and childbirth were controlled by women under the benevolent care of Hine-te-iwaiwa (Ibid:119. Pere, 1982:13). While women bear children it was not considered their sole responsibility for raising them. The whole whānau were responsible for parenting and ensuring the children's welfare and development were secure. However, it was the older generations (men and women) who assumed the greatest responsibility for child-care (Pere, 1982:54).

The power of women to exercise control of aspects of conception and birth was not unique to customary Māori society. In many societies of Aboriginal Australia, women had control over their own bodies (Brock,1989:xxi). For example, among the Adnjamathanha, women controlled all aspects of pregnancy and childbirth including their children's inherited rights through matrilineal descent (ibid).

Economic, social, political and spiritual power, held by women can be found among other indigenous peoples. Traditionally, most Native American nations were matrilineal and it was women not men who were politically powerful (Jaimes, 1992). According to Mariana Jaimes, a Native American scholar, in nations such as the Haudenosaunee¹⁶ most of the clans were headed by a clan mother. Forming a confederation of leaders, these women held the right to select which males assumed positions of political responsibility. A measure of respect with which women were held by Native American's is illustrated by the Delaware nation who generically referred to

¹⁶Six Nations Iroquois confederacy of New York State.

themselves as 'women', considering the term to be supremely complimentary (ibid:317). According to the Laguna researcher Paula Gunn Allen, traditional native societies were never 'male dominated' (ibid:315). She emphasises "to address a person as 'mother' is to pay the highest ritual respect" (cited in Greenman, 1996:49).

The position of women in many Native American societies was strengthened by economic power. Haudenosaunee women owned the land and the crops produced from it. Among the Lakota, men owned only their horse, clothing, hunting implements and spiritual items. Homes and furnishings were the property of women. In order to divorce her husband, a Lakota woman "simply set his meagre personal possessions outside the door of their lodge, an action against which he had no appeal under traditional law" (ibid:318).

Within their cosmologies all Native American nations exhibit an abundant presence of feminine elements such as Mother Earth, Spider Woman (Hopi and Dine'), Grandmother Turtle (Iroquois) and White Buffalo Calf Woman (Lakota) to name a few (ibid 319). In terms of gender relations Winona La Duke, an Anishinabe' writer sums up the Native American experience which also speaks to the experience of Māori.

Traditionally, American Indian women were never subordinate to men. Or vice versa for that matter. What native societies have always been about is achieving balance in all things, gender relations no less than any other. Nobody needs to tell us how to do it. We've had that all worked out for thousands of years. And, left to our own devices, that's exactly how we'd be living right now (cited in Jaimes, 1992:319).

Mana Wahine: Mana whenua

The analogous connections between women and land, and the position, status and autonomy of women that emerge from these connections, are grounded within a cosmological paradigm (Jenkins, 1992:37-45). They provide a basis from which to articulate the collective relationship of women and men to the land. This relationship is most often expressed in terms of identity through a partnership with Papatūānuku and realised in terms of whakapapa.

Whakapapa is the currency upon which one establishes his or her relationship to the land, kinship ties and status within society (Mahuika, 1973. Sinclair, 1975:89. Walker, 1990:70). It is a complex genealogical matrix that, among others, emphasised the rights of an individual to mana whenua. These rights were based on a number of principles that formed the basis of customary tenure. For example, *papa tipu* was based on the principle of occupation. *Whenua kite hou* or *take taunaha* was the right of discovery. The right of *ahikāroa* was based on the notion of continual and unbroken occupation. The right of *take tupuna* was based on the principle of ancestral inheritance or cession. The principle of *take tuku*, was based on the right of gift, *Take Ohāki* the right of a death-bed deposition and *take raupatu* the right of conquest through battle (Sinclair, 1975: 89-9. Pere, 1982: 17. Asher and Naulls, 1987: 3. Pere, 1990:4).

The partnership between tāngata and whenua was premised on the collective responsibility of the descendants, men and women. As guardians and custodians their task was to work to protect the land against exploitation in return for the shared benefits of the material, physical and economic resources within clearly defined boundaries delineated by natural and topographical features. Every feature bore specific names that linked events, activities and customary usage with generations of occupation. This

knowledge was meticulously memorised and transmitted orally by family members through each generation (Sinclair, 1975: 89). Within this context tribal rights to land and the identity of a people were established. Women were not excluded from rights to land because whakapapa and not gender is the governing factor. Mana whenua could also be inherited through women thus establishing their access to economic power (Mahuika, 1977).

An important means of establishing rights to land was that based on the principle of te ahikāroa or the right of occupation and use. Literally meaning 'the long fire' this principle relates to the custody of land acquired by occupation. Continuous undisturbed occupation was an added prerequisite of mana whenua and was primarily dependent upon residence within the tribal area to which the land belonged. Claims to ahikāroa were weakened if a woman (or man) left the district and either she or any of her descendants did not return. The rights to occupation would then be lost and considered to have become cold or 'ahi mataotao' (Sinclair, op cit:91).

Māori Women's theories.

The influences of colonisation effectively eroded the social, economic, political and spiritual power of Māori women. This position was due, in part, to "colonial ideologies pertaining to gender and ethnicity [that] corrupted many of the stories, values, beliefs and practices that are linked to Māori women" (Pihama and Mara, 1994:227). Reclaiming those links remain a priority for many Māori women. Theoretical understandings about the position, status and role of women in customary society continue to have some relevance to Māori women today. These understandings provide a blueprint for social relations between men and women, and between each other within contemporary contexts of whānau, hapu and iwi, and cultural

sites such as marae, turangawaewae and hui. They also have relevance for gender relations within cultural spaces created outside traditional contexts.

In order to make sense of the reality of Māori women's lives and find relevant ways to explain the nature of Māori women's experiences in contemporary contexts it is necessary to employ an analysis that is grounded in te ao Māori. Such analysis finds expression in the term *mana wahine Māori*. *Mana wahine Māori* is a definition used by Māori women (Te Awekotuku, 1991; Smith, 1993) to describe what counts as feminism as it relates to Māori women.

Critiques of Pākehā feminism by Māori women (Awatere, 1984; Te Awekotuku, 1991; Irwin, 1992; Smith, 1993; Evans, 1993; Pihama and Mara, 1994) establish clearly that Western feminism does not take account of the needs of Māori women or the cultural context of their realities. For example, Donna Awatere called attention to the irrevocable differences between on the one hand, the projects of Pākehā women that concentrated on the individual, sex oppression and defining what counts as feminism for all women, and on the other, the concerns of Māori women that centred around the oppression of Māori people (1984:42-5). Drawing from her own experience in the feminist movement Ngahuia Te Awekotuku described the tension between sustaining a commitment to women on the one hand and functioning within a tribal world of male and female on the other. She highlighted the notion that ethnicity tends to sharpen one's sensitivity to racism which, as an integral part of cross-cultural relationships in Aotearoa, is an attitude that does not exclude feminists (1991:20).

Kathie Irwin called for alternative theories of Māori feminists to explain the realities of Māori women. Theories that draw analyses grounded in Te Ao Māori where Māori society and culture are central (1992:4). Ripeka

Evans expounded on this view by pointing out specific differences between Māori and Pākehā feminism. In particular ,

that Māori feminism was grounded in the identity and creation of this country, grounded in the rivers, lakes, mountains, seas and forests, grounded in the war and peace between tribes and families, grounded in the whakapapa of generations of families, tribes, waka, Gods and Goddesses grounded in notions and concepts of time and space that required reclamation and if the price was a re-fashioning of Māori society then so be it (1993:7).

According to Linda Smith, the concept of Mana Wahine Māori, is a broad term that can accommodate a range of viewpoints and analysis. It is a strong cultural concept that takes into account the complex relationships of Māori women to one another, their whakapapa and situates them in relation to the outside world and other indigenous women (1993:61).

The failure of western feminism to adequately address the needs of Māori women is also shared by other indigenous women. For example, women from Native American nations are critical of feminist analysis that does not address the reality of Indian women. An Oneida scholar, Pam Colorado asserts "nothing I've encountered in feminist theory addresses the fact of our colonization or the wrongness of white women's stake in it" (cited in Jaimes, 1992:332). Lorelei Means is critical of the way in which 'white very middle-class feminists,'

tell us we have to move 'beyond' our culture in order to be 'liberated' like them...They virtually demand that we give up our own traditions in favour of what they image their own to be...It was being forced away from our own traditions that deformed us - that made the men sexist and the things like that - in the first place. What we need to be is more, not less Indian (ibid).

Seneca leader, Laura Waterman Wittstock's message was "tribalism, not feminism, is the correct route" for native women to follow (ibid:334). Women of other non-white sectors in America share many Native women's criticisms of western feminism especially in regard to an emphasis on gender. African American Bell Hooks has been particularly outspoken in this regard. She is critical of feminist analyses that tend to focus exclusively on gender and do not provide a firm base with which to construct feminist theory. According to Hooks, feminist analysis tends to either dismiss race or acknowledge the importance of race "and then proceed to offer an analysis in which race is not considered" (1984:14).

Conclusion

Film-maker Merita Mita in an address on feminism and post-colonialism clearly articulated the inadequacy of Western feminism to explain her own position as a Māori woman.

the basis for my presentation is built on the principle of Mana Wahine, a Māori concept which exceeds the boundaries of feminism and incorporates a dimension of spirituality emanating from the primary element of Hine-

ahu-one. I am Maori, I am woman, I am family, I am tribe and only one of the facets of who I am fits comfortably under the label of feminism (cited in Pihama and Mara, 1994:228).

An analysis of the cosmological narratives provide insights into the nature of power relations and theoretical understandings about the position, status and role of women in customary society that continue to have relevance today. Chapter four explores the identity 'facet' of mana wahine Māori that is unexplained by white feminist discourse.

Chapter 4

Home-place

According to Linda Smith the first task of any theory is to make sense of the reality of the women who live within it's framework. This means making transparent the "centrality of our identity and the specific historical and cultural realities which we endure" (1992:35). The centrality of the identity of each woman in this study and their specific historical and cultural realities is grounded in whakapapa and in the customary/tribal traditions and values of their tipuna. The traditions and values of the women were transmitted, expressed and affirmed from within multifarious sites of the home-place. This chapter explores the women's experiences of the home-place and how their sense of home-place was established and understood by them. The discussion which follows focuses on their upbringing, on familial relations regarding the division of labour in the home and models of womanhood that influenced them.

A vision of Home-place

Home-place refers to the multiple sites within specific tribal boundaries. When discussing identity 'home' is employed as a comprehensive metaphor for ancestral place; turangawaewae, marae, iwi kainga, urupa, awa, maunga. The individual and collective relationship one has with these sites may be considered on a physical or metaphysical level.

A physical level may be attained through residency at the home-place and the activation of 'ahi-kaa,' literally 'keeping the home-fires burning.' Or alternatively by the regular return of non-residents who maintain an active role in whānau or hapu affairs.

Non-residents who are dislocated by time, space and distance but still claim their right of whakapapa to acknowledge their iwi affiliations, may have a metaphysical link to the home-place. The metaphysical link could be likened to the emotional link that is attached to the metaphorical 'home-land' of Hawaiki.¹⁷ In narratives of Hawaiki such as those found in whakatauki, waiata and karakia (Ngata and Te Hurinui, 1980; Orbell, 1985:3-11) beneficial things have their origins there. Hawaiki is often referred to as the source of human life (Ibid:15). Objects of remarkable power and value such as plants, creatures and treasures were said to have been brought from Hawaiki. Hawaiki is alluded to as a desirable place (Ibid:16-7). Often references are made in times of loneliness or sadness. The following line from a waiata expresses a woman's desire to be far from the scene of her unhappiness and in the comfort of the homeland;

Ma wai rānei au e kawē ki Hawaiki, ki pāmamao na?

Oh who will take me to Hawaiki, far into the distance?¹⁸

At a metaphysical level associations with Hawaiki may be likened to the connection a person feels when identifying with the home-place of their ancestors despite being alienated by time, space and distance.

Connections to the home-place at a physical or metaphysical level are part of the reality of what it means to be Māori. In terms of Māori realities Mason Durie has stated that Māori Health is concerned with diverse realities and about reconciling the past with the future (1994:1). Such realities may also apply to Māori in any social field including people working in education. The Māori women in this study have a strong sense of their realities. They are

¹⁷For an indepth discussion on the various theories of Hawaiki promulgated by early anthropologists and historians see Orbell, 1985.

¹⁸McGregor (1893:20) in Orbell (1985:16)

realities that, as Cornel West asserts about the African American experience, they cannot not know (1993:91).

What are the realities for the women in this study in terms of their links to their home-place? How were such links developed in the past and how are they understood in the present?

For four of the women in this study, home-places were small isolated rural communities of close extended family. Within these locations a sense of home-place and of belonging was fostered in part by whakapapa ties, together with an understanding of the significance of those ties, an understanding that was consolidated by growing up in the home-place. From this position the women experienced the full gamut of whānau interactions across generations. They gained access to some of the benefits that whānau relationships present. Furthermore, they encountered varying degrees of exposure to tribal kawa and tikanga within a range of hapu contexts that helped to shape them and to define their realities.

Hariata was a child of the war years of the 1940's growing up within her tribal area of Ngati Awa in a *typical...marae situation*. Her upbringing was thus in her tribal home-place and in a 'typical marae situation' endorsed through proximity to the marae which was the central focus of community activities. Her parents "*were always there but [the children] weren't*". Although Hariata and her siblings were not excluded from attending marae hui, the time at the marae was regulated by their parents and restricted to "*during the daytime*." At the time, this was a source of frustration for her. She said, "*I know I used to get quite annoyed because it seemed that everybody in the community were allowed to go to the marae but our family weren't.*"

Hariata maintains that her father established rules of conduct because "*we were nearly all girls...we weren't allowed to do what the other girls did*

and they'd stay at the tangis at night and I remember the boys used to come and ride around on horses when they knew." Her father's concern for the moral virtues of his daughters no doubt underpinned the rules imposed upon them.

Māori language was spoken in the home but not used in conversation with the children because her father "was keen that we should be educated Pākehā." Instead, the adults "only spoke Māori when they didn't want us to understand what was going on." Life within a kinship community provided significant interaction with whānau.

Adelaide was a post-war child of the 1950's who grew up in several rural Māori communities within the tribal boundary of Te Ati Haunui-ā-Papārangi. A large whānau presence characterised her upbringing and her sense of home-place, "all those familiar aunts, uncles and cousins who invariably either lived in -house or visited or stayed a while." As children, they were also permitted a degree of freedom to play and swim in the creek for example, without the constraints of being *closely guarded over*.

Māori language was only spoken in the home by her mother when her mother's whanau visited. "They would speak Māori so they didn't want us to understand, but we never heard our Mother speak Māori other than that. She actually never spoke Māori to us." Both her parents were actively involved in marae activities but it was her father who encouraged their participation. So as children "we learnt to work in the kitchen and work in the dining room" except during tangihanga when their mother ensured that they remained at home.

Lucy, also a child of the 1950's, described her upbringing in the home-place as being *...born and brought up in Mourea and really classed [herself] as being Ngati Pikiāo when in actual fact [she wasn't] really. [She was] sort of more Ngati Pikiāo because [she'd] lived there rather than of direct*

birthright...if [she] wanted to go back in whakapapa [she] could whakapapa...through [her] dad.

Contact with her mother's people of Te Whānau -ā- Apanui consisted of occasional visits some three hours away. While Māori language was not spoken in her home, Lucy heard Māori regularly at the two marae "down the road".

As a child she considered that going to the marae was "really good fun" where "mum and them were working in the kitchen and we'd go down and play around with all the kids down there and then troop home afterward." But, like Hariata and Adelaide, her attendance, and that of her sibling, was subject to parental control "we used to think it was such an imposition to be taken home...afterwards. We wanted to stay of course."

Pānia described her upbringing in the 1970's as "growing up...in two places. Growing up was in Paremata and [she] tended to associate that...with school and with friends there. Weekends [she'd] come home to tupuna, to grandparents and to cousins and to relations. Yeah, that was two growing up places but they moved along side each other all the time." For Pānia notions of home-place were reinforced through returning 'home to tupuna' to her father's parents, made easier because 'home' was an hour from her urban home in the city. Her city home however, was located within the region of her Grandmother's iwi, Ngāti Toa Rangatira. Consequently, during the school week she remained within the home-place of her other tupuna.

Growing up a 'suburban kid' meant being able to "get on a train like maybe how some kids at that time might be able to get on a horse like from Ruatahuna...getting on a train at the back of the house was not a problem. Even at being quite young and knowing what tickets look like, catching buses into [the city] and all that sort of thing wasn't a problem, very suburban kids that we were."

Going '*Home to tipuna*' of Ngāti Raukawa, allowed for regular access to her grandparents. These grandparents did not speak Māori but they lived close to the marae and to the many other members of her whānau who lived nearby.

Contact with her mother's parents and whānau of Ngāti Manawa, was less frequent as the family were distanced from the home place by time (a six hour journey) and space (that of an isolated central North Island settlement). "*We were one of the families who lived away from M so when we did return it was always to a lot of family who would be there to meet us because we were coming from a long way and we don't often get there.*" These visits were therefore special times where "*there was always a very strong sense of aroha in terms of treatment and reception, in terms of being received by whānau.*" Within this context conversation between her parents and grandparents was always in the Māori language but they spoke English to Pānia and her brother.

These grandparents were community leaders and at the marae "*nanny would be out the front as a kuia...I don't think I have a memory really of Nanny being out the back.*"

In contrast to the women discussed this far, Hera and Ngatai were born and raised within suburban contexts physically dislocated from their tribal roots by time, space and distance.

Hera, like Hariata, was also a child of the war years. She was born and reared in a small East Coast town and later in a large North Island City. Her parents were from Ngai Tahu but only her mother had actually grown up there.

For Hera, her experience of a generational and physical distance from her Ngai Tahu roots was compensated by constant references to and narratives about tipuna and whenua of Ngai Tahu by her parents and

grandmother. *We all talked about ourselves as being South Islanders, though none of the children in my family were born in the South Island and neither really had my father been born in the South Island. He was actually born in Hawkes Bay.*

Her sense of home-place and of identity as Ngai Tahu were thus regularly reinforced and affirmed through the stories her mother and grandmother told her and from listening to "...adults swapping stories. So [she has] a huge host of stories in [her] head about places where [she's] never been, about people from the Balclutha. [She's] never been there but the stories were told throughout [her] childhood on a very regular basis in adult company or when [they] were children." Of her immediate family, only her mother could speak Māori. However, Māori language was not spoken in the home, at least during those childhood years.

The marae experience was not a reality for Hera during her childhood as it was for the women growing up in the home-place. Thus, the values offered through the experience of home-place were delivered outside the tribal context in the family home. Exposure to the values inherent in the concept of manaaki tangata is one such example. The concept of manaaki tangata embodies principles of hospitality, of showing respect to manuhiri and is related to the concept of mana (Pere, 1982:67). Within the marae context,

the mana of a tribal group is not only judged by the way they welcome and honour their guests formally onto a marae, but also by the way they house and feed them (Ibid).

For Hera, in the absence of a collective experience within the public sphere of the marae, such values were taught very early in her life in the

private sphere of the family home. Of her parents' and grandmother's teachings she said, *"We had strict rituals when we were children...handing around the cakes, not eating any when the visitors were there...I suppose it's manaakitanga really, that they're teaching at the time. But that looking after your guests was very important and I can remember from a very young age learning how to do that."* And she describes her house as *"always full of people. There were always people coming in."*

Ngatai was born in Wellington and raised by her Ngāti Maniapoto mother and an elderly Pākehā father. She grew up in *"Porirua right at the beginning of the time when Porirua was being established and developed."* This was a housing area built as part of the Government's 'pepper-potting'¹⁹ policy in response to the Hunn Report (1961). Her sense of home-place was fostered through yearly visits to her grandfather in Te Kuiti and by regular return visits he made to the family in Wellington *"because he wanted to keep in touch with ...his daughter who'd run away from home and was not keen in going back...so he had to come down more often than we could go up there."* Her mother's reluctance to return to Te Kuiti meant that contact with extended whānau members was limited to yearly visits. Although her mother was a native speaker she only conversed in the Māori language with her relatives.

Cultural identity and the Home-place

For the women in this study, a sense of home-place reinforces a sense of cultural identity. In the longitudinal study of Māori Profiles: Te Hoe Nuku Roa, Durie et al (1996) have identified seven characteristics that are important markers of personal identity. These are - self identification, whakapapa (ancestry), marae participation, involvement with whānau (extended family), access to whenua tipu (ancestral land), contacts with Māori

¹⁹This term was coined in the Hunn Report to describe the Government's integration policy of dispersing Māori houses among European houses.

people and ability in Māori language (Ibid:7). In this study most of these characteristics emerged as significant for the women.

For Ngatai going 'home' even for once yearly visits, created concrete spaces so that physical links to her ancestral land could be maintained, whānau ties strengthened and the tikanga and cultural practices of her tipuna experienced. This was affirmed by her grandfather's regular visits. His presence represented a physical embodiment of and connection to the home-place.

Hera's pathway home was through oral traditions of the narrative. Edward Said argues that the narrative "become the method colonized people use to assert their own identity and the existence of their own history"(1994:xiii). This was certainly Hera's experience. The stories her parents and her grandmother related and those she heard during the course of adult conversations provided vicarious spaces in her mind with which to construct her sense of a home-place despite a dislocation in time, space and distance. This connected her to a home-place that remained indelibly etched in the hearts and minds of her parents and grandmother and which finds expression in the whakatauki;

E kore koe e ngaro He kakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea²⁰

You are not lost the seeds that come from Rangiatea.

Since she never lived or visited the home-place of her ancestors, Hera's link through narrative is metaphysical. Although it is a connection that is based upon her parents' and grandparents' recollections, it nevertheless remains inextricably bound to people and multiple sites of the home-place. At

²⁰Rangiatea is the sacred place in Hawaiki where the kumara seeds were said to have been taken from and brought to Aotearoa.

a metaphysical level, distance to the home-place is collapsed into space (that of adult recollections) and time (recollections told in the present).

The experiences of growing up in the context of the home-place described by Hariata, Pānia, Adelaide and Lucy reveal five significant threads. These are their physical links to the land, knowledge of whakapapa, living close to whānau, the importance of the marae and their experiences of Māori language.

First, a physical attachment to the land provides a sense of home-place that comes primarily from the position of ahi-kā; that is of having lived in the home-place keeping the 'hearth warm' among close kin. Metge regards attachment to ancestral land as a social and economic asset as well as "a symbol of group identity"(1976:49). There were the day to day activities that centred around an intimate and interactive relationship with land and rivers. This relationship was endorsed through such concrete experiences as Adelaide stoking the fire with manuka from the bush for the smoke-house built into the side of the hill, "*dabbling in the spring*" or catching 'crawlies' in the creek; Lucy white-baiting with her grandmother, helping her wash clothes in the river or pushing 'river waka' laden with flowers across the river behind the launch carrying the tūpapaku to the urupa; Pānia's whānau collecting kaimoana, picking pūhā or black-berries, sorting and grading the potatoes or eeling in the river.

Second, there is whakapapa and the knowledge of ancestral antecedents. Linda Smith maintains that;

When Māori women control their own definitions, the fundamental unit of identity which can make sense of different realities lies in whakapapa (1992:39).

While the depth of each individual's knowledge of whakapapa varied, they all used whakapapa as a referential matrix against which to construct a chronology of significant events in their lives ('when they decided to pull down the meeting house, Aunty Kara died'), to contextualise their life-histories ('we grew up among our mother's people, the Poroporo family in Paroa'), to substantiate claims to the home-place ('my mother is Te Arawa through her father Māui') or to describe their relationship to whānau ('my grandmother and Tilly's mother were sisters').

Third, there is the importance of being close to and surrounded by whānau (which encompasses grandparents and other extended family). Smith asserts that in terms of understanding what it means to be Māori and female, the discourse of whānau is often over looked. Women with strong whānau links take it for granted as part of being Māori (Ibid). They underate this distinction, characteristic of Māori identity. Yet each of these women talked about the significance of having many relatives around them in their lives. They had each experienced the cultural benefits that accrue from living on the ancestral lands and having access to close whānau contact.

For Lucy whānau involvement was characterised by, regular visits, assisting parents with difficult children or caring for the children of sick relatives. Caring for children is a philosophy that underpins the practice of whāngai. Whāngai is an institution that is similar to the western notion of adoption. Customarily it was not regulated by a legal contract or the identification of biological parents concealed. This important practice is arranged for a number of reasons. The continuation of whakapapa or the maintenance of ahi-kā are critical criteria for understanding this institution. Children are often considered as whāngai for childless couples (Metge, 1976:145). Whānau who relocate may leave a child as whāngai for a relative to foster in the home-place to retain ahi-kā connections.

Hariata's mother was a whāngai to an aunt while her sister was whāngai to an unmarried uncle. Lucy's sister was also a whāngai, given as an infant to her parents when it was thought by hapu members that her parents might remain childless. Ngatai described her grandfather's desire to whāngai her so that she could be raised in the home-place but her Pākehā father would not consent. Taking Ngatai back to the home-place would have maintained ahi-kā for Ngatai's mother in her absence.

Fourth, there is the significance of the marae as the locus for whānau and hapu interactions. Metge identifies marae as a key symbol for collective identity. She maintains that "the institution of the marae, comprising both the physical complex of land and buildings and the ideas and practices centred on it" is a significant aspect of being Māori (1976:48-9).

A significant aspect was endorsed by the frequent references to the women's parents or grandparents either being 'out the back' 'in the kitchen' or 'out the front'. Concepts of front 'mua' and back 'muri'²¹ are significant locatives that designate spatial zones of ritual within the context of marae. 'Out the front' delineates the spaces of the paepae, the marae atea, the mahau and by implication the formal roles assigned to those who occupy these spaces. 'Out the back' defines the spaces of the ringawera, the workers, whose responsibility it is to feed the guests. In Pānia's case her memory is of her grandmother 'out the front,' one of the kuia supporting the kaumatua in the rituals of encounter. Given that this space is generally occupied by the elders, it would be safe to assume that her parents would be 'out the back' as ringawera assisting the younger whānau members, both men and women, with food preparations in the kitchen.

This was certainly the case for Lucy who referred to her mother 'working in the kitchen' and Adelaide herself learning to 'work in the kitchen'.

²¹For an indepth discussion on the significance of systems of orientation including muri and mua see Imon, Anne (1978:5-28).

Learning to work in the kitchen is part of the process of apprenticeship which over a life-time will see one's role change and move from the back (the kitchen) to the front (Rangihau,1975:170). However, it should be emphasised that the roles regulated by the 'front' or 'back' space are complementary as endorsed by Rangimarie Rose Pere;

The people who work at the back of the marae-complex, in terms of cooking and catering for the physical well-being of guests, are just as important to marae procedure and protocol as those who have a role at the front (1982:66).

In terms of marae participation, the experiences of the women varied but parental guidance in the patterns of attendance 'only during the day' or 'discouraged from going to tangi' were significant factors for at least three of the women.

Fifth, there is the women's experience of Māori language. While they were exposed to hearing Māori language spoken around them as children, they were never taught by their parents to speak Māori. Māori language was the accepted medium of communication between the adults only. Often Māori was used by the adults as a method of excluding children from adult conversations as was Hāriata's and Adelaide's experience. Parental attitudes towards Māori language bears some explanation here.

These attitudes reflect the influence of a colonial government whose historically expressed contempt was manifest in an assimilationist agenda that since the turn of the century promulgated a powerful ideology of Māori language as a barrier to progress and success in the real world of the Pākehā

(Walker, 1990:146-7). This ideology was encoded in state education policy and practices that saw the prohibition of Māori language from school precincts enforced through acts of institutional terrorism by the practice of corporal punishment (ibid). Such violent acts were common experiences among several generations of Māori children spanning some five decades (Ibid:47). Mihipeka Edwards in her autobiography, vividly recalls her own beatings as an infant by a female Pākehā teacher (1990:28-9). Mihipeka's experience also highlights the compliance of Pākehā women with education policy and their role in administering abusive and violent acts on Māori children.

Adelaide describes her mother's experience. *"...they [mother and other Māori children] weren't allowed to speak Māori and for mum it was her first language and it was get the cane across the knuckles, or around the legs or don't speak it at all."*

Ngatai describes the effect of her mother being *"strapped for speaking Māori"* that rendered her unable to *"participate in school because her first reo was Māori...the only way she could express herself was through te reo Māori...and so whilst she soon began to learn the content she didn't know how to express or respond to it."* Such negative experiences of schooling had long-lasting consequences for her mother as she harboured a mistrust about the importance of education for Ngatai and her siblings for most of her life.

The bullying tactics of a male teacher that Hera's mother endured in her native school as an infant were retold in stories. *"She [mother] spoke no English until she started school...she remembers...in their school room there was a very narrow shelf high on the wall...if they were naughty...I'm not sure whether it was because they spoke Māori...he [teacher] would sit the little ones up on this high shelf...I can remember when she [mother] told me, you could still see the terror of it in her eyes."*

Māori language is a significant factor for all the women in this study, as each woman had mothers whose first language was Māori. Yet sadly, circumstances of the historical moment in which they grew-up meant that not one of the women grew up speaking Māori. Consequently, the reclamation of further links with tipuna through an understanding of the Māori language remains a life-long struggle.

Gender patterns for cultural interaction

The significance of familial bonds are recurring themes in customary narratives expressed in such accounts as the search by Maui for his parents, Rupe for his sister and Tawhaki for his wife (Walker, 1990:16-22). According to Walker such narratives establish the importance within Māori society of the relationship between parents, children, siblings and spouses (Walker, 1978:24. Walker, 1990:22).

A significant factor in both Adelaide and Ngatai's upbringing was their position in the family as the *mātāmua*, the first born of large families. In her family of seven children, Ngatai "*...had a huge responsibility as the eldest in the family...and the eldest girl also.*" Adelaide, the eldest of twelve, was expected to assume "*a lot of responsibilities...I was expected particularly as I was a girl to help my mother look after the younger ones and housework like cleaning, washing, ironing...I then had to take on the supervisory role of my brothers and sisters.*"

Authority assumed or asserted by the eldest over younger siblings is not uncommon among Māori families. Nor is the practice of parental delegation of familial tasks to the eldest child (Metge, 1976:147). However, Ngatai in particular expressed a deep sense of loss as a result of the heavy family responsibilities she felt she endured as a child. She perceived these responsibilities as a *burden* and as *hard work*. She described her loss in terms

of personal time *no time for playing...for me*, the loss of a childhood *I didn't have a childhood* and the loss of personal freedom. The opportunity to go away to boarding school, provided her with a form of escape from the burdens of childhood responsibilities.

For Adelaide her desire for freedom from family responsibilities was also a significant reason why she chose to leave home for teachers' college. As the eldest who *"was always expected to do things...one of the other motivators was to get away from home. [She] was sick of being the oldest and [she] was sick of having all these other kids to look after."*

However as Adelaide and Ngātai indicated, tasks were not only assigned to them according to their customary status in the family as *matamua* and *tuakana* but also in terms of gender. As far as Ngātai was concerned *"it was my brother who appeared to have all the mana. He was the one that was spoilt and looked after...he wasn't given as much responsibility in terms of looking after the family as I had.* Familial relations in the household supported a division of labour that saw the domestic realm within and around the home as being the sole responsibility of the mother and her daughters. Thus the mother *"was the one who was mowing lawns...cause the boys were absolutely hopeless because they weren't expected to do the things that we were expected to do so they didn't do it."*

This pattern of gendered roles was perpetuated by her elderly Pākehā father who in a previous marriage had *"obviously been looked after...and so was quite set in his ways"* and was supported by her mother because she *"really looked after him. She was at his beck and call."* Ngātai maintained that both her parents felt that her mother's role *"was to be a mother and a wife and to have all his meals done and have all the house tidy and to look after the kids and that's what the established roles were."* Her mother's compliance with a subordinated role was in line with the ideal role of Motherhood of the

1950's that underpinned the notion of separate spheres for men as breadwinners and women as homemakers (May, 1988:59). The notion of a woman's place being 'in the home' as the 'homemaker' was further legitimated by her father's total abstinence from domestic duties. As the patriarch "...he never cooked meals, he never made beds, he never did the housework but he never mowed lawns or anything either..."

In Adelaide's case, as the oldest in the family and female, there was an expectation that she assume responsibilities for the care of her younger siblings and the associated domestic chores. The children's chores were loosely divided according to gender with boys helping their mother with outdoor tasks while the girls were relegated to household duties. Adelaide explains; *"I learnt to change nappies when I was very young and I learnt to fold washing and do things like ironing "These were tasks that she resisted because as she explains; "I was never any good at them... I never liked doing those kinds of jobs."* She resented the fact that while *"we girls were expected to do the household chores"* her brothers helped their mother with the outdoor tasks she would have preferred to do, such as gardening. In retrospect, Adelaide now believes her mother's refusal to allow her on the garden was related to her mother being *"of the old school, being raised in the bush"* and Adelaide having menstruated at aged nine. Adelaide said, *"She [mother] used to say I wasn't allowed on the garden when I had 'my friend' as she called it. ...I thought oh rubbish and so I went on the garden...all the kamokamo and all the Māori spuds died."*

Being 'of the old school' and 'raised in the bush' is reference to her mother's education in Māori customary practices. The incompatibility of menstruation (my friend) as a state of tapu and food (kamokamo) and (Māori spuds) as a state of noa endorse notions of customary practice. In this instance, the division of labour was not only by gender (her brothers helped

her mother with the garden and on occasions were assisted by her younger sisters) but on cultural imperatives designed to regulate a positive balance between the states of tapu and noa. In this case, the protection of the whare tangata and the sustenance and well-being of the whānau that a successful harvest ensures.

In some of the indoor tasks the boys were expected to lend a hand, very often showing greater aptitude than the girls. *"My brother...he was always better at ironing than I was...he was also better at doing dishes and things like cleaning the bench afterwards."*

Adelaide's father not only helped with domestic chores, he was also considered a very good cook, even baking her mother's winning entry in the Country Woman's Institute Sponge Cake competition. He also took on the full responsibility for care of the pōtiki, the youngest and last born of the family. As Adelaide explains *"for me that's the complementary role of Māori men and Māori women."* In terms of the familial relations as she experienced them in her family *"there wasn't actually a division and the same sort of thing was done for my sister...it was my dad who would feed them in the morning so that their mother could sleep...cause she'd been up all night."*

This pattern of complementary roles within the family was also Pānia's experience. As the oldest of two children there were no clear guidelines about who did what tasks in the home, but rather it was the job of *"whoever was on hand at the time to do it."* This may have been due in part to the fact that both her parents worked, her mother as a teacher and her father for the railways. So that a pragmatic (everyone pitch in and help) approach was encouraged. Pānia describes the way in which her parents alternated roles according to family needs.

"Mum and dad I felt anyway equally could operate almost as well as each other in the different sort of traditional domains. Mum could push the

lawnmower, could do the work outside except for maybe work on the car. But dad equally would put the washing out and cook and put his hand to the vacuum in terms of those domains...if one was home there was a confidence there that well my world's not going to fall apart just because your father's not here and vice-versa. You kids aren't going to starve because your mother's not here...the way that mum and dad operated...they just filled the gaps for one another and it didn't matter what it was."

But while Pānia's parents demonstrated an interdependence in terms of their domestic roles in the home they encouraged Pānia to take on gendered symbols of femininity²² by having her dress and therefore look *"like a little girl...I think there might've been a few expectations...from mum and dad indirectly because I wasn't a very feminine little girl. I was very much the opposite. I was very much a tomboy, apparently like my mother....I did not enjoy in any fashion being dressed like a little girl...mum liked to dress me like a little girl...I think Dad liked to see me dressed like a little girl with the little tights and the nice little shoes with the bows on...well I hated that."*

The stereotypical signifiers of femininity (Davies, 1989) - the 'little tights' 'nice shoes' and 'bows', were resented because, according to Pānia, such clothing restricted her agility in 'tom-boy' pursuits, *"[i]t was horrible. You can't swing from the clothesline with tights and lovely shoes for goodness sake."* She preferred instead to go fishing, either with her father or brother or on her own. But it was *"a real bonus if Dad happened to be down there fishing already."* Her parents encouraged her independence in their support and encouragement of her preferred recreation in sports and outdoor activities.

In Hariata's family the division of labour in the home and around the farm was shared between parent and children alike and based around the

²²See for example Davies (1989:13-20) on dress as a signifier of feminine ways of being.

conventions of tuakana/ teina. Hariata's parents shared the task of milking the cows and while there were set chores for her brothers and sisters, the boys helped out with milking cows but the girls did the cleaning up. Jobs were generally divided according to tuakana / teina. Thus older children were expected to take responsibility for tasks helped by the younger members. According to Hariata *"there was certainly none of this serving of the boys or anything."*

Her father did the cooking, his hard upbringing having taught him to fend for himself which contrasted with that of her mother who according to Hariata *"isn't a very good cook"* because *"...she [mother] was served hand and foot when she was young."*

Lucy's father continues to provide her and her immediate family with the domestic support he has provided since Lucy's mother was alive and Lucy was a child. He was influenced *"strongly from his mother because he can knit, he can crochet...you know all of the womanly skills if you like because he learnt it from his mother and you were expected to do them. You know if you needed to...he would help with darning of clothes, you did it...it was a job to be done and that's how they lived and that's how we lived. When we were growing up I would help my dad fix the car and my sister would mow the lawns. It was a job that needed to be done. That's the way we were brought up."*

On the face of it Hera's family of the post-war era presents a deceptive image of a stereotypical family. Her father was the sole income earner working as a unionist. Her mother and grandmother remained at home dividing their day between the *"looking after the family mode"* and the 'entertainment mode'. Hera explains;

"...she [grandmother] and my mother used to get up at about four o'clock in the morning and they used to do all of the household sort of things

then before we got up. By the time we got up we had a cooked breakfast and we always had to eat a cooked breakfast or we weren't allowed to go to school...then once they'd got us off to school and got the washing out...this was the old copper...about ten or eleven o'clock they would put on these long flowered house-coats which we would now call dressing gowns. They were long soft material and floral. They would drip around the house in these things for a good part of the day...people would come and whatever...then by the time we came home there was another cooked meal and they were back into the looking after the family mode. But there was a period in the middle of the day where they had this time of refreshment."

While the women remained in the private sphere of the home, they were not excluded from the public world of the father. He would *"come home and talk about how they'd put the case together and all of that sort of thing...he'd discuss it with my mother and my grandmother."* The whole household would participate in the discussions and the children would *"sit-in"*.

Among the siblings, it was the *mātāmua*, the eldest brother Michael, who took responsibility for the four younger ones organising them *"like an army"* into *"lines of ducks and drakes"*, checking them out at each end. While the boys enjoyed relative freedom to move independently from the family property this was not so for the girls. As Hera explained; *"We were allowed to have as many people as we wanted into the property but we didn't go out as individuals except into our back paddock...so the girls were well protected and why that was I don't know."*

Makareti (1986:39) maintains that gender was the main criteria for the division of labour in Māori society. According to Brookes and Tennant (1992:40) this was equally applicable to Pākehā society. However, this assertion overlooks a fundamental point regarding the relative position of power held by Māori women and the perception of their position held by

Māori society, including men. Like men, Māori women maintained personal independence and autonomy within tribal boundaries. Within the public sphere women held significant political roles alongside men. Moreover, women's productive labour in the whānau or hapu was not devalued or seen as inferior to that of the men but as necessary for the collective good.

It has been argued in Chapter 3, that women were not perceived as chattels and that they had established rights to land and water resources. Furthermore, they controlled all decisions relating to their bodies including matters of reproduction, abortion and contraception (Gluckman, 1976 in James & Saville Smith, 1989:24)). The Māori language provides many signifiers of the position of women in Māori society. Tribal and customary narratives recorded in waiata (often by women composers), karakia and cosmology attests to the customary position held by Māori women as autonomous and independent beings. Māori women did not necessarily acquire their status as women through men. Whakapapa is the currency which determines the status of women and men.

In Pākehā society, married women were legally subordinate to their husbands (James & Saville Smith, 1989:24). The English language provides many signifiers of the position of women as powerless, and history recorded mainly by Pākehā males is largely silent about women's lives. Unlike Māori women, Pākehā women did not control their reproduction (Ibid).

The gendered division of labour in Pākehā society was based on unequal power relations between men and women. The domestic roles of the women were seen as inferior to the public roles of men. In Pākehā society, women acquired their status through men.

Māori women and Māori men experienced gender quite differently from their Pākehā counterparts. Therefore, claims cannot be made that the

division of labour as experienced by Māori men and women can be equated with that experienced by Pākehā men and women.

Familial relations in the home in terms of the division of labour provides some useful insights into power relations between and among whānau members and the way such relations were understood. Several patterns of relations emerge that show a complex overlay of textures and the contradictory character of power relations as experienced by the women: these patterns are patriarchal, tuakana/teina, complementary, a combination of complementary and matriarchal, and matriarchal.

First, there is the patriarchal pattern of power relations in which the interests of the women are subordinated in the interests of the men (Weedon, 1987:2-4). This was Ngātai's experience. The Pākehā patriarch (her father) saw his role as the provider of the family and her mother's role as the nurturer and domestic help supported by her daughter. This filtered down through the family, the father and mother providing models of gendered relations within the home. Furthermore, the patriarchal influence was seen to supersede customary values in her father's refusal to accede to her grandfather's wish to whāngai her.

Second is a pattern of power relations based on customary concepts such as tuakana/teina. That is, the rights and obligations of older siblings to younger members. The responsibilities of tuakana include caring for younger siblings. This was Hariata's experience. There was no 'serving the boys' but there was an obligation to help each other with designated chores.

Third is a pattern of complementary power relations as experienced by Pānia and Lucy. Their experience was of adults who provided models of complementarity and an environment in which everyone was expected to assist with a task, regardless of what it was, for the best interest of the group.

Fourth is a model that combines notions of complementarity with matriarchy. Adelaide for example had parents who practised complementary roles in the home. This was contradicted by models of her grandmother and aunts who maintained a practice of serving meals to the men and children first, the women eating separately and later. This also extended to the men and children having priority over the women to the bathroom. For her grandmother the role of women was to nurture, to comfort and to provide for the man. Such practices however, were initiated and enforced by the women perhaps as a practical consideration for the men working away from the home all day. However, within the public spaces of the marae it was the same women who were the primary strategists and decision-makers. The women had the autonomy to make decisions that affected their lives both within the narrow confines of the home and in the wider spaces of the marae.

Fifth is the matriarch which was Hera's experience. It was her Grandmother who was consulted by her father and who 'ruled the roost'. While her mother and Grandmother chose to remain in the private sphere of the home, they led independent lives organising their day between the 'family mode' and domestic chores, and 'refreshment mode' and receiving guests. Furthermore, they were not excluded from the public world of her father's work. He sought their participation in political discussions at home and with many of the union leaders of the day.

One recurring theme that emerged from this study is an unequivocal belief held by the women, that Māori women are strong. This view was based on their lived experiences in the home-place and of their perceptions of women in their whānau who have influenced them. While the emphasis here has been on highlighting the influences of women, the importance of men in their lives must not be underestimated. All the women spoke about fathers, grandfathers, uncles and brothers who have played significant roles in

shaping their lives. The stereotypical representation of Māori men in the image of 'Jake the Muss' that are wedded to a traumatised view of men presented by Alan Duff²³ is not the experience of the women in this study.

Hariata for example attributes her father as being a significant role model. He was influenced by the kuia who raised him. He in turn was a strong influence on Hariata.

Ngatai described the special bond that she had with her grandfather. She said *"he's the most important thing in my life, always has been, even though he's actually been gone for about twenty years, he's a very important person in my life."*

Hera's father was a dynamic influence in her life. His work as a public servant and later a unionist combined his interest in politics and arbitration which influenced his approach to Māori issues of the day. His approach extended to encouraging a social conscience in the young Hera when she accompanied him in collecting signatures for a petition against the 1950's All Blacks Tour to South Africa.

Pānia described her father as gentle and unassuming and as a role model. She said *"I always felt that I was dad's little girl in a sense. I felt that there was an affinity, a particular relationship with Dad and I and that was probably paralleled by my brother and my mum."*

Adelaide's father encouraged her to work at the marae and provided a positive model of male parenting. He was not only a good cook but he also took on the responsibilities of domestic chores and caring for her youngest brother and sister's children.

Lucy's father was strongly influenced by his mother. He worked in Government run work schemes first on a Māori Affairs' farm and later for the

²³see Duff, 1990, *Once Were Warriors*

Ministry of Works on a Hydro Scheme. He currently lives with Lucy, her husband and son and provides a significant anchor for the whānau.

The next section of this chapter, explores the theme 'women as strong' and the various meanings attached to the notion of 'strong' within the context of the home-place and the whānau.

Constructions of Mana Wahine

The image²⁴ of Dame Whina Cooper setting out on the historic Land Protest March of 1975 from Te Hapua marae, her moko's hand held firmly in her own, her walking stick in the other, their backs framing the metal road stretching ahead of them provides a powerful symbol of mana wahine, 'women as strong'. For many in Aotearoa, Dame Whina embodied all that is associated with the spirit of a strong women. She was at once the matriarch, the kuia, the leader, the grandmother, the mother, Te Whaea o te Motu (Jenkins, 1992:45).

Within the cosmological narratives 'women as strong' are recurring themes. Hinetitama because of her courage to remain in eternal self-exile, Hine-nui-te-po because of her power to deny immortality to man and Mahuika because of her knowledge of the universe.

Tribal histories abound with narratives of tipuna wahine whose lives provide a historical template for succeeding generations of women. For the women in this study, the following tipuna provide exemplars.

In Ngāti Awa, the town of Whakatane is named to commemorate the actions of Wairaka who saved the Mataatua canoe from floating out to sea while the men had gone inland (Ibid). Tini Pana of Ngai Tahu stands as an important figure in community and tribal affairs. She also raised a large family many of whom became tribal leaders (Lee, 1994:115). The great composer

See for example King (1983:271).

Puhiwahine of Ngāti Maniapoto and Tuwharetoa wrote waiata that continue to be sung today (Davis, 1994:100). Topeora was an important leader of Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa. Her compositions record many events such as her defiance of the enemy at the battle of Waiorua. She is one of five women who signed the Treaty of Waitangi (Meha, 1991:685-6). One of the other women to sign the Treaty of Waitangi was Rere-ō-maki of Te Āti Haunui-ā-Pāpāparangi (Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau:128) after whom a section of the Wanganui River near the present town is named. Hinemoa of Te Arawa demonstrated great physical strength and determination when she swam the distance across lake Rotorua to Mokoia.

These women are examples of the many who provide a historical legacy of womanhood of an earlier period that continues to have relevance for their descendants today.

The women spoke often about women within their whānau, who helped shape them and who retain a significant presence in their lives. Their mothers, grandmothers and aunts provided positive models of womanhood that were grounded in specific sets of experiences and informed by culturally/tribally specific knowledge. For some of the women in this study, these models were reinforced and confirmed within the wider contexts of the hapu in such institutions as marae, tangihanga and hui whānui. Questions I was interested in were what were the models of womanhood that their mothers and grandmothers assumed? How were such models conceived and understood by the mothers and grandmothers and by the women themselves? In what ways have such understandings influenced their own lives?

Women as 'strong-minded'

Several women talked about a model of the 'strong-minded' woman. Haraiata, for example, described both her grandmothers as strong-minded.

Her mother's mother in fact "*wore the pants in that family.*" Adelaide described three generations of women in her family who were strong-minded. Her great-grandmother had run away from her taumau (match-made) husband after their first child. Her grandmother refused to marry under the same principle. Adelaide considers that her grandmother's daughters, her aunts "*are very, very strong minded women...the women do the hard graft stuff and the hard talking and the men support it. That's what I've been raised with.*" Furthermore, according to Adelaide "*[her] grandmother didn't compromise neither did [her] mother in many respects and neither do [her] aunts. They don't compromise what they believe in at the moment.*"

Perceptions of the 'strong-minded' woman are women who are authoritative, forceful and effective. They are women who make the decisions and strategise (*do all the hard graft stuff and the hard talking*) while others carry them out (*supported by the men*). Other perceptions are of women who had wills of their own, who had courage to make their own decisions about their lives (such as rejecting taumau marriages in the face of strong whānau opposition) and to stand up for what they believe in.

There is, however, an oblique allusion to 'being like a man' with implications that strongmindedness is associated with being male. This is illuminated by Hariata's reference to the grandmother who 'wore the pants.' However, Rose Pere points out the connection between women and the processes of the mind which underpins the meaning of the word, 'hinengaro'. Pere explains;

Hine (female) is the conscious part of the mind and ngaro(hidden) is the subconscious. Hinengaro refers to the mental, intuitive and 'feeling', seat of the emotions. Thinking, knowing, perceiving, remembering, recognising, feeling, abstracting, generalising, sensing, responding and reacting are all processes of the Hinengaro - the mind (1991:32).

Within this view the thought processes are connected to women in terms of both the emotional states of intuition and feeling, and the rational states of abstraction and the 'life of the mind'.²⁵ This view of women as, simultaneously possessing both the emotional and rational states of mind is reinforced in cosmology. Taranga was free to make decisions despite the moral consequences of her actions. It was Murirangawhenua who possessed the formula and the strategy that allowed Māui to tame the sun and successfully fish-up Aotearoa (Walker, 1990:17; Jenkins, 1992:38). As Jenkins points out, in cosmology;

while men have the physical strength women assume the balance of power in the psychological dominance they achieve through the knowledge they have of the universe (1992:38).

Women as 'hard working'

A model of the 'hard-working woman' are descriptions of enterprising and tireless workers. Lucy's memories of her mother are of her working. She said; "*I can always remember her working. She always worked. I don't think she could have survived without working because that was the type of person she was.*" Work included paid employment in the unskilled labour force of the factory floor and later on "*she was a bus-driver before it was in vogue for women to be a bus drivers*" which was an uncharacteristic job for women in 1950's New Zealand. But, according to Lucy "*that was the type of person she was.*"

²⁵See Jaggar (1988:187) for indepth discussion on the exclusion of women in western society from the 'life of the mind' which associates women with the traditional work of caring for the body and men with the 'life of the mind' and the development of the 'sciences'.

Pānia describes memories of her nanny *"in her sixties...and she was one of the toughest, strongest, hardest most hardest working woman I've ever known in my life-time. She would sleep with us kids on a lilo on the hard floor and be up at 5.30 in the morning with no electricity. Furthermore, as she grew older her grandmother was never idle; "Nanny would be making a kete or she would be darning socks..."* The hard work ethic of her grandparents was replicated by their children. *"Mum's brothers and sisters all worked really hard. They were all hard workers like Nanny and Koro."*

Adelaide's mother dug *"huge vegetable gardens"* and helped her father *"split maire and maire's a really heavy, hard wood to split but my mother used to do that sort of thing."*

The ethic of hard physical work particularly for the collective good of the whānau remains an important value in Māori society. The value of hard work contrasts with the disdain held towards the idle and idleness as is evident in the many whakatauki devoted to such themes. For example;

I hea koe i te tangihanga o te riroriro?

Where were you when the grey warbler was singing?

This is a phrase that mocks the idle. The grey warbler signals spring planting and makes reference to the lazy who find their winter food supply is meagre. By contrast the phrase,

e moe i tangata ringa raupā

advises one to marry a person with blistered hands. The hands thus symbolising an individual's worth. According to Rose Pere, work or 'mahi' is

associated with the positive aspect of a person's endeavour and with the intrinsic satisfaction they feel from their contribution to the group (1982:58).

However the emphasis on hard-work, as experienced by the women, was also influenced by the social and historical moment in which they were raised. Hard work was necessary for parents and grandparents to make ends meet. As Pānia describes "*there was Nanny who was hard working and pukumahi...determined by the times, determined by the conditions.*" For Māori in rural settings in the 1950's and 60's, the reality of their lives was characterised by, among other factors, a reliance on subsistence farming, and unemployment which helped to precipitate the urban migration (Walker, 1990:197).

Women as 'assertive'

Models of the 'assertive woman' describe women who are not afraid to challenge or contest issues that they believe in. They are very often women who are articulate and sometimes outspoken.

Adelaide's mother "*in her own way was a local body politician. She was always there fighting for things. She was very much involved in college and school politics and was also known to take the Mayor on occasion*" Such modelling influenced the way in which Adelaide as a young mother dealt with issues, particularly in challenging inequalities that she perceived affected her and her family. Like her mother, she too took on the Mayor by appearing on national television and disclosing the racist policies the Mayor openly supported in the allocation of state housing to local people. The publicity Adelaide generated resulted in a successful outcome and a home for her and her young family.

Lucy describes women in her family challenging male assumptions about the dominant position of men over women in their tribal area. For

example, at her brother's tangi she and her sisters refused to heed a male relative's warning to adjust the order of tipuna photo's they had arranged on the wall behind the casket according to a chronology of descent. The relative maintained *"they're not right...the women shouldn't be above the men which is the Te Arawa practice."* Her sister's response was to declare that *"nobody tells us what happens here!"*.

Her sister's indignation reinforced for Lucy the power relations between men and women in her tribal area as she had experienced them. She said, *"it really came home to me... about [what] I believed... not Te Arawa in general, but our particular area, that the women rule the roost there and they always have. ...nobody tells them what to do. They do it. And whoever, can go take a running jump as far as they're concerned...In our particular area, in our particular whānau and our particular hapu, the women are extremely strong women. And they've always been like that. So I don't see it as being anything different. Where as other people think that in Te Arawa we all have to be little mousy things or something...it certainly isn't the reality for women in Ngāti Pikiao. Never has been. In fact it has always been the women that have been to the fore."*

The influence of such models of womanhood have had a significant effect on the way in which Lucy herself consciously asserts a degree of control over hapu members within the public domain of national hui. At the National Māori Congress meetings for example, Lucy deliberately answers the roll call on behalf of Ngāti Pikiao. She explains, *"I mean this is calculating of course. If I know that there is somebody there from Ngāti Pikiao that would sell us down the creek, I will answer for Ngāti Pikiao. Or I will get my sister to answer for Ngāti Pikiao. For me that's a calculated move because the other people, if they know that somebody else from Ngāti Pikiao is there, they won't stand up and say Ngāti Pikiao thinks this, because there are other*

people from Ngāti Pikiao that are going to hear." Her assertiveness acts as a strategy to counter, keep in check or regulate the actions of other whānau and hapu members.

The strong political dimension of her father's work in the unions was a source of great debates in Hera's home particularly when her father's friends visited, many of whom were "*lively Pākehā socialists.*" Their presence provided debating opportunities for her grandmother who, "*because she'd spent a lot of time being independent was also very outspoken and she used to love it when all these very articulate men came. I can remember really lively political type of debates that went on about all sorts of issues.*"

Descriptions of the 'assertive woman' are models of women who are seen and heard to be assertive and challenging across a wide spectrum of society in Aotearoa and not necessarily confined within the boundaries of the home-place. At the local body level, Adelaide's mother challenged state systems (the local schools) and local body politicians (the mayor) to affect change. Adelaide on the other hand, experienced the power of the third estate to take her case into the nation's living rooms.

Hera's grand-mother provided a model of womanhood that asserted her right to actively participate within the spaces of social intercourse between and among men (including Pākehā liberals) and women that was affirmed by the group. Within the context of the home, she challenged some of the key-players in Union politics of the 1950's.

Within a specific tribal context Lucy's experiences are of assertive women such as her sisters who challenged the assumption held by a kinsman that relegated the position of women in Te Arawa as being inferior to men. As Lucy maintains, while such a position may be relevant for other tribes within the confederation of Te Arawa, it is not the reality of women within her hapu of Ngāti Pikiao. Within a wider pan-tribal context Lucy's actions in answering

the roll-call on behalf of Ngāti Pīkiao at National Congress Hui as a way of monitoring the behaviour of members from her hapu, supports her contention that at least in her area *the women are extremely strong women*.

Women as 'humble'

While 'women as strong' may relate to descriptions of the assertive women, the strong-willed or the hard worker, strong women may also be associated with a quiet-strength, humility and peace-making.

Hera describes her mother as having a quiet strength "*When I think of my mother I think of something that's very secure and steady.*" Her mother's reserved character (*she was the peace-maker in the house*) contrasted with that of her father and grandmother who "*were both great talkers. They loved socialising talk. My mother used to do a lot of waiting on them. She was strong in another way...she gave us huge security.*" The association of women with peace and security is a significant one as expressed in the whakatauki:

He whakahou rongo wāhine he tatau pounamu.

Peace brought about by women is an enduring one.

This phrase refers to a customary practice where, in times of crisis, high-born women were married to secure and to ensure lasting peace and security between warring factions. For example, Kahungunu's daughter Tauhei-kuri consented to marry "not because of love, but because of her father's wish and because it was a convenient way of making peace, thus saving the lives of her father and people" (Mitchell, 1972 [1944]:81).

Pānia described her father's mother as "*the most humblest, unassuming, one of the most gentlest people that I've ever known.*" Humility is highly regarded by Māori generally as an important strength. In discussing the

importance of humility for his tribe John Rangihau maintains that, as an unbroken law from his ancestors, humility is a vital aspect of being Tuhoe (1975:174). But humility may also be considered appropriate as a vital aspect of being Māori.

For Ngatai, humility was a quality her mother maintained as she struggled to raise seven children. Ngatai said; "*she [mother] didn't tell us how good we were at things...you just didn't do that if you were Māori. You didn't show off about how well your children were doing and she was never positive to us. She tended to pick up on things that we needed to change I guess.*"

The notion of 'showing off' is not a quality that is admired in Māoridom. Her mother's restraint in not praising Ngatai and her siblings as children is expressed in the whakatauki;

Kāore te kumara e kōrero mō tōna māngaro.

The kumara does not say how sweet it is

Praising her children would amount to self-praise.

Women as 'holders of knowledge'

It has already been mentioned that in the cosmology women are the 'holders of knowledge'. While Māui may be credited as the source of knowledge regarding the generation of heat and fire by friction (Walker, 1990:18), it was from his grandmother, Mahuika, that he obtained the actual knowledge of fire.

Hera's mother had an extensive knowledge of whakapapa. Her father consulted her mother on all matters of genealogy. Hera said; "*My mother...in her head she had this enormous whakapapa. I can remember throughout my life, my father asking questions and she would recall parts of this whakapapa*

which he wrote down...he gleaned that from my mother's memory of her having to recite it as a child quite early, the whakapapa...I don't recall her ever telling me how she learned it. She just thought she always knew it."

Lucy talked about one of her kuia who held tribal knowledge of whakapapa and the art of taiaha. She is attributed to having passed on her knowledge to tribal exponents, including her grandson Irirangi. Lucy said "...It was her [the kuia] that told him [Irirangi] all the stuff - who was connected to who, how come and all the rest of it...like for his taiaha...that...always amazes me now when you think of how they see it very much as a man's art...Hamuera Mitchell always said that it was women that taught him in Te Arawa.." Women in Te Arawa possessing tribal knowledge is not uncommon. Makareti for example, because of her status and rank as te aho ariki, was taught tribal knowledge, history and genealogy by her elders (Makareti, 1986:20).

When Adelaide's grandaunt died she left Adelaide's mother the contents of a trunk which holds the whakapapa and whānau histories recorded by her grandaunt's brother. When her mother died, Adelaide became the guardian of the trunk.

Conclusion

The influence of ngā kuia, ngā whāea, ngā tuakana in the lives of Māori women is a recurring theme in writings by or about Māori women. Linda Smith describes how her grandmother was a major influence on her life (1992). Hārata Solomon talks about how her grandmother "had the greatest influence in [her] life" (1993:204). Ngahuia Te Awekotuku describes her kuia as being "my most beloved mentor and my strongest influence" (1994:24). Other women such as Kathie Irwin (1992:54), Hana Te Hemara (1994:49), Rangimarie Parata (1994:128) and Piriimia Burger (1994:112) describe the

influence of their kuia and whāea in shaping their lives as women and as Māori.

For the women in this study a sense of home-place reinforces a sense of cultural identity. At a metaphysical level distance to the home-place is collapsed into space (that of adult recollections) and time (recollections told in the present). At a physical level, such links are reinforced through physical links to the land, knowledge of whakapapa, living close to whānau, the importance of the marae and experiences of Māori language. Significant in the lives of all of the women were positive models of womanhood that were grounded in specific sets of experiences and informed by culturally specific knowledge. These were models of strong women (grandmothers, mothers, aunts, sisters and cousins) who have shaped them and who remain a significant influence in their lives.

The following chapter explores the women's experiences of schooling in Aotearoa that emerged as significant. It investigates how these experiences helped shape them and influenced them as educators working in educational organisations.

Chapter 5

The School Site

The experiences of schooling for the women in this study, spans a period of some thirty years; from the post war years of Hera's and Hariata's school-days during the 1940's and 50's; to the baby-boom era of Lucy, Ngatai and Adelaide's schooling in the 1950's and 60's; through to Mihi who was a pupil during the 1970's at a time of intense Māori political activism. (For example, the emergence of Ngā Tamatoa in 1970, the passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1975 and in the same year the Māori land march led by Dame Whina Kupa.)

This chapter begins with a historical context of schooling for Māori women and girls. It then goes on to explore the educational experiences of the women in this study and looks at the way in which their experiences within particular school sites have helped shape them. An analysis of their experiences is presented relative to contemporaneous educational policies. It is argued that not only did the women have to contend with a cultural discontinuity between home and school, but they were also subsumed within a system whose educational aims applied to the education of all girls, and a policy that exemplified an emphasis on home-life skills. A significant factor in the educational experience of the women is that four of them attended church boarding schools. In reference to these women, the role of church boarding schools is discussed and in particular the school's part in the construction of a 'boarding school' girl and a 'cultured girl'.

Educating 'good wives and mothers'

Church boarding schools in Aotearoa were established by the missionaries and their wives (Fitzgerald, 1994), and later by the state as major

sites for the conversion of Māori to Christianity and for their assimilation into a new and 'superior' social order. Mission and native schools promoted an education that was premised on an ideology of the Christian ethic, Victorian morality and the superiority of British culture.

Māori women and girls in particular were targeted as agents of change for the transformation of Māori society from that of savage, heathen and immoral to a civilised, Christian and moral ideal (Smith, 1992:37; Jenkins & Matthews, 1995:16). This transformation was to be effected by policies encoded in Governor Grey's 1847 Education Ordinance which provided state subsidies for mission schools with the proviso that instruction be conducted in English. The policies recommended the removal of children from the "demoralising influences of their villages" and training them "to the habits and usages of civilized life" (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974:100, Walker, 1990:146). Underlying such training was an assimilationist agenda whereby Māori would be civilised through manual work (Barrington & Beaglehole, *ibid.* Vaughan, K., 1993:2). This provided the rationale for industrial training.

Māori men were trained as agricultural labourers and Māori women to become wives of Māori farmers (Fry, 1985: 161) and as domestic workers in Pākehā (missionary) homes (Vaughan,1993:4). Underpinning this new social order were assumptions about the innate racial inferiority of Māori and the equating of Māori to the working class of England (Ibid:3). British cultural practices and images, embedded in the dominant attitudes of Pākehā men towards women, emphasised women's subordination to men. Thus Māori women were seen not only as inferior to Pākehā men and Pākehā women but also to Māori men. Such attitudes to Māori women were not confined to Pākehā men.

The work of missionary wives as educators in the church mission schools attests to their active involvement in an agenda aimed at the social

control of Māori women and girls (Fitzgerald:1993). The assumption that Māori women assumed leadership roles, and a degree of autonomy within Māori society, that were not accessible to missionary women within their own society was inconceivable to them as the following extract demonstrates;

After a regular committee meeting in which Katarina and Ripeka Matenga were (to my great amazement) prominent speakers, they returned as quietly and as orderly as they came (Williams, [1840] 1974:132).

Missionary concern for a perceived immorality among Māori women and girls led to the establishment of boarding schools within the confines of the Mission Stations. These schools were intent on improving the condition of Māori women and girls which was considered "far more degraded than that of the males"(Ibid:7). The women's condition would be improved through their rejection of customary values and practices and their adoption of Christian beliefs. The education of Māori women and girls was seen as a way to transform Māori society into their rightful place as subordinate to Pākehā. This was reinforced by the women and girls providing cheap domestic labour for Missionary house-holds (Ibid:9-10).

According to James and Saville Smith, the promotion of the 'Cult of Domesticity' was central to societal attitudes to women in Pākehā society in the late 19th and early 20th century. These themes were transported as part of the migrants' cultural baggage from Britain (1994:32). The 'Cult of Domesticity' is a construction of femininity which emphasises "women's alleged nurturant and maternal capacities" (Ibid). These capacities were aligned to the notion that women were more morally responsible and chaste than men and therefore the moral standards/virtues of society were the

responsibility of women. Furthermore, this construction of femininity situated women in the 'private' sphere of the home and dependent on men, and men as "actors in the public sphere where they are providers of, and protectors of, women"(Ibid).

The Cult of Domesticity and its practices, together with the images of women it promoted, found expression in an education policy that provided for a differentiated technical curriculum whereby girls received instruction in domestic science or hygiene. The assumption was that a technical curriculum for girls meant preparation for their future roles as wives and mothers. This was coupled with a biological essentialist view which supported the notion that it was the 'natural function' of every girl to be a wife and mother.

The imposition of the 'Cult of Domesticity,' an assimilationist agenda and a belief in the superiority of the British culture converged in education policies for Māori women. A skills and moral based curriculum provided an effective vehicle with which to prepare Māori girls to be good wives for Māori men and servants of missionary women. It was a curriculum that was "to be thought of in terms of activity and experience rather than knowledge to be acquired and facts stored" (Fry, 1985:162). By contrast the education of Pākehā girls was aimed at preparing them to be good wives and mothers and to superintend Māori domestics (Fitzgerald, 1994:10). The perceived outcomes of education for women contrasted with that of men. Some Māori men were taught agriculture and carpentry skills and some Pākehā men "were given the 'advantage of going to England' to be apprenticed to a surgeon" (Ibid).

While the 1877 Education Act established public schooling, the 1880 Native Schools Code, in terms of schooling for Māori, clearly entrenched Pākehā belief systems. The Code not only promoted teachers as exemplars of civilisation but "discouraged Maori beliefs and practices and by replacing

them with Pakeha belief systems and 'manners' " (Smith, L., and Smith, G., 1990:174). The curriculum for Māori women and girls, was designed to hasten the process of assimilation by emphasising English language and culture including sewing and cooking. These goals remained relatively unchanged for almost a century (Fry:1985, 176). This generally ensured that the educational experiences of Māori were not only different to Pākehā but also different between Māori men and Māori women.

A curriculum restricted to instruction in home-life and child-rearing, limited the vocational choices of Māori women to working as untrained teachers in native schools, as nurses or as house-maids for Pākehā gentry.²⁶ Few girls, however, actually experienced schooling beyond primary (Fry, 1985:161).

Secondary schooling for Māori girls was largely established by the Churches within a system of denominational Boarding Schools. The Anglican Church built Hukarere in Napier in 1875, Queen Victoria in Auckland in 1901 and Te Wai Pounamu in Christchurch in 1909. The Roman Catholic Church founded St Josephs as a mission school in Napier in 1867 and the Presbyterian Church established Turakina Māori Girls School in 1905 (Ibid:164).

Originally catering for the elementary education of Māori girls and young women, by the 1940's these schools had gradually shifted their emphasis to the provision of secondary education (Fry,1985:167). Government assisted scholarships provided access for girls from isolated rural areas to attend these schools. While the curriculum remained focused on domestic skills, some schools also offered a comprehensive curriculum based on an academic English grammar school model.

²⁶For example, Mihi Edwards (1990) *Mihipeka: Early Years*.

This latter model, for example, was instituted by Maria Williams the first 'Lady Superintendent' at Hukarere which provided a blue-print that successive Principals followed (Jenkins and Mathews, op.cit:16). Furthermore, customary values inherent in the concept of whānau were fostered and nurtured together with Māori language and the visual and performing arts. This school and the other boarding schools became important training grounds for generations of girls including many from the same whānau (Ibid, 1995). Many women leaders in public life and in the professions were educated at these school (Selby, 1996).

By the 1940's and 50's, although Māori were not officially excluded from places in the state school system, the entrenched hegemony of Pākehā values and structures that pervaded these schools provided effective barriers to Māori participation. In the Māori schools, apart from the inclusion of selected aspects of Māori art, craft and music in the school curriculum, the emphasis was on competency in English language and literacy (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974:241). In secondary schools, including co-educational schools, other barriers included; an emphasis on academic achievement, streamed classes, success in male sports and an efficient cadet corps (Fry, op.cit:171). Streamed classes almost invariably meant differentiation in terms of gender and race. Entrance tests that privileged Pākehā language and culture, meant that Māori were more often placed in the lower 'general' streams of home-craft for girls and technical for boys. Some gained places in the middle 'commercial' stream but few made it into the upper academic 'professional' stream (Ibid:171-2).

The Hunn Report (1960) signalled an era of integration at a time of Māori urban migration. The Report also perceived a 'statistical blackout' of Māori at the senior level of secondary school blaming parental apathy as a major cause (Walker,1990:203). One way the Hunn Report sought to resolve

the problem was to recommend the establishment of a Māori Education Foundation (Ibid). Deficit theories regarding Māori failure in education that had their genesis in a historical legacy of imperialism, continued to find legitimacy among politician's and educationalist's well into the 20th century. Policies were designed to counter and solve the 'problem' of Māori failure blamed on Māori language (the suppression of Māori language from school precincts) and Māori homes (establishment of boarding schools). By the 1960's and 1970's so-called 'advances' in western education theory (Smith and Smith, 1995:181) promoted cultural deficit and cultural deprivation theories which blamed Māori parents (the Hunn Report) and Māori children themselves (Department of Education's Language Programmes for Māori Children). The impact of over a hundred years of schooling and state education grounded in policies of assimilation and integration have had a profound impact on Māori language and culture (Walker, 1990:147; Smith and Smith, op.cit:179). For example, Benton's (1979) survey revealed the extent of that impact on the Māori language. Unless immediate action was taken, the language was threatened with extinction. This is reinforced by the educational experience of the mothers of the women in this study discussed in Chapter Four.

So what were the experiences of schooling for the women in this study? How have these experiences helped shape them and influenced them as educators working in educational organisations?

The Primary School site

Hera's schooling began in a small provincial town with a large Māori populace. Here, schooling was not a "*particularly stressful experience*". She was a quiet, studious child and "*did okay at school.*" However, towards the end of her primary years, her father's promotion in the Public Service

necessitated the family shift to a large North Island City. As a consequence the children entered a large suburban school. Here, Hera experienced a *"different sort of school...it was more sophisticated...boys chasing girls around trying to kiss them...where we used to all be taken out to watch rugby...and sing a rousing song."*

While noting differences between the small-town school she had left and the more 'sophisticated' activities of a much larger city school, she also became conscious of being a minority. She gives an example; *"I can only remember one other Māori child in our class and that child was not doing too well at school and often used to stay away. I can actually remember the police coming onto the school property once to see James about something and I can remember feeling really cut up about it... I felt a real affinity for him."*

It is likely that James experienced some degree of marginality at this school due in part to his status as a minority (the only other Māori child in the class), his difficulties with 'not doing too well at school', his frequent absences and the circumstances that were serious enough to necessitate a police visit to see him at school.

Although not aware of it at the time, Hera too experienced episodes of marginality, but her experiences were in stark contrast to James. Hera, like James, was a minority. Being Māori and a minority were connections which provoked an 'affinity' with James. An affinity which, in feeling 'cut-up' about his misfortunes, recognised a commonality through 'kinship' (they were both Māori) which was made more transparent by a significant Pākehā presence.

Whereas James conformed to a stereotypical image of 'Māori as 'social problem', a genre portrayed in post-war newsreels (Blythe, 1994:83), Hera did not fit this model. She regularly attended school. More significantly, she was academically able to compete with her peers, a factor that caused some concern among them. Hera explained, *"I became aware of the fact that I was*

doing quite well and aware that this didn't sit well necessarily with some of the other children who were also doing well. I met competition in my learning at that stage and I was teased now and again for it...That was a new experience for me. I guess from then on, I went to school to learn and I learned. But I began to notice that there were differences in the way I looked at the world and the way other people looked at the world...I'd moved into a more Pākehā environment. I think that was the difference and I didn't realise it till much later in my life."

Among Hera's 'new' experiences within the school site was her "first encounter" with a competitive environment. One that she associated with school learning and with "the culture and context of the school". It was an environment that over time revealed a disjunction between two world views. The 'way she looked at the world' and 'the way other people looked at the world'. The 'more Pakeha environment' however, did not only relate to the context of the school, but to the social context and suburban environment in which they lived. There were fewer Māori living in their suburb and her father's new job in the city brought the family into greater social contact with people like the 'lively Pākehā socialists.'

However within the spaces of the school site she learned, and "actually did reasonably well at that school" despite the differences that she perceived.

Concomitant with the competitive and individually orientated world of school learning, there was also a "strong emphasis on learning" within the supportive environment of the home. Books, reading and library visits were regular family activities. According to Hera, "there were always books around...when we went to the library or got our magazines...my father always used to say you could go and keep silence in the house for awhile, because everybody would be reading."

Hariata attended the small Māori school near her home. Close links were maintained with the school by her father who *"had a lot to do"* with the Pākehā principal. An uncle also taught there. Her experiences of primary school were positive and these were reinforced by her parents' emphasis on education. Hariata said, *"I used to love school. We had no option, we had to go."*

Her leadership skills were recognised during those early years and fostered by the principal. Hariata explained *"I was encouraged...if there was a speech to be made or anything new and they wanted somebody to start it all, I would always be chosen."*

While Hariata walked to the local Māori school, one of her sister's, who was a whāngai to an uncle, bussed into town to the convent. As children, the sister's discerned differences between their schools in terms of the secular and the religious nature of each school, and of the perceived personal status gained from attending a 'Māori school' compared to enrolment in a 'Pākehā convent'. As Hariata explains, *"because the convent was predominantly Pākehā, I think she [Hariata's sister] saw herself as being a bit above us. And we certainly considered ourselves sort of being below them only because she went to a Pākehā school."* As sibling arguments often focused on the secular versus religious character of the schools Hariata's father was forced to intervene. According to her, *"I remember my father putting his foot down, we weren't allowed to talk, korero religion or anything although my father was staunch, staunch Mihinare [Anglican]."*

Lucy began her primary schooling at a Māori school. But like Hera, Lucy also moved schools during the end of her primary years prompted by her father gaining employment on a Government Hydro scheme. The change in schools from a Māori school to a school of predominantly non-Māori was a positive experience for Lucy. She explained; *"It's quite interesting having*

moved from virtually an all Māori school to suddenly coming amongst these heaps and heaps of Pākehā people in the school. But that was also very interesting, you know quite happy memories."

Lucy's parent's viewed the change in schools as advantageous for their girls. They believed that the new school offered greater opportunities in terms of curriculum and the numerous school trips. For Lucy, her experiences at the new school were characterised by being confident, academically able, and a good swimmer (a valued skill in a Hydro community). Lucy explained, "*I suppose it was a good time for us [Lucy and her sister] because we were quite well known, because we both could swim. We both could do all the activities that were expected of kids of that age and...we weren't very shy at all...we supported each other...academically I suppose we were both fairly secure in what we knew we were able to do and so going to a new school it wasn't like we thought we were inadequate or anything like that."*

Adelaide's early schooling was characterised by a number of shifts to various one teacher country schools. This was at a time when her father followed farm-work employment opportunities around the district. She described school during this period as being "really good." However her move in the final years of primary to a much larger school in the township, was a "real culture shock." The 'shock' was later compounded by her parent's decision to return to the family farm in the country and to leave Adelaide behind to carry on her schooling. This was her first experience of being separated from her siblings. Despite the 'culture shock' of a much larger primary school, the school offered new possibilities for Adelaide. For example, her leadership qualities were recognised and fostered by the teaching staff and although she was reluctant to accept responsibility she was called upon to accept such positions. Adelaide said, "*I sort of got singled out to do things, to be the leader of things which I didn't realise at the time was a very*

important thing and I used to shirk it. I didn't want to be in that position. One, where I had to be in charge of other kids and two, where I had to not only be in charge but to reprimand."

Family circumstances also affected Ngatai's attitude to her early education which took place in a large city school located in a suburb with a significant Māori and Pacific Island presence. Ngatai said she "loved school." There were two reasons for this. She said, "*one is because I was being acknowledged for the good things that I was doing which I wasn't getting at home, and the other was because I was successful...I was being acknowledged. I worked harder and I enjoyed it because people would say nice things back to you...so I loved schooling.*"

School provided Ngatai with opportunities for positive reinforcement she felt she was not receiving at home. While her father emphasised education, her mother's negative and violent experiences of schooling influenced her mother's attitude. Ngatai said that her mother, "*just didn't think it [education] was going to get you anywhere...you'd talk to dad about educational things cause he was the one who understood it all and encouraged us in that area...we just didn't discuss that with mum. I guess we knew that this wasn't an area that she was particularly strong in perhaps.*" Thus, Ngatai relied on her father and the patronage of her teacher Reiha Haare to assist her in planning her educational future.

Reiha Haare's influence on Ngatai's early education and career choice was significant. She explained, "*I had a Māori teacher who...was the one who got me...where I am today...she was the one who recommended to mum and dad that I should go away to boarding school. She was the one who told me that I could be a teacher and she was even grooming me in form one and two...she gave me responsibilities...she would take me to her home...she was...the most important influence in my life I think...she cared and she*

nurtured me all through my schooling... And in fact...if she'd said at the time you're going to be a lawyer...I probably would have aimed for that. But she'd said...'you're going to be a teacher and you're going to go to university because you can do it'. And I know that's why I did it."

For Ngatai her experiences of schooling were characterised by her academic ability, by her receiving positive reinforcement for her successes in the classroom and by the patronage of a Māori woman teacher. Her father's emphasis on learning also helped contribute to her positive view of school.

Pānia also attended a large suburban school situated in a "very waspish community...white, middle-aged. An early yuppie sort of settlement...I mean it's yuppish now, but it was then as well. There were few Māori families. I can think of one and they were Rarotongan...it was very transient...young families, huge mortgages, new homes and the developing suburbs of Willow and Pine Valley." Her parents emphasised education which was reinforced by her mother's career as a primary school teacher.

While Pānia described her primary school-days as positive, the experience was not without the presence of racism and the unsettling tensions that such a presence provokes. These tensions were overt "racial reminders" levelled at her by other children. 'Racial reminders' were " a play on words like black-mail, to black-mail somebody...one of the kids in the class would make a crack and say 'oh Pānia is a black female'...and that 'Pānia was the same colour as a coconut and a bunga'."

In terms of the racist behaviour she encountered Pānia believed that "some were probably more covert...more subtle and probably to a degree...more damaging in that sense." Such as the remarks "grass and weeds" and "a little bit of Pākehā thrown in." that were directed at one Māori boy about his lunch of left-overs from the previous nights boil-up of puha and watercress.

According to Pānia, "*there were undercurrents of that [racial reminders] all the time and by saying that it didn't kick in until I was older it was only then that it was starting to make sense.*"

But despite the constant 'racial reminders' Pānia learnt to live with such behaviour as part of the reality of being a Māori child and a minority at this school and so she remained reasonably positive about her schooling experiences. She said, "*yeah it was a happy time, even with the racial undercurrents and all that. I hadn't really known anything different.*"

Navigating the School site

There are a number of common threads that emerge from the women's stories. All of the women spoke positively about primary schooling, about coping academically with the classroom work, and about parental support for their education. Alternative threads emerged that illustrate the different and sometimes contradictory nature of their early schooling experiences. This included changes in the schooling site experienced by several women due in part to the effects of the social conditions of the time on their families. Also, underlying the women's experiences was the way in which the school site simultaneously undermined their sense of being Māori while privileging them (for example through teacher patronage) thus enabling the women to successfully navigate the school system.

First, all the women describe having enjoyed primary school. For Hera school was not a 'stressful experience' and she felt she 'did okay.' For Ngatai school was a sanctuary. It provided a means of escape from home and a space within her childhood for ways of being an individual. School was an affirming place where she was 'acknowledged for the good things she did' and so she was 'successful.' Lucy enjoyed the opportunities offered through a stimulating school programme and "*trips all over the show.*" Pānia enjoyed

school despite the 'racial undercurrents.' As she 'hadn't really known anything different,' Pānia simply learnt to live with the 'undercurrents'. Hariata and Adelaide displayed leadership qualities and were privileged by teachers who called attention to these qualities by singling them out as leaders. The support and patronage of Principals and teachers was important for Ngatai, Hariata and Lucy in gaining scholarships to enter boarding school, and for Ngatai in assisting with planning her career goals.

Second, their positive experiences of schooling related to each of the women being academically able and experiencing success. Lucy for example explains why she believes her primary days were happy, "*it was good and probably in retrospect it was because I could cope...reading was never ever a problem, anything academic was never ever a problem, so anything after it was enjoyment...because you didn't have to worry about school it was okay.*" She compares her own experiences to those of children she now teaches. She said, "*when I think of some kids at school now, a lot of the time I think they worry so much because they're not able to do this, that school isn't a happy place because you spend your whole blimen time being nervous about 'oh god now she's going to ask me to read' or you know 'now I'm going to have to do this other thing that I can't do'.*" This is certainly the experience of the women in Pihama and Ka'ai's (1991) study for whom schooling was a hostile and negative experience. In the latter study women described the trauma of schooling conditioned by, for example, the denial of Māori language within the school precincts and of having to cope with learning in a foreign (English) language (ibid:8).

Third, education was emphasised by their parents. This contradicts commonly held views at the time which blamed parental apathy for the 'problem' of Māori failure in schools (Smith and Smith, 1995:181). In the case of Ngatai's mother however, the historical conditions of her experience,

which presented a violent and therefore negative perspective of schooling, influenced her view that education was not 'going to get you anywhere.'

Fourth, Hera, Adelaide and Lucy experienced changes in the school site brought about by their fathers' employment patterns. This reflected the social times of the 1950's and 1960's where on the one hand Māori adults sought work and greater opportunities by moving into urban areas (Hera's family). On the other hand, where Māori chose to remain in rural areas and employment was scarce, they had little choice but to follow work about the area either as unskilled farm-labourers (Adelaide's father) or workers on Government schemes (Lucy's father).

Fifth, underlying the women's experiences of schooling was the persistent and saturating presence of hegemonic systems of Pākehā power. This was manifest in Hera's experiences of marginalisation at school and of the discontinuity she experienced between "*the culture and the context of the school*" and her home. One example was the individual and competitive nature of schooling versus the supportive environment of the home based on Māori values of whanaungatanga. She came to view this discontinuity as part of a dual world view; that is, 'the way she looked at the world' and 'the way other people looked at the world' which extended beyond the context of the school and into the social context of the urban community in which the family lived. This discontinuity between home and school supports Bourdieu's argument about 'cultural capital' where "he has demonstrated that some families pass on to their children certain forms of culture, cultural codes and knowledge, which act as a hidden subsidy to their children" (Sarup, 1991:57). In Hera's case, her parents' 'investment' in providing Hera and her siblings with the necessary 'capital' of the school (that is the parents' emphasis on education and on their children being competent readers and writers of English), ensured Hera's academic security and success. However, a

discontinuity existed between the school site and an emphasis on individualism and competition, and the supportive environment of the home based on the value of whanaungatanga (kinship) and support. According to Leonie Pihama and Tania Ka'ai,

the emphasis on individuality, individual success and achievement within the education system operates in total conflict with the Māori value of whanaungatanga (1991:19).

As Donna Awatere maintains, "Individualism means...that being a worker for money the fruits of your labour belong to yourself alone. In the Māori way, the fruits are shared" (cited in Pihama and Ka'ai, *ibid*).

A discontinuity between home and school was also Pānia's experience though not so apparent at first since her assumption was that Pākehā shared a reality close to her own "*that they [Pākehā] at some stage would go and visit parents or grandparent, stay with their grandparents, play around with their cousins the way that we did*" which was whānau oriented and based on values of whanaungatanga. However, coming to understand and 'make sense' of the ugly reality of racism through incidents of 'racial reminders', 'racial undercurrents' and people "*making an issue out of the fact that I'm a different colour*" challenged this view. Her ability to dismiss such incidents "*it [didn't] seem to bother me...it seemed to bother them more than anything else*" was as much rooted in the stability and security of her whānau and a strong sense of identity, as it was in her understanding and insights (*those attitudes [racist] no doubt sort of came from parents, came from the community*) gained through her mother's work as a primary school teacher and by a burgeoning Māori

political consciousness of the 1970's which informed most Māori teachers, their families and the wider Māori community alike.

The impact that Pākehā hegemony has had on the collective consciousness of Māori and the way it shaped everyday life was illustrated in Hariata's perception that the Māori school she attended was inferior to the convent (predominantly Pākehā school) her sister attended. Speaking about the African American experience, Bell Hooks stresses the way in which many black people internalise inferior notions about themselves and of seeing themselves as " 'lacking' as inferior when compared to whites"(1992:11). For Hariata the comparison was not only with Pākehā, but by association with Māori, and in this case her sister. By attending the 'superior' Pākehā school Hariata's sister "*saw herself as being a bit above us.*" As far as Hariata and the majority of Māori children who attended the 'inferior' Māori school were concerned, "*we certainly considered ourselves sort of below them.*"

It is not unreasonable for Hariata to have expressed such a view since schools did not affirm being Māori nor did schools take account of a Māori world view. All the primary schools the women attended were led by Principals who were Pākehā men. As the schools were mainly staffed by Pākehā teachers the ethos of the school was Pākehā. The curriculum emphasised and reinforced Pākehā tikanga, customs and traditions (Selby, 1996: 92). In turn this dominant system undermined spaces for promoting and affirming Māori tikanga, customs and traditions. Representations of Māori were either relegated to a peripheral status as stereotypical images (Blythe, 1994:16)²⁷ or were non-existent. Not only did schools have the power to transform Māori psyche but they also had the power to rename, abbreviate or mispronounce²⁸ the names of Māori children, the teachers most

²⁷Such as the Māoriland cliché permanently encoded in the A.H. Reed children's publications of the 1930's many of which remained in school libraries and classrooms and used as a basis for school social studies programmes through to the 1970's.

²⁸See also Rowley Habib's short story Motu which provides a powerful illustration of this in Ihimaera and

often "unaware of the significance and importance of one's name" (Selby, op.cit:92). It did not help that there were few Māori teachers in these schools and many of them were known for their strictness. This is confirmed by Rachel Selby in her study. Keri Kaa for example maintained that some Māori teachers were "trained in that [author's emphasis] mould, worse than the Pākehā teachers" (Ibid:91). Māori students received clear messages that schools privileged Pākehā language and ways of being.

The Secondary School site

This section highlights the influence of secondary schooling in shaping the lives of the women in this study. Significantly, four of the six women went to Māori girls boarding schools. The first part of this section discusses the two women who attended state schools. The second section deals with the women who attended boarding schools.

Experiences of State Schooling

Hera's experience of secondary schooling at Wellington Girls' College was the antithesis to her early schooling experiences at primary school. According to Hera, "*I learned a lot at Wellington Girls' College, but I never liked it.*" The main reason for her dissatisfaction was her aversion to the philosophy of the school. She explained, "*The reason that I didn't like it [the college] is because of the amount of trust that I had encountered in my own family, their trust in me to be well-behaved, to have good behaviour. The philosophy at the college was that, I believe now, was that children were born bad and had to be made good. So they had a whole lot of restrictions to control bad behaviour and they applied them universally. That always seemed very unfair to me, and so that's one of the reasons I never liked it.*"

The emphasis at Wellington Girls' College on 'good behaviour' and the application of universal restrictions 'to control bad behaviour' was not uncommon in state secondary schools during the post-war years. There was widespread public concern in the 1950's with the issue of 'juvenile delinquency,' a term promulgated by the popular press, politicians and other pressure groups (Middleton, 1988:80; Shuker et al, 1990:11). A perceived decline in juvenile morality persuaded some schools to institute rigid forms of regimentation (school uniforms, lining up, prefects) and discipline (detention, corporal punishment) in an attempt to control otherwise 'delinquent' youth. According to radical critics of the time secondary schools were seen as "unnecessarily repressive, reproducing a sort of 'paramilitary sub-culture'" (Middleton, *ibid*).

Hera's decision to leave school and to enter teachers' college was motivated by her resistance to the restrictive and repressive environment at Wellington Girls' College. Despite Hera having gained University Entrance, at a time when 95% of Māori school leavers did not attain school certificate and only 1% achieved university entrance (Openshaw et al, 1993:74), the college was not confident that Hera could sustain the rigours of university study. She explained, "*the school thought that I could probably go to university but that it would be a great struggle for me and ...I might not be able to get through.*" So she entered teachers' college instead. When asked to give reasons for entering the teaching profession Hera said, "*I was amazed because people had great ideas, like 'because you could go back to it after' and my only idea was because it was the only reason I could get out of school. That was the only reason...I couldn't think of any other reason for going there.*"

Adelaide began her secondary education at Rangitikei College but went on to Taihape College when she rejoined her whānau. Both schools were state

run co-educational schools where there were significant numbers of Māori students.

Her schooling during this period was conditioned by streamed classes, a competitive school environment, school and parental expectations and dealing with peer pressure.

Being academically able, Adelaide was placed in the 'A stream' first at Rangitikei and then at Taihape College, where she was "*strongly encouraged to do the professional side.*" The 'professional side' represented a system of 'subject hierarchy' associated with 'hard' academic or intellectually demanding subjects. By contrast 'soft' non-academic subjects were associated with a 'general' course and subjects like home-craft or physical education (Openshaw et al, 1993:219). Adelaide was the only Māori in her class at Rangitikei and one of only two Māori students in the 'A' stream at Taihape College. She was held up by the school as a role-model for other students and expected to assume leadership roles together with associated responsibilities. Adelaide said, "*I was this girl, this Māori girl who was in the A stream of kids, I should have been setting examples for the others.*"

The school's emphasis on promoting Adelaide as a role-model for Māori students came at a time of increased national awareness of the disadvantaged social and economic position of Māori highlighted by the Hunn Report (1961). The report regarded schools as 'nurseries of integration' so there were renewed efforts to 'solve' the 'Māori education problem' through policies of integration (Smith and Smith, 1995:175). However, the onus remained with Māori children to 'integrate' into a Pākehā educational environment and value system. As a student of the 'A' stream, which represented the academic / Pākehā minority and a curriculum of subjects at the upper end of the subject hierarchy, Adelaide presented a successful model of what 'integration' was all about. Doing 'well' at school meant being able to

succeed within a system that was grounded in Pākehā cultural values and modes of thought. Adelaide maintained *"I was able to do reasonably well at school because I was able to do school work fairly easily. I suppose there was that expectation if one could do it the rest could do it. We were all put in the same category that we were all Māori kids, extremely good at sports, so if we could be good at sports then we could be extremely good at academic school work."*

The pressures associated with being 'the only Māori girl in the A stream' were centred on Adelaide's sense of obligation to her whānau and to the school on the one hand, and on ameliorating the alienating effect her placement in the 'A' stream had on her friendships. Adelaide said, *"I wanted to be friends with the Māori kids but Māori kids didn't want to have anything to do with me...because I was in that other class...I was always in trouble in the fourth form...I was forever having my hair redone."* Her strategy was to rebel and to be seen to be rebelling against a school authority that was intent on constructing her as a leader and role model for Māori children. In rebelling she hoped to gain acceptance among her Māori peers. The outcome of this was her failure to gain school certificate the first time around. She said, *"I suppose in a way...it was sort of like wanting to be like the rest of the Māori kids."*

Her leadership role in the school brought her into conflict with other Māori students. Adelaide said, *"when I was made a prefect...I must've become very arrogant and all the Māori kids were the target for my discipline. It was expected of me and I carried it out to the hilt. If Māori kids didn't wear their berets or didn't wear their caps then I hauled them back into line, if they didn't listen they got detentions. Really awful stuff."*

Adelaide's experiences of secondary schooling serve to illustrate the complex reality of her experiences. One example, is the multiple ways in

which she experienced marginalisation as a minority. As an 'A' student she belonged to a minority group of academic students in the school. As a Māori child and a Māori girl she belonged to a minority within her class and the school. As one of two Māori in her class she was a minority, marginalised from the majority of Māori students in other classes. The extent of this marginalisation was evident in her attempt to be 'like the rest of the Māori kids' and fail school certificate when she was in a class (A stream) of children considered less likely to fail. Furthermore, the school system strengthened her marginalisation by constructing her as a role-model and leader (prefect). As a prefect she was not only expected to carry out school policy but also to discipline any persons transgressing school rules. These persons were most often Māori students and very often one of her own relations.

Ngahuaia Te Awekotuku describes the trauma of being placed in an 'A' stream at a Convent Girls School and the marginalising effect it had on her:

I was placed in the top third form, privileged to learn Latin and French with the yachting, skiing set. I wanted to study Maori; was told that was impossible, my test results were too high. They were convinced they were doing me a huge favour; they were wrong. I was, after all, from down the pa. No different from all those rough Maori wedgies in 3 Vocational and 3 Commercial B and 3 Remove - my cousins, my mates (1991:22-29).

Ngahuaia's experiences were such that she "passionately, passionately hated that school"(ibid). This was not the case for Adelaide who expressed positive sentiments about school. She said, "*I loved school even in spite of the things like being a bossy prefect and ...being really heavy on Māori kids.*"

For Ngahuia, "being the only Māori girl in an all Pākehā class didn't suit me...I wanted to go to a school where there were Māori girls" (in Jenkins and Matthews, 1995:91). She perceived Māori girls' boarding schools as sites that offered a secure environment for girls like herself who had had "such a rough deal at the girls' high school" (ibid). Referring to Hukarere Māori Girls' College Ngahuia declared, "I really passionately, desperately wanted to go to this school"(ibid). Not necessarily because generations of her family were old girls and she had heard many positive accounts of their time spent there. But more importantly, Ngahuia believed Hukarere gave girls who went there 'an edge' and she envied that.

If you went to this school you were special and you had quality people there, people who admired you and you had a sense of direction. The high school I went to never ever had that (ibid).

The fact that many outstanding women leaders attended such schools (Ibid:13; Selby,1996) lends credence to Ngahuia's statement. The 'edge' was the self confidence and self assurance that girls gained in an environment where their interests as Māori and as young Māori women were central.

Was this the experience of the four women in this study who attended Māori girls' boarding schools? What effect did such schooling have on their lives as young women and as Māori? In what ways were their interests and the interests of their whānau served by such schools?

Three significant themes emerged from the women's accounts of boarding school which provide some insights into their schooling experiences. First is the construction of the 'Boarding School' girl. More specifically, the 'Queen Vic', 'St Jo's' and 'Turakina' girl as these are the schools that the women represent. This is important because the women still

strongly identify as Queen Vic, St Jo's or Turakina girls. Second is the influence of Pākehā women teachers and principals in their lives. Third is the 'construction of a cultured girl' manifest in school rituals, school rules and an emphasis on pride in appearance.

Experiences of Private Schooling

The women's experiences as 'boarding school' girls are as much grounded in the history of the schools as they are in that discrete moment in which the women actually attended. Boarding schools were built by the church as vehicles for the conversion of Māori society to Christianity and for implementing state policies aimed at 'civilising' Māori through assimilation. The transformation of Māori society was viewed by the church and the state to rest with Māori women. Victorian models of ideal womanhood viewed women as guardians of morality associated with their role as wives and mothers. The construction of Māori women as 'Angel of the house,' thus conforming to middle-class Pākehā concepts of woman (Jenkins and Matthews, op.cit:15), underpinned the way in which Māori girls were to be educated. This was modelled on English middle-class Victorian girls' schools (Ibid:16), which emphasised, among other things, strict routines and manners (Smith and Smith, 1995:174) and 'home-making' which included doing their own laundry and school housekeeping (Fry, 1985:167). Having the girls do the work, helped cut the operational costs of running the school. A strong Christian ethic underpinned the total educational process.

All the women in this study have grandmothers, aunts, sisters or cousins who have attended one or other of these schools. And like their predecessors, boarding school meant travelling and living for lengthy periods away from home and whānau. For Ngatai, her Māori Education Foundation scholarship provided her with access to St Joseph's Māori Girls' College (St

Jo's) and the opportunity to escape from the responsibility of caring for her younger siblings. Lucy, also on a Māori Education Foundation scholarship, arrived at Queen Victoria School (Queen Vic) with romantic notions of boarding school, *"I had these preconceived ideas in my head of what a boarding school would look like...when I got there and saw this big old wooden building I thought far out it's just like a big house...I had some sort of idea of these huge brick buildings with ivy growing over them."*

For Hariata travel to St Joseph's (a decade earlier than Ngatai) was a day's journey by car. A school teacher aunt was an old girl and this helped sway her Anglican father's preference for the influence of nuns on her life. She recalls when she arrived at St Jo's, *"bawling my eyes out that night and wanting to leave."* Pānia followed in her mother's footsteps by going to Turakina. Her mother had *"painted this beautiful picture about it [Turakina]. I was swept away on the romance and the fact that mum went there too and there was a bit of a legacy there."*

The reality of boarding school life varied among the women in their early years. During her first year Lucy internalised the stress of separation from home and whānau and the strains that boarding school life presented. She said *"I was internalising things and actually not talking it out and by the time I had got to the end of the term, I was a nervous wreck...my body had physically clapped out...but after rest I came right."*

Ngatai's early years at St Jo's saw her gain in self-confidence through, for example, the nuns' emphasis on participation in debating competitions and oratory. She said, *"I was excruciatingly shy...painfully, painfully shy. So when the nuns put me into debating competitions and oratory...it was those opportunities that were so good...I really hated it [the competitions]...but it was so good for me in terms of talking, speaking out to people."*

Initially life at Turakina was a "huge culture shock" for Pānia. She explained, *"It was a wonderful culture shock. The best culture shock I've ever had in my life and it made me realise how much that I had been influenced, how much of a Pākehā I was because of simply being at Willow School."* Being Pākehā meant being naive about things Māori Pānia felt she should know. One example she gave was not knowing how to 'wiri' (shake) her hands when performing kapa haka. The 'culture shock' was tinged with a feeling of loss and the sad realisation of what she believed she had missed out on during her primary school years. *"It was such a shock. When I was all of a sudden surrounded by brown faces, by the majority of brown faces and all girls. It made me realise how much I'd missed out on in Willow, how much I'd missed by not being with lots of other Māori children within a school environment."*

Among her many experiences Hariata discovered the realities of religious discrimination among the girls and in the institutional practices at St Joseph's in the 1950's. Girls made distinctions between those who were Catholic and those who were non-Catholic *"although it wasn't sort of obvious...we always thought anyhow that we were brighter than the Catholics, mind you we were when it came to tests."* School policy ensured that only a Catholic girl could be the head prefect (although this policy was revised when Hariata became the first non-Catholic head girl), the Christian Doctrine prize could only be offered to Catholic girls and it was not compulsory for non-Catholics to attend mass if they had duties. However, Hariata said *"If you were non-Catholic you did the washing, you did the laundry and remember those days there was no hot water. You'd have to get up five thirty in the morning and you'd have to stoke up the furnace."* But whilst such discriminatory practices might be seen to disadvantage non-Catholic girls, according to Hariata *"how it ended up we got the better end of*

the stick." Laundry duty offered a legitimate means to avoid attending mass and access to perks such as thick slices of bread, butter and hot cocoa. The girls' priority was the immediate gratification of humble morsels as sustenance for the mind and body in preference to the deliverance of an ecumenical diet and sustenance for the soul.

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku's comment that girls who attended boarding schools like Hukarere were considered special, is confirmed by at least two of the women. Pānia for example considered that in her experience, being a 'Turakina girl' afforded a certain elitism particularly among older Māori people. She said, *"if you come from a boarding school, you were sort of like a bit of a cut above everybody else...there was that sort of feeling I suppose 'oh you girls are so lovely, not like those other things [non-boarding school girls].'* It was that sort of talk and so you felt quite special with that."

Lucy described how, even today, her 'status' as a 'Queen Vic girl' still holds currency among the Māori community, earning her *"lots of unintentional invites from a lot of people because of where you'd been to school. You know the 'oh did you go to Queen Vic, oh gosh'...so it's like an invite, automatic invite...you get welcomed to the bosom of certain people that maybe are seen to be the elite of the Māori world because you went to Queen Vic."*

The construction of a 'boarding school' girl included a view of young womanhood as 'chaste' and 'moral' and therefore 'good.' It was a view grounded in the historical legacy of Victorian ideals and Christian morality associated with womanhood upon which these schools were founded. The notion of 'good girls don't' is one such example. Pānia explained, *"the fact that ...you're not going to be a person who wants to go to a party with other young people...you're going to be irresponsible...sometimes you wanted to be but you couldn't because of the fact that you went to a boarding school and it was*

Turakina Māori Girls...and good girls don't do that. However, the responsibility of being constructed as a 'good girl' included "not wanting to be like maybe a peer from another group or from another school that wasn't a boarding school person...it seemed the differences were very clear and very plain...apart from the reputation of being a Turakina girl there was also a not wanting to be a non-boarding school person, not wanting to be associated with something that people appeared anyway to sort of look down on." The 'clear' and 'plain' differences between non-boarding school persons was that 'boarding school girls' were girls who were "beautiful sing[ers], always dressed neatly, always being well-mannered, polite, respectful...not naughty, speak beautifully, stand beautifully, hold themselves beautifully." By implication non-boarding school persons held none of these qualities.

Construction of a 'Cultured Girl'

Underpinning a construction of young Māori womanhood which emphasised manners and appearance is the notion of a 'cultured girl'. Here, 'culture' is a reference to two notions in particular. First of all it means those cultural practices of Western aesthetic appreciation associated with the 'high' arts like classical music, ballet, literature and etiquette. Second, is the notion of 'culture' as a source of identity (Said, 1993:xii). Within the context of this study a source of identity maybe derived from the indigenous language and art forms that are grounded in Māori customary practices and beliefs. These forms find expression in waiata, kōrero tāwhito, whakatauki, rāanga and whakairo to name a few.

Essential to the construction of a 'cultured girl' within the confined site of boarding school was the influence of Pākehā woman generally and the headmistress or principal in particular. Most of the Principals and teachers of the women in this study were Pākehā women. The role of Pākehā women in

the construction of an 'ideal' Māori femininity finds its genesis in the work of Missionary wives. These women described themselves as "'boarding' the 'New Zealand young ladies' at the school" (Fitzgerald, 1994:9). By providing a model of pious Christian womanhood²⁹ the missionary wives aimed to change and educate Māori women away from the influences of the kainga to which they would eventually return "much improved and improving". Once back at the kainga they would then change their own families and thus the nature of Māori society (Ibid). According to Tanya Fitzgerald, at the schools the missionary women,

attempted to impose a degree of 'order' on Māori women and girls by regulating their day with a bell by requiring them to dress in identical (European) attire and go about their school work and 'manual labour' in an orderly, submissive, and obedient manner (Ibid).

An emphasis on orderliness, obedience, dress and manual labour have remained a distinct feature of boarding school life. This and the influence of Pākehā principals and teaching staff are recurring themes in the lives of women who have experienced schooling in boarding schools.³⁰

Lucy gave a vivid description of one of the Queen Vic staff. "*Mrs Jones was a Pākehā lady who used a lot of make-up, quite well turned out, not pretty or anything like that. She used to wear high heels and when she would walk down between the desks...she would gaze at the seams in her stockings to make sure that they were straight...she'd be reciting this stuff and we were supposed to be taking notes. Very caustic lady...who would screech,*

²⁹According to Helene O'Connor (1994:15) this model is the Virgin Mary who represents piety, subservience and goodness.

³⁰See for example impressions of schooling by ex-Hukarere girls Eve White, Mary Walker, Eve Magee and others in Jenkins and Matthews (1995) and ex-Queen Victoria girls in Selby (1996).

freeze whoever was looking in the wrong direction." However, Lucy went on and described the Principal of Queen Vic as being "*concerned to have this all round person.*" In constructing an 'all round' person, Lucy maintained that the Principal (nicknamed Pareti) "*introduced us to things that I would probably never have bothered about or ever seen. We would go to the ballet. We would go to the opera. We would go to garden parties at Government house...because that was another entree that she wanted us to know about.*" Besides the 'entree' into the 'cultured world' of Pākehā society there was also the "*drilling of the rules from the 3rd form...so by the time we had got to the 5th form we knew how to mind our P's and Q's.*"

If learning to 'mind our P's and Q's' together with an 'entree' to the Pākehā world of 'ballet' 'opera' and 'garden parties at Gov house' was an important part of constructing 'cultured girls', being introduced to 'a better class of boy' was also necessary. The Principal was not overly enthusiastic about interaction with any of the Māori boys' boarding schools although such occasions did take place, but under strict supervision. Lucy explains, "*Pareti didn't like Tipene [St Stephen's] so we were bussed out there supervised off the bus, danced in the middle [of the hall] under the blazing lights and then back on the bus.*" However, the Principal did encourage visits to Kings College and 'a better class of boy'. According to Lucy as far as the girls were concerned "*I think you got quite cynical because it was like Pareti was showing us a better class of boy type of thing. That was her way of saying well there were other people in the world.*" 'Other people' meant non-Māori boys from wealthy families.

Concern for the moral virtues of Māori women and girls, illustrated by the strict supervision in interactions with boys, is not new within the educational site of boarding schools. Such concern may be traced to the Missionaries and their wives who believed that confining Māori women to

the "geographic boundaries of the [mission] station would prevent them from 'going to the shipping'³¹" (Fitzgerald, 1994:7). Some 150 years later the irony of Henry William's sentiments and that of the Anglican Church regarding the moral virtues of Māori women, is apparent by the complicity of the church and its appointed Board of Trustees in the exploitation of Queen Vic girls as performers for the tourist gaze, to entertain rich patrons and to secure their financial patronage. Lucy explains "*We went to entertain on ships like tourist ships that came in. Now that must have got lots of money for the school...cause they would pay for that entertainment of course...you know a lot of things that the Board of Governors in the church expected of you, and the school because that was their way of getting money.*" In this way the church unwittingly helped foster a stereotypical image of Māori femininity as 'exotic' and 'charming.'³² Interestingly, at a very large function for church patrons Lucy could not remember "*the St Stephen's [Anglican] boys being there entertaining but I know we were. We entertained in this place and it was all because of the promotion of the school and the money.*" While the girls were aware of the exploitative nature of fund-raising performances, a sense of loyalty to the school underpinned their rationale for understanding the need for such occasions and their participation. Lucy explained "*I think probably in lots of cases we actually knew that we were the little puppets on the string...but we also knew I think in lots of ways it was a way of advertising the school and also getting the support of people who otherwise wouldn't support the school.*" The girls also felt that "*we would go to these occasions more to get out and have a look around.*"

³¹Henry Williams expressed concern about the immorality of Māori women visiting ships in port, see for example Rogers, 1961:42.

³²For an interesting discussion on Māori women and tourism see for example Te Awēkotuku (1991:73-105).

At Turakina, the construction of a 'cultured girl' was inculcated by the Principal through an emphasis on 'English' literature and the classics, regimented routines, social hierarchies, pride in appearance and school rituals.

According to Pānia, the Principal at Turakina (nicknamed MJ by the girls) was "*an old school principal, a Pākehā woman*" who was "*very much an iron lady and ruled with an iron hand.*" Pānia credits MJ for instilling in her a love of English literature. She explains, "*From MJ I had developed a love of Shakespeare and some of the classics...that was one of her skills, was in engendering a love and passion for books and for reading and for poetry and Shakespeare and being critical of work by looking. We sort of pulled the English language apart with MJ...she was...directly responsible for a lot of my love with English...even though...you lived in fear. of what on earth she was going to do. Whether she was going to rant and rave and tell us we missed an apostrophe!! That sort of thing. She was a very strong influence within that whole set-up and maybe the routine, the attitudes she had developed and helped to engender a long time before I got there...she'd actually...been a principal there at least eight years I think before I got there, if not longer.*"

For Pānia boarding school life was characterised by extremely strict and regimented routines with "*...half six in the morning wake up, the mahi, domestic duties in half an hour, the breakfast, lunch and dinners that were all time-tabled...you were perpetually hungry...then the school and the prep, the study in the evenings...it was rigidly routined and rigidly controlled.*"

This was underpinned by a pattern of social hierarchies that existed among the staff and pupils "*...the hierarchies that existed were the head girl, the deputy head girl, seventh, sixth formers and then down the tier and you as the third formers were right down the bottom.*" However the hierarchy emphasised a system of tuakana/teina in which the junior girls respected the

senior girls whom they regarded as *"very strong role models...they were women that you looked up to."* In return the senior girls *"were like surrogate mothers"* to the younger girls. An emphasis on 'pride in appearance' stressed strict dress codes and posture aimed to promote and instil personal pride and a positive self-image on the one hand and a concern for the image of the school on the other. These were images the girls were more than happy to 'take on board.' Pānia explained, *"if you left the school gates, we always wanted to look neat and tidy in our uniform...ambassadors of the school, that sort of thing, very much that feeling...certainly was a dictum of the school...developed, shared and taken on board by the girls...it was never drummed into you. It wasn't something that you had to do or was because you carried the mana of the school...that was always an underlying current but it was a wanting to be that way."* Besides a 'neat and tidy' uniform the Principal encouraged correct posture *"not slouching, shoulders back, things nice and even and straight...to be able to stand tall and to have nice posture is a good thing, to be able to walk out and to have pride in your uniform and to feel good about what you're wearing even if it is a uniform that's a good thing."* Good posture was rewarded by the Principal's *"posture award...one of the girls in the school would end up getting a book [that] belonged to the Principal and always went back to the Principal...she would lend [the book] out to one of the girls."* The emphasis on 'neat and tidy' appearance and 'nice posture' coalesced in a ritual of formal 'dress uniform' for attendance at Sunday service in the school chapel. This was followed by an 'old English style Sunday lunch' of *"cold corn beef...beet-root relish...and mashed spuds. It was a lovely...old English style Sunday lunch. Pudding. Pudding too."*

Hariata did not single out the Principal of St Joseph's but spoke instead about the influence of the 'nuns' as a collective entity including the one Māori nun. Nuns according to Hariata *"were always right, so that you couldn't*

complain about them" to parents for example. As third formers she and other girls believed that *"nuns were born nuns...straight from heaven. You know they weren't human."* Thus, nuns were to be *"looked up to"* considered the absolute *"authority"*, and since they were 'born straight from heaven' they were 'always right.' Their dedication to the well-being of the girls, evident, for example, in the long hours they kept *"looking after the girls in the hostel...up at 5.30 am...to say their offices...back in the classroom at 8.30 am...the things...they used to do for the girls,"* made the nuns models of 'Christian piety' and 'devotion' to be *"revered."* According to Hariata the nuns were women who *"had their own set ideas on how we should have been brought up. Very strict. Victorian. And yet...in hindsight, I can say it was strict but I don't think we were unhappy...the restrictions that they put on us here...it was the same as what I got at home."*

The girls were encouraged to enter public speaking competitions, between Catholic schools, such as the prestigious O'Shea Sheild. At these annual competitions, held in major city centres, the girls were billeted with Pākehā families. For Hariata, it was an experience where she felt *"very uncomfortable, I really didn't enjoy it."* However, despite the discomfort of billeting, of being the only Māori school participating and of competing against such stiff competition as Relda Familton (*every time she came through, well, it was just hopeless...because we knew Relda ...would get it[win the competition]*) according to Hariata, *"I felt that that competition actually did influence a lot of the girls...because that was our contact with Pākehā."* And since 'contact with Pākehā' was limited, the nuns also ensured the girls were coached sufficiently so that their *"Māori girls weren't going to go there and sort of look out of place."*

By the time Ngatai entered St Jo's a decade later, some changes were evident in the composition of the teaching staff that now included several lay

people. However, the influence of the nuns was still very evident. Like Hariata, Ngatai spoke about the nuns' emphasis on oratory, debating competitions and elocution lessons which were a *"very important part of the school programme."* Such experiences helped the *"excrutiatingly shy"* Ngatai gain in self confidence to *"speak out to people and things"* and to eventually develop leadership skills and take on the role as *"Head Prefect...and captaining all sorts of sports teams and debating teams...our famous choir and the kapa haka."*

While the construction of a 'cultured girl' emphasised an image of femininity constructed around an ideal of western notions of 'cultured' womanhood, there was also support for a Māori femininity based in part on performance (kapa haka) and the Māori language.

In terms of the Māori language, contrary to the schooling experiences of their mothers, the women who attended boarding school experienced Māori language as an essential part of the school curriculum. Lucy described her experiences of learning Māori under the tutelage of Hoani Waititi and even when he was ill in hospital *"part of our work we had to do was to write letters to him at the hospital and it had to be in Māori."* Hariata was taught by *"one of the best teachers of Māori I've ever had"* a non-Māori nun, while ten years later the only Māori nun at St Jo's taught Māori and tutored Ngatai. For Pānia learning the language helped provide access to *"a world that I felt that I belonged to."* It was recognising the need to provide such opportunities that led one headmistress to say *"you couldn't refuse to include Māori without taking away their self-respect"*(quoted in Fry, 1985:167).

All the women mentioned kapa haka and participating in the school choir as part of their boarding school experience. Lucy's description of performance as a fund-raising venture demonstrates the potential for the exploitation of Māori girls by constructing stereotypical models in the tourist

image of Māori 'maiden'. This is a real concern for Hariata in her current position as Principal of a large secondary school. She receives many offers from various sectors of the community for the Māori girls in her school to perform. She explains, "*There are...phone calls for the girls to go out and entertain...we've become known as...that's the only sort of thing we're good at...they've [the girls] certainly got a distinctive sound...I always respond to TPK [Te Puni Kōkiri] and the Ministry [education] cause I always feel there might be something for us in it at the end of the line.*" However Hariata cautions against receiving payment for the girls' 'entertainment'. "*I sometimes think that that [receiving payment] can be dangerous you know. We might be imparting the wrong information...it becomes too general...or we can dial a 'Maaori girl.'*" [Hariata's emphasis]

While there may be reasons to be cautious about public performances, there was a strong feeling among several of the women that involvement in kapa haka performance at school provided significant spaces for ways of being Māori.

For Ngatai it gave her self confidence and an affirmation of her strengths. She said, "*I knew I was good at music and enjoyed music. So to have that confirmed and I knew that I was capable so that to have that affirmed was really good for me as a Māori person.*"

For Pānia it was yet another pathway to 'a world she felt that she belonged to' and the development of a sense of self as a young Māori woman. A springboard for this was the kapa haka competition, the most prestigious and fiercely competitive school event of the year. Pānia explained; "*Each house would have a set programme - whakaeke [march on], a poi, a waiata-a-ringa [action song] a waiata tāwhito [customary chant], a himene [hymn], a march off...the girls were responsible for contributing...the songs...so we would have a whakaeke from Tuhoe, with a waiata-a -ringa or a poi from*

Ngāti Pōrou. There would be this amalgamation of waiata and song and culture and tikanga from all these different iwi, depending on who brought them or who was allowed to bring them...we would have some girls who would specifically go back and ask their kuia or their kaumātua or their whānau, can we sing this song? It was always an absolutely amazing evening. Just to watch and to see what the other houses, their songs were. You'd cheer and clap and cry and feel all the emotions under the sun...that was a collective effort practised hard, worked really hard at, as a house. A great sense of achievement if your house happened to win...the follow-up to all that was the excitement of learning, if we were allowed, some of the songs from the other houses and being in turn a tutoring sort of role by teaching some of the other girls who weren't in your house a song that your house sung."

There are some important understandings outlined by Pānia which provide insights into ways in which the girls as Māori and as members of particular hapu and iwi, were affirmed through their involvement in kapa haka. These were through access to and sharing of tribal knowledge, through an understanding of cultural values attached to such knowledge and through an intrinsically motivated experience of collective expression.

First, is access to inter-tribal resources (language, waiata, culture and tikanga) and the tribal-specific history that each waiata conveys. The significance of waiata is expressed in the words of Sir Apriana Ngāta "nga taonga a o tatau tipuna - treasures of our ancestors" that refers to the collection of songs he gathered together in *Nga Moteatea* (Ngata and te Hurinui, [1961] 1974:x-xi). Access to such treasures not only provided the girls with an opportunity to engage with the thoughts, ideas and expressions of ancestors. But also, since women as a group predominate as composers (ibid:xi) it is very likely that at some stage the girls gained understandings about particular events told through the waiata from the perspective of women.

Second, as 'nga taonga a o tatau tipuna,' the values and knowledge inherent therein are matters of tribal significance. Understandings about the cultural importance of knowledge together with the assumption that all such knowledge demands respect, underpinned the actions of the girls who sought permission to use tribal waiata from kaumatua and kuia. As John Rangihau maintains, this is particularly important for younger people who need the guidance of elders in all matters to do with tribal knowledge and history (Rangihau, 1975:10-13).

Third, there is the intrinsic value of having shared in the collective success and achievement of creative expression and interpretation. Within Māoridom this, together with a knowledge and understanding of Māori language and tikanga underpinned by tribal specificity's, would be part of the shaping of a 'cultured girl.'

Beyond the School site

Historically the curriculum for Māori women and girls was subsumed within a curriculum for all girls which was restricted to instruction in home-life and child-rearing. Overtime this has remained unchanged thus limiting the vocational choices of Māori women to working as nurses, teachers or house-keepers.

In terms of career choice, the experiences among the women in this study varied. For Hera, in her efforts to convince her parents to allow her to leave school early, it was her father who offered her the choice of pursuing a career in one of the 'helping' professions (dental nursing, teaching or nursing). This was in contrast to his expectation that Hera's brother pursue a university education and study dentistry. After consulting with a vocational guidance officer friend, Hera's father "*decided teachers' college was probably a better option.*"

According to Hariata at St Josephs girls were steered into "*government departments, teaching and nursing.*" Although careers advice was offered by an external advisor, the advisor's expectation of the girls was not high. According to Hariata, "*I asked the question what qualifications would I need for secondary [teaching]...the woman sort of...put me off as if to say it's above your level girl-oh, you're way out.*" However, after gaining University Entrance (Hariata was the first St Jo's girl to do so) the Principal encouraged her to go to university.

Lucy said that at Queen Vic girls were generally encouraged to take up teaching or nursing. Although the girls received no careers advice or programme, the Principal did show an interest by taking Lucy and a small group to visit a university and teachers' college, collecting enrolment forms in case any of the girls were interested.

In contrast to Hariata's experience at St Jo's, Ngatai maintained that whilst the teachers had high expectations for the girls academically, this did not extend to future career prospects. She said, "*girls who were seen to be intelligent ones, the intellectual ones were only ever told that the highest that they could reach would be a teacher...you're intelligent so you're going to be a teacher. Other girls were told to go and do typing.*" The curriculum was limited with maths offered up to the fourth form only thus restricting career options for girls at this school to primary teaching and nursing. Ngatai's first choice of career was nursing but teachers at St Jo's considered nursing to be an inferior choice for intelligent girls to teaching.

A narrow subject choice was also Pānia's experience at Turakina. Senior girls remained boarders but attended a local state school as day pupils. This was also the case for Hariata at St Jo's and Lucy at Queen Vic. The narrow subject choice at Turakina limited the girls' choices at the senior level in the State school. Teachers at Turakina had high expectations of the girls

and academic work was stressed. This contrasted with the State school where there was not the degree of academic support offered the girls as compared to that offered by staff at Turakina.

Conclusion

The educational experiences of the women in this study illustrate the complex positioning of Māori women and girls within the education system. All of the women recalled positive experiences of schooling related to being able to cope academically and therefore experiencing success. This was further reinforced by parental emphasis on education that contradicted commonly held views which blamed parental apathy for Māori failure. Despite the successes however, all the women experienced the cultural discontinuity between home and school. This was manifest, for example, in racist attitudes among peers (Pānia), multiple experiences of marginalisation (Hera and Adelaide) and in a curriculum that reinforced the supremacy of Pākehā culture and tikanga (all primary schools and the two state secondary schools attended by Hera and Adelaide). By contrast, the Māori boarding schools perpetuated notions of the 'boarding school' and 'cultured' girl based not only on western cultural aesthetics but also on Māori cultural practices that affirmed them as Māori and as young women.

Chapter Six traces experiences in the women's careers as educators that emerged as significant.

Chapter 6

Pathways Through the System

I don't consider myself to be at the bottom of the statistics heap in terms of being a woman and Māori. Other people may see me there but I certainly don't. I can and feel confident enough within myself to be able to draw on my own resources and on resources from others who are willing to help me and with enough determination and drive to determine what I want to do and where I want to do it. (Pānia)

It is within a complex matrix of chronic 'top down' education policies for Māori, radical state changes in the education system fuelled by the 'New-Right' ascendancy and persistent Māori politicisation, that the work-place experiences of the women in this study have been shaped. This chapter focuses on the nature of those experiences and the way the women's experiences influenced the direction of their lives along pathways within various sites of the education workplace.

The chapter begins with a brief outline of how the women gained access to 'privileged' spaces in the workplace as teachers, principals, education officers and senior managers. By 'privileged' I am referring to management positions in educational organisations that historically have been the reserve of non-Māori educators and administrators. A position as school Principal provides one example. The women's career trajectories are then discussed and specific episodes that have impacted on their lives as educators working in educational organisations are examined. The strategies employed by these women within the workplace to maintain spaces for ways of being Māori and women, are also investigated. The following section provides the background for this chapter and chapter seven.

Until recently, information on the position of Māori within the state education sector was limited to data on new entrants to teacher training. A recent report on the education work force (Dunn et al, 1993) provides the first

definitive statement on the position of Māori employees and some indication of the position of Māori women.³³ This report shows that overall, Māori employees comprise seven per cent of the total education work force. There are 13 % of Māori that occupy positions as teaching staff, either in permanent, full-time teaching positions or as relief, part-time and contract teachers. Māori men are more likely to hold teaching positions than Māori women. For example, of all Māori men employed in education 74.5% were teaching employees compared with less than 60% of Māori women (ibid:20). Māori were found to be younger and received on average less income than non-Māori employees and 94% of the average income of all employees. The concentration of Māori in relief, part-time or non-teaching positions probably accounts for this (ibid:23).

In terms of location, on a population basis, Māori are under represented as employees in most branches of education. Less Māori work in kindergartens than in any other area, where only one in twenty-two teachers are Māori. Most Māori employees, eight per cent, are located within the primary sector work-force. The representation of Māori women decreases with the seniority of the position thus corresponding with the pattern for women generally. The more senior the position in the primary sector, the less likely it is to be held by a Māori woman. Within the secondary service, Māori are much more likely to be non-teaching employees. Here, while there is an equal representation in teaching positions, more Māori women than Māori men are employed. Māori women's representation decreases with each position of greater seniority like the pattern in the primary service. While 10% of secondary principals are Māori, three out of every four of these is a Māori man. Of non-teaching Māori staff, women outnumber men by two to one (ibid:65).

³³This information does not take into account employees in Te Kohanga Reo, Kura kaupapa Māori or tribal based whare wānanga.

The contours of Māori women's employment in education shows them to be concentrated in the lower echelons at all levels (kindergarten, primary, secondary) of the teaching profession or in non-teaching positions. This power imbalance ensures that Māori women remain subordinated not only to Pākehā men, but to Pākehā women and Māori men.

All of the women in this study began their careers in education as classroom teachers. Several of them (Hariata, Lucy and Pānia) remain at the 'chalk-face', while the others (Hera, Adelaide and Ngātai) have moved to alternative sites within the education work-place. The women's collective workplace experience spans some forty years (1960's-1990's) across a wide spectrum of the education sector. This includes teaching in early childhood, primary and secondary classrooms; working in the school advisory service, the inspectorate, and the Ministry of Education; and in institutions such as teachers' colleges, unions and associations. As Māori women their working experiences were conditioned, in part, by historical and contemporaneous political and social circumstances, underpinned by intense Māori political activity. For Māori people this politicisation was largely influenced by cultural imperatives manifest in a Māori development approach to advancing Māori economic and social well-being. According to Mason Durie, a Māori development approach is premised on a number of assumptions. These are that Māori control and leadership are critical factors in determining appropriate strategies, that there is confidence in Māori management and delivery systems, that positive approaches and the development of innovative programmes are preferred, and that the Treaty of Waitangi provides a basis for real partnership between Māori and the state (1994:3). It is this approach that has been at the very core of Māori political activity which gave rise to the Kohanga Reo movement for example.

For Māori women working in educational organisations, Māori education development cannot be separated from the broader politics of Māori development.

The 1960's and 1970's saw increased Pacific Island migration to New Zealand by people in search of work. Combined with the Māori urban drift, the presence of Māori and Pacific Island children in urban schools became increasingly pronounced. Moreover, "the inequalities in regard to ethnicity became much more visible and Maori themselves became far more vocal in protesting about the education system" (Simon, 1994:72). Ngā Tamatoa was one public face of that protest. In terms of Māori educational development, Ngā Tamatoa set out on a relentless campaign aimed at incorporating Māori language at all levels of the education system and establishing a teacher training scheme for native speakers (Walker, 1990:210). Ngā Tamatoa's campaign coincided with the advent of the third labour government whose Minister of Education endorsed aspects of their campaign. This resulted in the Education Department introducing limited Māori language learning into state school programmes (Jenkins, 1994: 153), extending Ngā Tamatoa's 'Māori language day' initiative to a week, and establishing a one year teacher training programme for native speakers (Walker, op. cit). Other policies to emerge were the introduction of taha Māori programmes in selected schools (Jenkins, op.cit:155), and the promotion of multicultural education. Taha Māori programmes were conceived to introduce a Māori 'flavour' into the existing curriculum but not as a 'new subject'. An emphasis on 'multiculturalism' was viewed as an acknowledgement of a greater Pacific Island presence in schools (Simon, op cit:72) and as one way to "quieten Maori demands for their language and culture to be taught in schools as well as placate mainstream New Zealand and encourage tolerance and restraint " (Jenkins, op cit).

There were two significant events that occurred in the 1970's, the land march in 1975 led by Whina Cooper from Te Hapua in the north to Parliament, and in the same year the passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Act. While the former event "demonstrated the extent of Māori dissatisfaction and the desire to reclaim initiative in a variety of social and economic endeavours"(Durie, 1995:53) which included Māori education, it was the latter event that, a decade later, provided a significant vehicle for reform in education related to Māori language (Waitangi Tribunal Te Reo Claim, 1986).

Kuni Jenkins points out that "the Treaty of Waitangi included an emphasis of 'educating the nation'"(1994:149). This emphasis, embodied in the Third Article of the Treaty, promised Māori all the rights and privileges of British subjects. Such rights and privileges, and the idea of nationhood under British rule, were to be made possible through education and schooling, "[t]hus educating the nation in the first instance in Aotearoa/New Zealand was about educating a Maori nation" (ibid). Arohia Durie also points out the relevance of Articles One and Two of both the Māori and English versions of the Treaty. In the Maori version, which was the version signed by most Māori, Article one ceded 'kawanatanga'. Article two guaranteed a continuation of property rights in which "language, knowledge and practice may be included"(1989:16). As Durie maintains,

...article one should necessarily be constrained by article two, yet seldom has that constraint been exercised particularly in the design and delivery of educational policy. There was a clear expectation by Maori, that Maori control over things Maori would be guaranteed (ibid).

Education policies for Māori during the 1970's and early 1980's were seen as generally cosmetic and ineffectual in addressing the needs and aspirations of Māori people. For example, multiculturalism was considered a mechanism 'for doing nothing' (Walker, 1985 in Jenkins, 1994:153) but maintaining the status quo. The taha Māori programme was viewed as little more than tokenism (Jenkins, 1994:156) and an additive to a taha Pākehā core (Penetito, 1984:41). Benton's (1979) research confirmed the imminent demise of the Māori language unless radical and immediate counter initiatives were taken. This sense of urgency, together with Māori discontent with state education policies, a continued disparity in Māori achievement and increased truancy (Jenkins op.cit: 152), underpinned the 1980's revolution in Māori education development that outside state systems and which gave rise to Te Kohanga Reo, and later Kura Kaupapa Māori.

During the 1980's Māori leaders and educators repeatedly drew attention to Māori aspirations for power and control over the education of Māori children. At the Hui Whakatauirā in 1981 Māori leaders proposed the establishment of Te Kohanga Reo as a response to the urgent need for Māori language survival (Kaai-Oldman, 1988:27). In 1984 at the national Māori Educational Development Conference Māori unanimously passed a remit declaring the existing system to be failing Māori people and urging Māori to withdraw and establish alternative schooling models based on principles underlying Te Kohanga Reo (Smith and Smith, 1990:185). The failure of the system in respect of Māori people was confirmed by the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985 in their findings related to the Te Reo Māori claim (Waitangi Tribunal, 1985). The tribunal found that, not only had educational policy of colonial and successive governments seriously harmed the Māori language, but that the combined effects of these policies on Māori children rendered them "uneducated by normal standards and that disability bedevils their progress

for the rest of their lives" (ibid:1). The tribunal ruled that the education system "is being operated in breach of the Treaty" and recommended an urgent inquiry into the education of Māori children.

A decade of Māori political insurgency (most obvious in the rapid expansion of Te Kohanga Reo and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori movements) produced changes in the debate on Māori education. At an education hui for Māori bilingual teachers and community leaders held at Matawaia in 1988, calls for separate structures saw the adoption of the Matawaia Declaration. This document proposed the establishment of an independent, autonomous, fully funded Māori Education Authority responsible for kaupapa Māori education from pre-school to adult education (Benton,1988:1). The changing nature of the debate on Māori education moved from one of a 'top -down' state defined approach to education policies for Māori, to that of a 'bottom-up' Māori defined perspective emphasising Māori education policies (Penetito, 1988:93). This latter position emerged from Māori reaction (such as feelings of discontent and powerlessness) and resistance (such as developing Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori outside state schooling structures) to a system of education that serves the interest of the majority Pākehā society (the 'top-down' approach). In his report to the Royal Commission on Social Policy, Wally Penetito maintained that 'powerlessness' was the common theme of all submissions and in particular subtle forms of structural or symbolic violence³⁴ (ibid:95).

While this increased political activity was recurring within Māori terms with resulting strong challenges to state policies of education, immense changes in the structures of New Zealand's educational system were initiated by the fourth Labour Government from 1984 to 1990 and continued by the National administration. This was part of global economic and political

³⁴Penetito (1988:95) defines structural violence as "the way in which violence is built into the structures of our society/institutions to the detriment of particular groups like the Maori."

changes in a free-market approach to a new economic order mounted by the so-called 'New Right' (Lauder et al, 1991:61; Smith, 1992:5; Peters et al, 1994:252). Underpinning this approach was a

... particular conception of the individual, the re-conceptualising of education from that of a public good to a commodity to be bought and sold like any other on the market and the belief that state provision has been a destructive rather than a constructive process in our history (O'Neil, 1996:45).

The steps taken by the government's radical restructuring towards a market-led educational system was outlined in a series of recommendation and implementation reports. Administrative reform in early childhood, school and tertiary sectors was outlined in the Meade Report (1988), the Picot Report (1988) and the Hawke Report (1988) respectively. The policies outlined in each of these reports were actioned in *Before Five* (1988), *Tomorrow's Schools* (1988) and *Learning for Life* (1989). For example, among many sweeping changes recommended by the Picot Report and carried out under *Tomorrow's Schools* was the dismantling of the Education Department, the dis-establishment of the school inspectorate and the transference of the school advisory service administration to Colleges of Education. Among the new centralised agencies that were established was a Ministry of Education responsible for providing policy advice, the Education Review Office (ERO) charged with ensuring institution accountability, and replacing School Committees and Boards of Governors with Boards of Trustees (BOT's) set up to administer schools.

These reforms proffered a transference of power from central state to local elected Boards of Trustees. For Māori, many of whom had opted to move outside state systems to Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, the reforms also offered real possibilities to finally assume a degree of autonomy over the education of Māori people.

In the 1990's within a further entrenchment in education of New Right policies, the possibilities Māori believed were offered in the restructuring has proved elusive. A 'top down' approach to state education policies for Māori persists, aptly demonstrated by the Ministry of Education's policy statement - the 'Ten Point Plan for Maori Education' (Ministry of Education, 1991). Besides appropriating initiatives spearheaded by Māori outside state systems,³⁵ the policy as a whole offers little in the way of real benefits since Māori education needs more than a mere ten points if Māori are to gain any benefits in the long term. Yet within kaupapa Māori schools a degree of autonomy exists, although as Kuni Jenkins warns there is the potential for the philosophies and practices of such schools to be co-opted by the state through the BOT (as the agency of the state) implementing state policy (Jenkins, 1994:173).

Māori aspirations for power and control of the education of Māori people is part of a national aspiration for self determination or tino rangatiratanga. Within the broader milieu of Māori society, the 1990's has been characterised by intense political activity manifest in the emergence of the National Māori Congress in 1990, and in issues arising from such debates as the Sealords Deal signed in 1992 (Walker, 1996:6), the Government's Proposals for the Settlement of Treaty of Waitangi Claims (the 'Fiscal Envelope'), occupations of Pakaitore and other sites in 1995 and a re-

³⁵For instance, point three aims to "develop policies which foster increased participation rates of Maori children in early childhood education programmes" The development of Te Kohanga Reo outside of state structures and the subsequent dramatic increase in participation rates of Māori children in pre-school programmes has grown in spite of the Ministry.

examination of constitutional arrangements between Māori and the Crown (Durie,1995:49). A unifying and salient factor underpinning all of this activism has been an escalation in the demand for tino rangatiratanga³⁶ or self determination - that is greater Māori control over things Māori³⁷ (Ibid:44).

Navigating the Workplace

Apart from a brief secondment to the secondary inspectorate, Hariata's career in education (from the late 1960's) has been confined almost exclusively within the secondary service. Despite not having trained as a teacher, as a teacher of Māori language she has moved progressively through the ranks from classroom teacher to senior mistress, deputy principal and to her current position as Principal.

Although she had held two senior positions in the school for some time, her application for the position of Principal in the school where she was working as senior mistress, brought strong opposition from a conservative Christian sector of the school community. They objected to her status as an unmarried woman in a "*defacto relationship...whether or not they felt that I was capable of doing the job I don't know.*" This sector included both Māori (a very senior clergyman) and Pākehā "*a lawyer who was on the selection committee all gunning for me.*" The clergyman insisted that "*if I got married...it would be okay.*" While Hariata disagreed with him in principle, she appreciated his frankness. She said, "*...at least I admired him because he was honest and yet I knew there was all this kōrero [about her unmarried status] going on around the place.*" The 'kōrero' served to strengthen her resolve to continue with her application. This was sustained by the support

³⁶For indepth discussion on the concept of tino rangatiratanga see Durie,M.H. (1995) and Kawharu,Sir Hugh (1996).

³⁷M.H.Durie, 1995 makes the point that beyond the definition given above, tino rangatiratanga has a variety of meanings. However taking into account these meanings he proposes four fundamental foundations of tino rangatiratanga which include mana wairua, mana whenua, mana tangata and mana ariki (p48).

she received from most of the school staff and a large Māori lobby (*"our people saying right you've got to get in there"*) comprising parents and local community members. This group held numerous strategic hui concerned with appointing a Principal (Hariata was one of three applicants) able to manage a school with a formidable Māori presence. The strategy included inviting the District Senior Inspector (DSI) to speak at one of the hui. Hariata said, *"they [the Māori group] wanted to speak to him [the DSI]...he came up, he spoke to our people...he spoke to the Board and he told the Board...without as much as writing it down, not to employ the Pommy woman because we [Māori] wouldn't like it and not to employ the Pākehā man. So there was only one left and that was me."*

Hariata described the experience as a time when *"I found out who my true friends were."* One strategy for countering her detractors, some of whom were on the Board of Governors, was to disturb the interview process by employing exclusionary tactics. She said *"when I could answer in the interview I'd keep on answering in Māori just to annoy them and there were only...three people there who could understand me anyhow...my whānau could've blocked [struck] me...it was the worst interview they'd been at and they wondered about my attitude."* Despite the selection committee containing *"some people who just didn't want me,"* Hariata was offered the Principal's position but with *"some provisos."* According to Hariata the provisos were *"that I would have to go through this course...it [the offer of the position] was all based on sort of [Christian] grounds, without actually getting to the nitty gritty 'you get married you Mary Magdalene you'."* However, Hariata maintained, *"I haven't done what they'd [the Board] wanted me to do ever since then. That is I haven't been through the...course."* Nor has she married.

Summing up her entry into the school as Principal Hariata said, *"I came into a mess...I became Principal. No training, no DP [Deputy Principal] and I*

remember coming in here over the Christmas break, wasn't told where anything was...so we began from scratch." Hariata's strategy was to use her network and enlist help. She said, "*[I] couldn't do a time-table, never knew any of those things...and there was a retired Pākehā kuia...whose son was married to a whanaunga of mine back home...so she came here and she helped me."* According to Hariata, in selecting a DP, the Board's initial choice "*didn't last long...she wasn't really the person for this place. She had empathy for things Māori but really...this place was just a fill-in."*

Hariata considers the subsequent appointment of her current DP, a Pākehā woman, as a strategic move. Hariata said, "*we got my DP there...she does most of the admin. She's articulate, she understands policies, she's got a quick thinking brain...her availability to do all the admin gives me time to do, I suppose mine is mainly, a PR thing. I still in many respects handle the discipline."*

What can be seen then, is that during the mid 1980's, a time of intense national Māori political activity, Hariata's career-path, was influenced in part by local iwi politicisation and strategising. As the only Māori staff member in a predominantly Māori populated school, the expectation by most local Māori was that Hariata was the logical choice for Principal regardless of her marital status or whether or not she in fact agreed with the choice. In accordance with a Māori development approach (Durie, 1994:3), the assumption was that Māori control and leadership are critical factors to advancing the education of Māori people. The mounting of Hui, for example, provided a space for 'the Māori group' to not only articulate their concerns and aspirations for the education of their children, but also as a forum to strategise. The DSI's presence was part of that strategy where an opportunity was created for genuine multi-partisan dialogue to occur between the Department's

representative on the one hand, and the school (and its Board) and the community (both Māori and Pākehā) on the other.

For Hariata, her sense of obligation to iwi (the Māori students, their parents and the community) underpinned her actions, decisions and strategies. Despite the reactions of her whānau her strategy to use the Māori language at her interview, as an exclusionary counter to the moral Christian faction who opposed her appointment, was a political act aimed at excluding non-speakers of Māori who were all Pākehā. Her action may also be seen as a positive act of empowerment. This sense of empowerment aligns most significantly with Cornel West who talks about empowerment from the starting point of relatively powerless people (in this case African Americans) and in terms of affirming or accentuating their ways of being (1993:57). In Hariata's case her assertion of her right to speak Māori coupled with a desire to disrupt Pākehā protocol is in and of itself both political and empowering and finds its most potent expression in the concept of tino rangatiratanga. Further strategies of empowerment can be seen in Hariata's decision to use her networks to enlist the expertise of a retired Pākehā kuia to assist her in the initial stages of her appointment and to use the administration strengths of her current DP to release her to work on student affairs and with iwi (the PR thing). As these strategies show the priority is working in ways that result in positive outcomes for Māori.

By contrast, Hera trained in the 1960's as a primary school teacher. Her career path within the education sector has not always followed conventional patterns of promotion through the ranks as was the case with Hariata. Prior to the radical changes instituted by Tomorrow's Schools, Hera's experience in educational organisations included working in the advisory service. During the 1970's she was initially employed as a seconded reading advisor and then as a Māori and Pacific Island Advisor in English language and learning. Of

this position she said "*that was a great job. I liked that job.*" While a Māori colleague was responsible for Māori language and learning, Hera said "*I looked after English language and learning because when that system was set up, they were all English language and learning for Māori children...I think it was the Hunn Report set it up really.*" Her work in the advisory gave her first experience of work-place independence. This was by working out of the district for several days at a time free from the restricted spaces of a singular cell, the regulated schedule of school time-tables and the managerial expert - the male school principal.

By the late 1970's Hera had moved into the Department of Education as a primary school inspector. She gained this position without the necessary credentials (a university degree) or managerial experience as a school principal. At this time "*there were always very few women*" and even fewer Māori within the inspectorate. So it was quite significant that Hera was not only one of two women in her team, but both women were Māori. Hera said "*I was ...lucky because I was working with Hana...she and I were the only women in that team. At one stage she and I and one other had been the only women out of 112 primary school inspectors [nationally] and it was a hard environment.*" Her workplace colleagues (within the inspectorate and the primary schools that were assigned to her as an inspector) were predominantly male, middle-class and Pākehā. Hera explained, "*there was quite a chauvinistic approach to women in the inspectorate at that time... and to boot I was a married woman and a mother and I was moving out of my district from time to time. There were some things which principals told me, more or less what they thought were subtle ways, that this was not the sort of thing that they would allow their wives to do.*" The entrenched patriarchal hegemony that pervaded the workplace was wedded to an equally pervasive Pākehā hegemony. According to Hera, as a Māori the inspectorate "*played me*

both ways...In fact I remember when I became an inspector...the bilingual school...they'd had a big struggle and they asked if I could be their inspector. I wasn't allowed to...my districts were...[two] mill towns and high Māori populations [which] suited my work." In denying the bilingual school's request for a Māori inspector the Department of Education was exercising a typical 'top-down' approach to that school and to its predominantly Māori constituency. This approach implied that it was more appropriate for non-Māori to inspect mainstream Māori schools, perhaps in the misguided belief that 'objectivity' would be maintained. Even by the late 1980's Hera stated that there were people within the education world "*who could see no reason...why a monolingual Pākehā couldn't go in and review a Kohanga for instance.*" Fanon's assertion that, "for the native, objectivity is always directed against him" (1961:77) is sympathetic with the experience of Māori. As a Māori person working in education, Hera's dilemma was knowing the expectation placed on her by the Māori community to work for their best interests. In her current position she said, "*one of the things of course I know is that being Māori in the job brings a whole added dimension of responsibility that others don't get. So Māori groups write to me much more directly. They ask me for meetings. They come, they believe that I can open a lot of doors that I might not be able to open.*"

Since the mid 1980's Hera has held a number of corporate and key managerial positions within the Department of Education. She has also worked as a senior manager of a corporate section of one of the state education agencies. In terms of her career path several key factors emerged as significant in Hera negotiating the road to management and in shaping her personal and professional development. Among these factors were learning how the system worked, gaining access to the exclusive 'Staff College' and the influence of professional patronage.

While working on a large Government sponsored education project Hera maintained that she "*learnt a little bit more about how the system worked*" and in particular how the career trajectories of some Pākehā men were fast-tracked through manipulating the system and in the subordination of women's work along the way. She described her experience of working with such a person. "*This person was typical of a handful of men that I've seen in the education department who seem to have a patron and has made a meteoric rise in his career with all sorts of opportunities opening for him...I also learnt during that period about the way people like this in fact manipulate the system to their advantage and they were the skills that I had not really learned before. For instance if I was preparing a paper and went away I would have come back to find that it had been presented in his name. All of those sorts of things were going on.*" Hera was aware of and understood the way in which this person was, by his actions as an intellectual thief (plagiarist), silencing her voice and subordinating her professional position. This was by rendering her invisible on paper thus marginalising her expertise. In the longer term, the potential was there for undermining her ability to advance along the corporate path in an environment where the printed word counts and a paper trail matters.

In terms of dealing with these 'sorts of things' that were going on, Hera's strategy on the face of it seemed ineffectual. She simply "*tolerated them and watched with some interest the system.*" However, her observations were in effect part of a conscious process of getting to know and understand the structure of the organisation and the systems that it operates within. A key to Hera understanding the structure was knowing where the locus of control was in relation to her position as a relatively powerless minority (woman and Māori). In terms of her own career path within the organisation, Hera soon worked out a strategy necessary in order to advance her position. Patronage

she had observed, was an important factor and therefore her strategy was to find concrete ways of gaining patronage. Hera said, *"I decided that if I was in fact to overcome the sort of situation where the road into management was through patronage, then I had to find what that road was and what steps I was prepared to take on it. Now as I went around visiting people who had power in the department, most of whom were men, in fact all but one were men...what I discovered was that on each of their office walls they appeared to have a photograph of course members of which they happened to be one. These were all stimulated from a place called Staff College."*

As trophies of power, the photographs represented a realm of possibility, a space where she could secure opportunities. Hera said, *"I then decided that if I was going to a management course, that's the one that perhaps I should go to because obviously it led to greater things."* However, it took determination and persistence to negotiate the smoke-screen of excuses and obstructive tactics she encountered from the male managers she approached. Hera explained, *"I found though, that getting into the course was not easy. I managed to find out where it was and what it was. I also did some homework on other management courses, approached my controlling officer at that time and said to him that I'd like to go on a management course and this is the one that I'd like to go on. He initially tried to deter me from that by telling me that the course was not a great course and that probably he wouldn't recommend it. But I persisted and he eventually said well I should go around and ask a lot of people about it and see whether it was worthwhile or not. I did that...and I became more determined that this was the course that I would go on...and eventually he signed the forms and I was accepted on the course."* The manager's strategy was to attempt to deter, obstruct, limit, restrict and control her access to privileged spaces of empowerment (Staff College). This he did by creating barriers; first by undermining the obvious value and promotional

currency the course represented (it was also an expensive course at \$8,000.00 per participant); secondly, by his initial unwillingness to support her inclusion (thus her need to be persistent); and thirdly, by his stalling tactics of having her secure the opinion of other people perhaps in the hope that she would eventually give up on the idea. About such barriers Hera said, "*in a way all those things made me stronger, taught me strategies for getting around those sorts of barriers. I mean I don't actually mind barriers in my life because you develop so many strategies for going around or over them. Each hurdle, you think of a new way of going about it.*"

The course itself presented several 'hurdles'. These were the sexist nature of the course and instances of racism that Hera encountered. Her strategies for dealing with racism is discussed in Chapter seven.

The sexist nature of the course was blatantly evident in the predominance of Pākehā males as participants "*I found that I was the only woman and there were twenty-five men*" (there was one Pacific Island male); a sexist environment that discouraged participation by women "*I discovered that some other women who'd been on the course had in fact not lasted the distance*"; and a heavy emphasis on "sporting type" activities "*I played cricket, I did draw the line at touch rugby but I...joined in everything else.*" For Hera, dealing with sexism included countering ways men constantly undermined her voice and authority. She said, "*what I found was that when I wanted to make a contribution to the course, that often people would jump up after I finished and say 'this is what Hera meant' and it infuriated me...I had to find ways of getting around that.*" One of the ways was to 'win' the 'respect and acceptance' of the group by proving that she could do the 'risk-taking' activities such as white-water rafting, canoeing and absailing. The latter activity in particular offered Hera an opportunity to prove herself when she discovered that many of the men were petrified of heights. Although she was

not keen to participate either Hera said, "*I calculated the situation and I knew that somehow this might be a useful way of proving something.*" By belaying people down the cliff and talking them down she found "*that was the turning point in the course. From then on I was an honorary bloke. It was only when we got to the final activity where I dressed like a girl and was accepted as such.*" In terms of the sexist behaviour she encountered, Hera's strategy was to calculate ways of 'winning' a place. The effort involved not only proving her capabilities in 'risk-taking' activities but having to compete and be accepted first as an 'honorary bloke' and therefore 'one of the boys' before being recognised as female 'when dressed like a girl'. Her determination to 'last the distance' and get through the course was simply a matter of the outcome justifying the means. Hera said, "*overall on that course I learnt a lot of things. I learnt a lot about how the government works, I learnt a lot about how business works. I learnt a lot about how ambitious tree climbing males work. So I got a lot out of that.*"

However, not all the Pākehā males Hera worked with created barriers along her career-path. From the late 1980's, within the corporate environment of the various state education agencies in which Hera worked, several Pākehā men were among the professional mentors or patrons who influenced her career "*because they had the positions of power.*" Her 'first strong mentor' she described as "*a person with a high position in the organisation who assisted me and supported me in my work, but gave me enough head to do things sometimes in my own way and gave me praise for it.*" Other qualities he possessed included being a good listener and an experienced public servant. Hera said, "*He taught me a lot about being in the public service and what was required for that which I didn't know anything about...there were a lot of those sorts of meticulous detail, organisational skills he taught me.*"

While involved in implementing the reforms of 'Tomorrow's Schools' Hera worked alongside another 'strong mentor.' He taught her the skills of *"doing your homework, making sure you've done your homework so that you're well prepared and secondly when people tackle you about something, knowing how to respond to that in a way which maintains their dignity...I learned a few skills on how to deal with confrontational attack on a public platform...I also learned about being prepared to let people have their say no matter what it was...that in a public forum, mixed Pākehā forum it isn't always allowed, or in a work-place it isn't always allowed. But part of my style is I would rather have it out to be dealt with than curb it and say no this is the rule. So I developed a lot of those skills there."* Of this mentor Hera said, *"I have a lot of respect for Jim Thomas as a person even though many people found him really hard. But he had a job to do. He knew where he had to go to do it and he knew he had a short time to do it and he was prepared to ...trust his work force to do the job. But he would expect...brief reporting on where you were and he would expect them to be absolutely accurate...so I always tried not to disappoint him really."*

Hera described *"another sort of a mentor... who was a very hard woman"* that she had worked with. The woman set up a harsh, competitive and negative professional environment where praise was rarely given and fault found often. Hera explained, *"this resulted in a work culture where there was a high level of staff anxiety brought about by the lack of professional trust displayed by Senior Management. Now that's a different sort of a mentor because in a way from that person you learn a whole lot of things about what you don't want to be as a manager. But you also learn a whole lot of skills because you're forced into a situation where you've got to defend yourself. You take up a defensive role because you know it's competitive. You make sure that all your bases are covered."* Thus for Hera an integral part of

understanding the system was not only from the standpoint of positive interactions with mentors (such as the two males) but also seeing the potential in negative interactions (such as the 'hard woman'). An important point to be made here is that Hera recognised that the toxic nature of the workplace environment meant developing counter strategies "*to defend yourself.*"

By contrast to the initial workplace sites of both Hariata (secondary) and Hera (primary), Adelaide qualified in the Early childhood sector as a kindergarten teacher in the 1970's. Apart from a short spell overseas, she remained teaching within early childhood until her appointment in the 1990's as a manager of an educational organisation providing employment advice and support for Māori teachers.

She describes her attendance at a hui for Māori kindergarten teachers and Childcare workers in the early 1980's, as 'a turning point' in her career. At that time she was a teacher in the local kindergarten back in her home-place.

The hui was significant for several reasons. First, it provided a space for Adelaide to consolidate and affirm her networks among people she knew, "*I knew a lot of people who were there. I had met them over the years.*"

Second, it offered a space for Māori women within the early childhood sector to meet "*it was just wonderful to meet all these Māori women.*"

Third, the hui granted space for the women to raise salient issues that affected them as Māori women in the workplace. Adelaide gave an example, "*we were being expected to implement this thing called 'taha Māori'...there was this expectation...because I was the only Māori in the...area, everybody would look at me for the answers. I'd think...what is this thing. I'll have to go and find out...my own kaumātua and people at the marae...nobody knew what it was... at this hui I raised that issue...I still haven't worked...out what it is"*

Fourth, and perhaps most importantly, providing a space for the women to affirm collective strengths and discuss common concerns, the hui

also offered space for the individual. During the course of the hui, Adelaide found that she gained in personal growth and self-confidence. She described herself as going from being "*quiet at the start*" to being "*quite outspoken about that [taha Māori] and about a few other issues too.*" Attendance at this hui also opened up significant opportunities for Adelaide to work at a professional level with Māori women in other sectors of the education workplace thus consolidating her personal and professional development. She said, "*So that [hui] was a bit of a turning point, because from there in 1986 I then started to get nominated for those Lopdell house courses...I was actually invited to attend them. In a very short space of time...I did five or six Lopdell House³⁸ inservice courses plus the two writing parties.*"

These were a series of Department of Education National Residential courses for Māori women entitled 'Māori Women in Management' held at the Frank Lopdell Centre in Auckland in the mid 1980's. The aim of these courses was;

to promote and support Māori women in education, to seek change in the education system in line with the Treaty of Waitangi, to become fully informed about the education system and utilise this knowledge, and to promote professional excellence (Mara and Mountain-Ellis, 1988).

According to Adelaide "*those courses were an excellent opportunity to extend my networks.*" Furthermore they were a springboard for professional interaction with Māori women educators most of whom worked outside the

³⁸Lopdell House was the name of the original national residential inservice development centre at Titirangi. The Frank Lopdell Centre referred to here was located at what was originally North Shore Teachers' College at Birkenhead.

early childhood sector. Initially however, Adelaide experienced self-doubt about her role in the course and feelings of insecurity about her position as 'only a kindergarten teacher'. She explained. *"The first Lopdell House course...was quite an experience for me from the point of view that when I got invited I had no idea why I was being invited. I mean it was a Māori women in management course. I didn't see myself being in a management role in my job...I couldn't think why the hell KTA would nominate me...what did I have to contribute? Suddenly I started to undervalue the work that I did. I began to think 'God I'm only a kindergarten teacher' that was actually reinforced in my thinking when I got to the course...we had a list of the course participants and I saw that Rangi was going to be there, another Kindergarten teacher...when I actually got there Rangi wasn't there and I didn't see that I had any professional connection to any of the other Māori women...they were introducing themselves as the Assistant Principal, the Deputy Principal, the Inspector, the Principal and the Senior Teacher...when they spoke it was...with such confidence and with such pride in their positions...it was just the way I perceived how they introduced themselves and the importance of their jobs.*

The course also provided Adelaide with opportunities for personal and professional development, and to view Māori issues in education in relation to a much wider national context of Māori educational development. Adelaide said, *"getting into Lopdell policy making courses I wouldn't have had a clue before I even got there. I probably still didn't even have a clue after the first one [course] as to the importance of that course...in my own development...and also in terms of seeing wider...I actually realised...that I [was] in a little bit of an isolated cocoon or a rut...I [had] associations with the Māori teachers at the local primary school and at the secondary school but it was more a personal association than professional. It could have been both*

but we didn't allow it to get that way. So in terms of personal and professional growth Lopdell house had a stronger influence."

This professional growth accelerated promotion opportunities for Adelaide that saw her move away from her home-place to take up a position as Head Teacher at a kindergarten in a small coastal city. However, on the death of her father Adelaide returned briefly to care for her blind mother before successfully applying and taking up her current position in a large metropolitan city.

Since graduating from teachers' college in the early 1970's Lucy has remained working within the primary teaching service except for several brief secondments to the Department of Education and the Ministry. Her career pathway to her current position as the Principal of a large inner-city primary school has followed conventional promotional patterns through middle management (Senior Teacher, Deputy Principal). She said, "*I had been a scale A teacher and then acted in senior positions for quite a long time.*" While seconded to the PELT³⁹ team she was successful in her application for a senior teacher's position in a school. However, she said "*when I got there the Deputy Principal took leave, so I acted...in the DP's position. He was on leave for just about the whole year.*" The acting DP's job provided Lucy with a possible solution to a difficulty she was experiencing with an older member of staff. Lucy's appointment as Senior Teacher proved to be a source of resentment for this person. Lucy explained. "*I'd been having a few tussles with Vera...she wasn't a senior teacher, but she'd been at the school quite a number of years and had never applied for the senior position but felt she should have been given it and I had won the job...she made it very plain to me that really, if she had applied for the job she would have got it over me and the only reason that I got it was because I had been on the PELT team.*"

³⁹Porirua East Liaison Team operated in the Wellington area of Porirua East assisting teachers working in schools with large numbers of Māori and Pacific Island children.

Lucy's strategy was simple. To convince the Principal (Bill) to give the woman more responsibility and appoint her to the position as acting Senior Teacher. According to Lucy, *"then she'll see what it's all about because she thinks that we deliberately go out to make her life absolute hell when we're thinking about management things. We're actually trying to see what's best for the whole school...[the Principal] offered her the job when I...was acting as DP."* The outcome of Lucy's strategy to appoint Vera as acting Senior Teacher was that, *"[Vera] never ever complained ever again because she just realised that some of the decisions you have to make you have to make for the greater good not just for...your personal gratification. It's got to be for the good of the school as such. She never said a thing again after that and so I thought well that'll teach her."*

When the DP resigned, Lucy said *"I thought well I've been doing the job...so I'll apply for it."* When the Principal (Bill) moved to another school, his position was won by a Māori woman (Betty) and Lucy became Betty's DP. According to Lucy her decision to apply for positions has been based on the job's personal appeal. She said, *"I tend to go for jobs that I really want rather than just having a go at them because it's a possibility that maybe I'll get it...if I don't want it I won't go for it."*

While she took advantage of promotional opportunities made possible by the vacated spaces of upwardly mobile Pākehā men (the Deputy Principal for example) it was Betty who, on winning another position, encouraged Lucy to apply for her job as Principal. Lucy said, *"when she [Betty] won another job, it was then under her encouragement - she was saying 'come on apply for this job' which I did and won that job as well. Then when the possibility of this job came up...I thought that it would be quite...a completely different...type of area...it was the central city, it was a whole different group*

of teachers and it looked like a challenge and I thought okay, I'll have a go at that...so I applied for the job."

The appeal of her current position, lay in the possibilities Lucy envisaged in terms of Māori educational development. She said, "*There was also a bilingual class here at that time, and I thought that there was a possibility that we could go towards total immersion. That was my plan.*" And as Principal of the school, Lucy would be in a strong position to ensure that such a plan went ahead. The job also offered challenges which included moving into an unknown space. Lucy explained, "*then I heard I had won the job here so I moved here and it was actually quite interesting...because all the jobs I had had in South Auckland had been in quite familiar circumstances. I'd moved around just in the South Auckland area so I knew everybody...I came here and it was all new. I didn't know anybody.*"

Underpinning Lucy's career decision was an opportunity (as Principal) to create space to advance the collective interests of iwi in terms of Māori educational development (such as carrying out 'the plan in her head' of transforming a bilingual class to that of total immersion). In terms of Lucy's career-path, this proclivity to work for the collective interest of Māori has tended to prevail over her own individual interests and is not merely a case of 'going for jobs I really want'.

It was also out of a concern for the collective interests of iwi, a commitment to Māori women and Māori education that Ngatai came to work in her current position as an advisor. She explained, "*I'm currently employed as a Māori advisor...I took this job on because of my commitment to Māori education and my commitment to supporting Māori teachers in their work but particularly...Māori women and Māori girls in the classroom.*"

Initially, Ngatai deferred her primary teacher training for a year when she married and had children. Instead she combined her interest in teaching

with motherhood and became involved in play-centre. She said, "*I finished teachers' college in 1970 and I got involved with play-centre in 1971 cause that's really what I wanted to do. I enjoyed learning...about how kids grow and develop.*" In terms of Māori education development the establishment of Play-centre in 1962 as an alternative to Kindergarten provided a space for Māori mothers "too shy to participate in kindergarten education which was seen as the domain of the Pakeha middle class" (Walker, 1990:203). The appeal of Play-centre to Māori was its "philosophy of self-help, parental involvement and parental participation in control and management" (Ibid). Such a philosophy supported Ngatai's involvement as she explained, "*I got my play-centre supervisors' certificate which took...two or three years and became a play-centre supervisor because I could take my son with me.*"

After further postponing her training Ngatai began teacher aiding at her local primary school and as taha Māori programmes gained impetus she also began tutoring Māori language. Ngatai said, "*that's how I got back into teaching again...I was a teacher's aide and teaching. I was tutoring Māori and doing the milk-run, you know, going from class to class doing all this Māori thing.*" While the 'milk-run' effectively absolved the classroom teacher from having to teach 'this Māori thing', the work suited Ngatai because it allowed her to maintain both her interest in working with children and her family commitments. "*I liked being able to do this teaching without the responsibilities of reports and things...I could plan according to what I thought might be relevant for the kids and just walk away from the school and go home and enjoy my family...I could take my little one to school with me and that wasn't a problem. I had school holidays off with my kids so it suited me.*" However, over time as Ngatai demonstrated her increasing capabilities in the classroom, she willingly assumed more responsibility. She said, "*I noticed I was getting more responsibilities and asked to be doing more things, which*

pleased me...I was going...in to relieve while teachers were away...other teachers aids [were] saying 'you shouldn't be doing that...it's against regulations and rules'...and I thought but I actually love it."

In 1983, Ngatai finally resumed her training some 13 years after her initial deferment. She said, *"I was ready. I thought I'm teaching. I'm doing a whole lot of teaching and I love it. I do want more and I'm ready to go back. So I went back and I did university and did my whole three years because by that time, my first year that I had almost completed, was too far back."* Of her re-entry into teachers' college Ngatai said *"it was going back to college so late that I...began to see how important women were and in particular Māori women...[it] strengthened my views about the place of women, the importance of women, the role of women [which had] completely changed to what I'd been brought up with both at college [St Joseph's] and in my own home life...where we were schooled to be mothers and bring up children and to choose careers which were nurturing and that sort of thing."*

Ngatai's career-path has moved within three distinct education work-sites where she has been in a unique position of experiencing both non-teaching and teaching positions. In early childhood for example, she was both a parent helper and then supervisor at Play-centre. In the primary school sector her work as a teachers' aide and taha Māori tutor and the danger of exploitation that the latter position raised, provided impetus for her to complete her training. As a student and now employee of the College of Education her experiences over time occupying various positions within these three sites, have helped shape Ngatai as she contests, captures and creates space within the workplace for assisting Māori teachers and ultimately the Māori children that they teach.

Pānia is the only woman in this study who remains a full-time classroom teacher. She currently works in a bilingual unit in a large co-educational

secondary school. Her teaching career began as a primary teacher in a large urban school (Mountain View), with a substantial Māori and Pacific Island pupil population. The school was managed by a Māori woman Principal (Roimata) and her Deputy Principal (Mārama). According to Pānia both these women played significant roles in her professional development. She said, "*[I] left training college and I was lucky enough to... go back as a first year to the school that I had done my six weeks sole charge in...our DP who was...this sort of dynamic woman. ...Roimata came into the [Principal's] job and there were these two strong Māori women as role models for me...I think those two women actually shaped a lot of my thinking as concerns...teaching and working in areas like Māngere, Otara and Porirua.*" The influence of professional role-models on the lives of some of the women in this study, including Pānia, is discussed later in this chapter. However, this extract serves to indicate one significant influence along Pānia's career pathway.

From the beginning of her career in teaching Pānia was exposed to teaching staff about whom she said, "*I may not ever come across a more dedicated hard-working staff...who really cared deeply about the kids and in so doing really cared about what happened to the kids in the community.*" Her first year at Mountain View School she describes as "*a bloody hard first year...sometimes I would wake up and think 'oh my God do I really want to go to school'. It's not as if the kids were really driving me insane. It was really probably feeling whether I was doing a good job or not.*" Pānia's emphasis on 'doing a good job' is reflected in her conscious effort to develop her own teaching skills and strengthen her classroom management. Of her second year teaching, Pānia said, "*I made sure that my routines were strong. I made sure that my management of kids was a little bit tighter than what it was in my first year.*" This was made easier by the professional support she received from the other (mainly Pākehā women) staff whom she observed held a deep

commitment to the children *"both for their educational needs and for their own personal social needs."* This commitment was something Pānia also aimed for in her teaching in those early years. For example, she described the way the staff worked with children. *"They seemed to have a similar way with kids in terms of engendering...trust amongst kids and it was something that I myself wanted to strive for."* However, in striving to 'engender trust amongst kids' it also meant an obligation to ensure the children's well-being. Pānia explained, *"I wanted kids to feel safe with me. That was really important. That was a priority, that kids felt safe. I suppose the visible signs, manifestations of my interpretation [about whether] kids felt safe with me was that they were happy in class. They showed that they were happy. So subsequently I tended to have noisy classrooms."* Of the children she taught (all but two were Māori or Pacific Island) Pānia had this to say, *"they were very close those kids at Mountain View. They would hang off you. You know you'd have kids dropping off you sort of. If you ever went out on duty, they'd hold your hand and then they'd skip alongside you and they'd cuddle up and they'd give you a big hug and want to share their lunch with you. They were very giving those kids. Very, very, warm, close kids and some of them from...the school of hard knocks really."*

In terms of interaction with the community it was at this school that Pānia developed positive relations *"in dealing with parents. I felt that I had a good rapport with the parents and maybe that reflected in the fact that I felt that the kids were happy to be with me, that they were happy to have me as their classroom teacher."* She also learnt resourceful strategies for dealing with the reality of working in a school that was fiscally constrained. Pānia said, *"we were a poor school. We never had any money and we became very good squirrels and so we would squirrel around the community and we'd get record covers. Record covers were to us a great source of cardboard."*

After two years in a limited tenure position at Mountain View school Pānia was unsuccessful in securing a permanent position there. She described this as a "*bit of a blow and I felt that I [had]..reached a bit of a watershed really.*" Although she applied and won a position back in her mother's home-place, Pānia decided to remain in the area and accept the opportunity to work as a liaison teacher alongside a small group of talented teachers from local schools.

As a liaison teacher "*fresh from off the chalk face so to speak being able to be in a position to come out and help and support other kaiako and administrators*" enabled Pānia to gain valuable knowledge and experience. She said, "*my knowledge of the other schools, the other staff in the schools and the community grew...the circles at the other end like the management end, the circles that Mārama worked in, they grew because I actually got to know the Principals.*" The nature of the work also meant that she gained in self-confidence. Pānia said, "*I became confident. I just grew in confidence really, just within myself...I probably just felt easier about...not feeling like a third year anymore. Yea, not feeling like I had just sort of got my driver's licence and now I can be somebody of consequence.*"

She described the contrasting realities of working in areas such as Otara, Māngere and Porirua. On the one hand there were the progressive hard working teachers and 'neat kids', but there was an understanding that any intrinsic rewards came after a lot of hard work and commitment. Pānia explained, "*I don't know, it's a funny sort of attitude but it was almost like if you can do your time in Otara, Māngere or Porirua, if you can teach in [these areas] you can teach anywhere. It was that sort of feeling...it was a neat progressive place to teach in. There were lots of young staff out there who had heaps of energy, heaps of go and Principals who were really on the ball*

as well...I suppose also fairly hardened like the communities that they were serving in."

Her own political consciousness was also being wetted by a diet of politics promulgated by local Principals dealing with the harsh realities of an economically depressed community on the one hand and a diminishing education department funding base on the other. Pānia said, *"they [Principals] were very strong people when it came to money because it seemed that none of the schools had money...we were continually poor...we got special allowances because of teaching the kids that we had, majority of whom were Polynesian...I felt that they were strong Principals in themselves. They were always sending off letters to the Ministry and sending off letters to the Inspectorate...I felt reasonably political, all political in Otara and Māngere. Not that I recognised that as being political at that time."*

After four years working overseas, Pānia returned to Aotearoa in 1991 and resumed her teaching career as a Senior Teacher of a Bilingual unit in Porirua. She said *"that was a step up for me...now I was taking on a responsibility of a whānau and a bilingual whānau at that."*

Her involvement in and commitment to Māori language teaching influenced her decision to undertake a Diploma in Bilingual Education. She described her experiences in this course as *"a huge learning curve...one of the most empowering things that could have happened...if I thought that I was reasonably political before I went there I was absolutely nothing...I learnt so much within that year. You [were] continually challenged. Your thinking [was] continually challenged. You [were] continually developed politically...[the tutor] continually challenged our thinking all the time. Sometimes our feathers would be so ruffled by it."* The experience saw a growth in her professional and personal development. Pānia said, *"I was learning what I wanted to learn. I was getting exactly and more of what I*

wanted which was whakapiki reo...teaching strategies, the teaching of a second language which we were all involved with. All the āhuatanga that sort of surrounded bilingual and immersion kaupapa...apart from being able to work, study, cry, eat, laugh with nine other people within the group."

The following year Pānia was approached to manage a bilingual unit in a secondary school, a position she currently holds. She described "feeling really excited about getting back into a classroom because [I'd] got a brand new vision...I actually had an idea and I had an opinion and I had a vision about kaupapa Māori within a school and that is what the course [Bilingual] did. The course sort of looked at the little amount of knowledge that I had inside my head and thought hah! and whakapiki'd all of that." Furthermore, within the new workplace she would be working alongside three other people who had been through the Bilingual Course. Pānia said, "so that was truly exciting because I knew that there would be a shared vision about delivery within the classroom, about where our kids or how our kids could be monitored and where they could be going. With learning about the theories and what has worked in Wales and Canada and all the rest of it with the second language teachings." A significant factor about the new position is that the school is located within her home-place. Pānia explained, "I got approached to say 'look here's a job, we've sort of created it and I think it's about time you came home'. So that was how I ended up at [the Home-place]. Very invigorated. Batteries charged up to the max and ready to rip into it."

As with Hera, Pānia's career path has been influenced in part by strong professional role models. Roimata and Marama for example exemplified models of 'woman as strong' in the workplace. They not only occupied privileged spaces of power most often held by non-Māori men (as school Principal and DP), but as Māori women they offered a certain style of leadership that emerges out of customary practices like whanaungatanga.

Marama for example was described by Pānia as having "*a real presence with people and...kids...there was a real 'whaea-ness' about Marama...she was quite an all encompassing sort of woman.*" A multiple relationship status of Professional - Senior (Principal/Deputy Principal) and Junior (year one teacher), and kinship (Pānia and Roimata share tribal affiliations) of tuakana (elder) and teina (junior), pakeke (old) and rangatahi (youth), whaea (mother) and tamāhine (daughter) that existed between Pānia and the women was underpinned by a complex set of obligations. For example Pānia often felt, "*like their daughter because you felt that that was in a sense the way at times they could treat you too...they could also just tell people what to do and I didn't want to argue with them because I respected them too much and had a lot of aroha for both of them.*" Being 'told what to do' and doing what you are told is part of what it means to be teina, rangatahi or tamāhine to your tuakana, pakeke or whaea. Pānia explained, "*Tu tangata magazine...were coming in to take photographs of teachers working with kids...Roimata said 'oh by the way get rid of those hakari blimmen shoes that you've been wearing lately and no jeans tomorrow, because these people are coming in and Marama and I...we've decided you're it'[kaikaranga]...in that sort of way they would tell you what to do...they didn't give you any choice but I was happy enough to do it because it was coming from them.*"

Māori men were also role models who influenced Pānia's career. For example, within the Bilingual Unit, Pine who was the Kai Arahi Reo provided an important Māori male role-model for the boys in the unit "*he was what our boys needed*" and for Pānia, "*he was somebody else for me but it was also a different relationship to the women. One because Pine was older, he was also male and he was also very humble. A very humble man...he had a depth...in tikanga, tikanga Māori and reo.*" Also significant in influencing Pānia's career-path was a process of political conscientisation. With reference

to Paulo Friere (1972) Tuki Nepe argues that a process of 'conscientisation' allows a person to develop "a new awareness of their own reality and so becomes involved in self-education" (1992:18). Pānia's experiences working with local Principals helped create in her a new awareness in terms of the children (Māori and Polynesian) she taught and the educational context of their lives. The Bilingual course and particularly the tutor increased her knowledge about the reality of Māori language loss and the nature of education as it relates to Māori. In the workplace, she applied this knowledge and new understanding as she moved along her career path to bilingual education and a commitment to Māori education development.

Conclusion

A commitment to Māori education remains a common thread in the career trajectories of the women in this study. This commitment was seen to be strengthened through, among others, a process of political conscientisation enhanced by attendance at courses (Hera, Adelaide and Pānia), interaction with iwi (for example Hariata, Lucy and Ngatai) and access to male and female role models who occupy positions of power (Lucy, Hera and Pānia).

Hera's experiences at Staff College illustrated ways in which she overcame sexist barriers to enable her to gain access, 'win a place' and participate in an exclusive male domain. By 'lasting the distance' at the course Hera learned valuable knowledge about systems (government and business) in education that work to privilege mainly Pākehā men. Adelaide's attendance at a National management course for Māori women in education provided a space for personal and professional growth and development. As a turning point in her career, the course enabled Adelaide to contextualise her experiences alongside those of other Māori women educators. It meant a radical mind-shift from the comfort zone of an 'isolated cocoon' (the small

country town kindergarten) to challenges presented by other Māori women from varying education work sites and positions (as Principals, DP's or Senior teachers). For Pānia, the Bilingual Diploma course offered new insights into the politics of Māori language both historically and in contemporary circumstances. Among challenges that she encountered was viewing the aspirations of Māori people within an international context alongside other indigenous groups (in Wales and Canada) whose languages are struggling to survive. Like Adelaide, the course also provided Pania with significant opportunities for personal and professional development.

Hariata's and Hera's career-path experiences also demonstrated how initially, their status as women were seen as barriers to advancing their careers. Hariata in terms of her status as an unmarried woman was considered by a moral faction of the school community to be unsuitable for the position as school Principal. Hera's status as a woman was a barrier to gaining access to Staff College. Once there, she was compelled to 'win a place' as an 'honorary bloke' before being accepted as 'a girl'.

Concern for the collective interests of Māori people was demonstrated by Hariata agreeing to a request by the school parents, whānau and local iwi to apply for the position as Principal. For Ngatai and Lucy the notion of a collective good provided the rationale for their seeking promotion - Ngatai to the School Advisory Service (therefore helping Māori teachers, women and girls) and Lucy as a primary school Principal (and the power to set up an immersion education class in Māori language).

Lucy, Hera and Pānia emphasised the influence of professional role models in shaping the contours of their careers. While Lucy and Pānia were able to seek the guidance of two Māori women who were the managers in their schools, Hera sought the patronage of Pākehā men and a Pākehā

woman because it was they who occupied positions of power in the organisation.

Chapter Seven, looks at the way in which the women in this study contest, create and capture spaces for ways of being women and Māori.

Chapter 7

Contesting the Workplace

Mana wahine is not just a recipe for a certain mode of behaviour or a certain way of going about things, it's allowing people to develop strengths in their own way and to use them for the good of the group (Hera).

Freire maintains that "the task of systematic education is the reproduction of the ideology of the dominant class, that of reproducing the conditions for the preservation of their power" (1994:31). He argues that reproduction is the task of the education system. To reproduce systems of domination is literally to 'swim with the tide' and to attack and counteract the reproductive task is to 'swim against the tide' (ibid). Counteracting systems of domination and 'swimming against the tide' requires 'challenging the system' - the barriers, the restrictions, the constraints and limitations. And challenging the system requires knowledge of the system. As Freire asserts;

We need to know who we can count on in the total space and who we cannot count on. We must know where our enemies within the institution are? Who are those people who are watching us to catch us in any mistake? We need to know exactly who we can count on to join forces and produce more and be better (1994:53).

This chapter explores the multiple tensions that underpin the experiences of the women in this study as they contest, create and capture space for Mana Wahine Māori in the education workplace. Themes that centre on the women's experiences of change, negotiating unknown territory and 'swimming against the tide' serve to illustrate ways in which they strategise in

their attempts to resist barriers to ways of being Māori and women. The chapter begins with a summary of issues surrounding Māori women in education workplaces and a Māori theoretical perspective for the exploration of the issues. It then goes on to show how the women as agents of change plan, develop and implement various strategies in order to operate effectively within the boundaries of the work-place.

Current research on Māori woman in the educational workplace (namely schools) paints a disturbing picture about their experiences. For example, Mary Ann Meha's research on Māori women teachers and principals (1991:33), revealed that the location of their workplace experiences in predominantly Pākehā settings (state primary, intermediate and secondary schools) seriously undermined their work and well-being as teachers and educators. This was evident in problems the women experienced with Pākehā colleagues, a perceived subordinated status within the school and policies that ensured resources for teaching of Māori language were inadequate. Stress, workload, lack of professional support and substandard teaching situations emerged as common problems among the women. The research concluded that, for the teachers and principals in the study, racism was the major obstacle to their participation and achievement thus impeding their teaching and administration experiences (Ibid:35).

While the research named the rage, the annoyance and frustrations experienced by the women and the assault on their sensibilities and spirit, there was no record of their resistance to the status quo (opposition to racist oppression). The realities of Māori women working in educational organisations are multiple and varied. Among shared experiences is working in monocultural institutions that produce an 'essentially hostile environment' and remain largely uncommitted to Māori needs and concerns. Therefore, what is necessary is recording the ways Māori women confront and

overcome barriers in various sites of the education workplace. Naming such experiences does not necessarily place the women as passive victims of systems of domination but as subjective/radical agents of change, transformation and difference. Systems such as patriarchy and racial hegemony that in Aotearoa, privilege Pākehā culture and ways of being. At the heart of such dominance are issues of power. In order to understand these issues and the full meaning of Māori women's experiences particularly in relation to power, a Māori theoretical perspective is useful.

The implication of Mana for Wahine Maori

According to Arohia Durie a Mana Māori approach would address issues of power at the heart of domination. In Māori philosophy, mana has to do with prestige, power and authority, and with individual and collective well-being (Mahuika, 1977:65-86; Marsden, 1977:145; Durie,1989:17). Mana is inherited and may be increased or decreased depending on "personal achievement or effort which enhances group well-being" (Durie,ibid). Individual mana is conferred by hapu or iwi thus providing an obligatory mechanism in terms of individual action. Since mana can be lessened, care is taken not to 'takatahahi' or trample mana, to do so is considered a serious transgression (Ibid).

Maori Marsden points out that included in the concept of mana are ideas inherent in words such as the Greek 'dunamai' from which are derived words dynamic and dynamo. The derivative means 'to be capable or to have power,' 'the ability or power to perform,' 'power in action' and 'the power of the spoken word' (Marsden, op.cit). It is important to note that Marsden speaks about mana in terms of 'power to', 'power in.' or 'power of' and not 'power over'. This is because in Māori philosophical traditions, mana is considered to be derived from higher forces, atua or gods. People are never

the source of power but may be agents through which the power of the gods may be expressed (Ibid). Arohia Durie maintains that as an evolving and 'dynamic state' the development of mana is essential to individual and collective development. Thus, "healthy development from a Māori view then requires the opportunity for people to reach their full potential in terms of Mana Māori"(op. cit).

Within the context of this study, the process of Māori women reaching their full potential in terms of Mana Māori may be expressed by the term Mana Wāhine Māori. Mana Wāhine "signifies the process of self-determination by which we [Māori women] determine our social and cultural future and give effect to our status as tangata whenua -as Māori women" (Evans, 1993:3). The process of self determination or tino rangatiratanga are those practices, procedures and strategies that Māori women employ either individually or collectively (Ibid) and which are grounded in the world views and language of Māori people (Smith, 1993:58). Mana Wāhine Māori is essentially about the power of Māori women to resist, challenge, change or transform alienating spaces within systems of domination.

Making Changes, Creating Waves

Ka pu te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi

'As the old net piles up on shore,

So the new net goes fishing'

Expressed in this whakatauki is the notion of change and rejuvenation "the emergence of a new generation from the foundation of the old" (Durie, 1989:15). Instituting and dealing with change within various sites of the education workplace have been among the challenges that each of the women in this study has faced. This has meant planning, developing and implementing various strategies to assist them as agents and recipients of the processes and outcomes of change. Their workplace experiences serve to illustrate the complex nature of power relations as the women attempt to re-map the workplace terrain and operate effectively within its boundaries. This has not always been an easy task, particularly when faced with alliances forged in resistance, or in turn when the women themselves have to take-up resistance measures. As Foucault argues, power relations 'serve' because they are capable of being utilised in strategies. But there can be no power relations without resistances that are formed at the point of the exercise of power relations. Resistances "exist all the more by being in the same place as power: hence, like power, resistance is multiple" (1980:142).

The historical moment of the 1980's and 1990's which helped shape the experiences of change in the workplace for Lucy, Hera, Pānia and Adelaide, was a time of radical social and political change. At every level of the education system, educators and administrators not only grappled with the pace of change, as Hera described, but with understanding and implementing state policies and processes underpinned by a New Right philosophy. In

terms of Māori educational development, favourable conditions were created in part by this climate of change, as well as by persistent Māori social and cultural politicisation.

Strategies for Change

Lucy's experiences within her current position as a school Principal illustrate the power relations at the hub of changes she instituted at a structural level. A clear example of this was her decision to radically alter the organisation of the school in line with a kaupapa Māori philosophy based on principles of whānau. She said, "*I decided that we were going to vertically group the school. We were going to change the whānau groups, we were going to talk about whānau and what it meant for the teachers and the families.*" Her plan was threefold; to 'get rid' of the conventional structures based on Piaget's progression of chronological hierarchy - New entrants, J1 and 2 class, Std1 and 2 class and so on; to remove segregated playing areas where "*junior people play up that end of the playground and the senior people play down this end of the playground*"; and to modify the mainstream Māori class based on a bilingual approach to that of total immersion.

Lucy's rationale for a kaupapa Māori structure was based on her experience of working within such a structure at a previous school. Six months as Principal, observing the predominantly Māori and Pacific Island children in the school, confirmed Lucy's belief that "*for Māori and Pacific Island kids...the environment has to be something that they're familiar with and they have to be comfortable in there before they actually make the progress.*" She considered that a school structure based on principles of 'whānau' removed barriers to the progress of Māori and Pacific Island children (the dominant group) by producing an environment that was both 'familiar' and 'comfortable' to them.

During Lucy's initial six month period as Principal and in her efforts to gather information from staff about the school, she said "*I spent an awful lot of time flapping around the edges ...asking about things...and getting answers but not quite enough information so that I could do anything with. It was very much a closed shop.*" The 'closed shop' signalled staff resistance to disclosing information and knowledge, and a resistance to change. According to Lucy, "*..they [staff] were sharing [information] but it was 'if you hope to make any changes here you're not', that was the feeling I got. Or it was very much the feeling 'yeah we did that last year and it didn't work' or 'we tried that two years ago, it didn't work'. So every suggestion that was made was 'oh no don't do that.'"*

As well as being confronted with a 'closed shop' as far as the teachers were concerned Lucy said "*it was also a hell of a battle with the parents from the total immersion class.*" Lucy's 'battle' was in having to resist strong parental pressure to implement exclusionary practises in terms of entry criteria to the immersion class. While the parents adamantly supported the shift in emphasis from bilingual programmes to total immersion "*they were also very restrictive in the way they wanted it.*"

Lucy's strategy to implementing her plans for the school and negotiating such barriers as 'closed-shop' and 'parental pressure' was a three levelled approach. This was achieved by lobbying individuals and holding 'hui' as part of a staff development approach and re-deploying staff in terms of their expertise.

Talking Through the Issues

Lucy argued that "*part of getting people to change is a major con job and that's how you do it. You go from one to the other and you talk about it and you discuss their views on things. Then you go to the next one and so it's a major con job...you have your view in mind, it may change a little, but in general terms that's what you do. You talk people around to your way of thinking.*" Lobbying support is an important part of the discussion process and reaching a satisfactory agreement between parties is the preferred process of Māori decision-making (Durie, 1989:15). This is confirmed by the following whakatauki;

Kei tēnā tonu te whakaaro hei tuarā i te kaupapa

Each individual has the opportunity to share in the
discussion to strengthen the cause⁴⁰

One forum for discussion is at 'hui' or meetings. Initially staff did not cope well with the changes so Lucy said, "*I started staff meetings...we had long sessions of talking through how I felt it [the school] could be organised...they [staff] weren't altogether sold on it...my strongest opposition came from my DP...an older person who felt that I hadn't really consulted and was used to having senior teacher meetings...I don't believe in senior teacher meetings. I believe in the fact that everybody is part of this operation...we all should talk about it and everybody has equal say to whatever goes, that's how I've always operated.*" Lucy's strategy of encouraging 'long sessions of talking-through' was in line with a Mana Māori approach to discussion, where at 'hui' rituals encourage open debate and allow each person in turn, space and uninterrupted time to speak. As Durie asserts, in terms of

⁴⁰Taiarahia Black, personal communication, 3/2/97, Department of Māori Studies, Massey University.

discussion between parties "time taken is not as important as the reaching of consensus" (1989:15). An important point is that 'hui' provided a concrete space for 'talking through' the issues and where 'everybody has equal say.' This democratic and open approach was in stark contrast to the DP's hierarchical and exclusionary preference for 'senior teacher meetings' as the locus of decision-making and consultative processes. Therefore, his opposition was really an appeal to maintain structures that support his preference for traditional bureaucratic ways of running schools..

Hui were also arranged with parents to alleviate their anxieties about the effects the changes might have on their children. The hui held with the 'total immersion' whānau took a different focus. In this context it provided space for Lucy to assist the whānau with the practicalities involved (such as formulating policy and curriculum outlines) in realising their aspirations for their children.

The 'hui' process was an integral part of staff development in terms of understanding, accepting and implementing the new structures (vertical grouping). So too was staff observations of such structures at other sites. Lucy explained, "*prior to the end of the year...[I] organised it so that all of the staff went out to the school that I had [worked] in to look at what vertical grouping was all about. They went out for half a day each and spent their time talking to the people out there and discussing how it went and what it did.*" Underpinning this strategy is the notion of 'personal interaction' expressed in the words 'te kano hi kitea', a face seen. Staff were able to 'see' for themselves the proposed structures (vertical grouping) 'in action' and discuss relevant issues with the practitioners 'face to face.'

The re-deployment of staff in terms of their skills and expertise was another strategy that Lucy used to implement structural changes but which, in some cases required 'selling'. For example, Lucy found that winning staff

support for alleviating immersion teacher workloads (such as initiating a policy of 1-20 pupil/teacher ratio for the immersion class only) was not an easy task. The idea had to be 'sold' to teachers working outside the immersion area which, according to Lucy, took time. She explained, "*when they [general teaching staff] started seeing how much work it [teaching in the total immersion class] involved, how much translation every night that the teachers had to do in order that they could actually operate the next day, they [general teaching staff]...started to realise 'oh my god you can have it! I don't want that kind of job!'...there's no discussion about it [1/20 policy] now. It's understood that there's so much work necessary to keep those classes going day by day because there just isn't the resources available to buy off the shelves.*"

In setting the 1/20 policy for the total immersion class in motion she approached one of the teaching staff (Polly), who was "*the only fluent speaker [of Māori] in the entire [school] and [who] was not in the total immersion class,*" to move from teaching in a general classroom to working in the immersion class. At this individual level, Lucy found that 'selling' the idea was not required since Polly was enthusiastic and agreed to move immediately.

This was also the case at a collective level when the whole staff supported Lucy's proposal for a full-time teacher librarian. Little effort was required to 'sell' the idea to the staff, even though it meant an increase in their pupil numbers in order to release a teacher for the position. It is likely that perceived benefits (such as time-out from teaching during class library sessions) may have contributed to staff acquiescence.

In terms of the examples cited here, the initiatives Lucy found difficult to sell (most often to Pākehā staff) were kaupapa Māori initiatives (such as whānau structures, 1/20 ration for immersion classes). Lucy's approach to transforming school structures allowed for active participation of staff and

parents alike. This meant engaging in strategies that encouraged positive ways to avoid, circumvent or overcome any barriers.

For Adelaide, as it was for Lucy, initiating or pursuing 'change' was about 'being radical' which is how she described herself. She said, "*for me, being a radical is a person who wants change and who actively seeks change. I do that all the time.*" She talked about 'seeking change' in relation to her whānau and to the workplace. In terms of the whānau, Adelaide emphasised a desire to influence a shift in the attitudes of some members, for example, "*towards whenua...seeing it as something to be treasured as a tāonga...not just a mere commodity that we can sell or swap.*" She viewed working with whānau as an ongoing commitment in tandem with her work in the workplace where she stressed a need to influence changes in attitudes among some of her Pākehā colleagues. One example she gave was in terms of habits she found culturally offensive "*like...wiping the floor with a tea-towel.*" Adelaide's strategy included "*actively role-modelling consistent behaviours*" and, like Lucy, "*talking through*" and "*discussing things.*" Quite apart from the health hazard produced by mopping floors with a tea-towel, Adelaide said that through discussion "*other people actually [found] it offensive too.*"

Adelaide's preference for 'dealing with people' was 'kanohi kitea' that is, "*face to face and when that has happened the words have come out and the behaviour's changed slightly but then they always seem to lapse back...unless I continually monitor (and I don't like the role of monitor) what's happening and I continually reinforce what I've been saying, the behaviour actually won't change.*"

As a school Principal Lucy's experience demonstrated her proactive attempt to transform the school site. By contrast, Hera described the 'harsh' reality of imposed change and the stress that resulted from the frenetic and crisis-ridden pace of change that took place during the Tomorrow's School's

restructuring. At the time she was Corporate Manager of a small team of 'creative' and 'innovative' staff. While Hera viewed the restructuring experience as stressful, she acknowledged that she also learnt new skills and ways to cope with the pace and stress of change. She explained, "*we were dealing with crisis all the time. Human resource crisis, change of procedure crisis and it was a stressful job because of that. But it in fact allowed you to learn a lot of skills because nothing surprised you. You'd been asked to set up something on Friday and you went in on Monday and it had all turned around. You just got on with the job of doing what you had to do.*" The internal environment was 'harsh' and produced "*an atmosphere where there [wa]s a lot of fear and intimidation.*" Hera believed that this 'atmosphere' was a major barrier to staff innovation and creativity. She maintained that her job as a manager was to protect her staff from a lot of the harshness. Her strategy was to try to "*run a democratic establishment within an autocratic organisation*" and "*to look for... room for them [staff]...to maintain their self-worth by doing things that they thought were creative.*" This Hera did by delegating tasks and responsibilities "*so they[staff] all felt as if they were important to the running of the place.*" Hera cited staff loyalty and a strong 'sense of unity' which resulted as an indication that her strategy may have worked. While the harsh environment proved to be a major barrier to staff creativity Hera said, "*that harshness in fact taught me new skills. It taught me what I didn't want to put up with and what I didn't think that these people [staff] should have to put up with.*"

Negotiating Unknown Territory

In contrast to Hera's and Lucy's experiences of change as managers, Pānia described the way in which she strategised to deal with change as a young and inexperienced member of a teacher liaison team. Her environment

included a shift in work focus, varied tasks, increased responsibilities and broad-based experiences working with different groups of people at various sites (such as primary, intermediate schools and the Ministry of Education). As a relatively inexperienced teacher, it was not surprising that Pānia initially found this environment daunting. Her strategy was to secure guidance and support in a new environment of change by consulting with experienced Māori women managers. Her strategy to consult with senior, experienced 'role-models' was important in assisting her negotiate areas that still remained unknown territory to her.

One example of this was planning a taha Māori course for Principals, most of whom were Pākehā men. Pānia explained, "*one of my first tasks was...to get all our principals together...we were going to run them through...a Māori language, Māori protocol awareness wake-up...I actually rang up Mārama and buzzed it past her. It was important for me to buzz that past her. By then she had become principal of Totara Park...and she said 'yep, good idea, ka pai.' I knew that Mārama would also be there [Principal's course] and would be a very supportive person...I was really nervous ringing these principals.*" Her unease stemmed in part from her inexperience at a management level and working with Pākehā male managers. She said, "*...outside of Mārama and Roimata I hadn't had to deal with what I saw as the management echelon side of other schools and also dealing with Pākehā males, the majority of whom were principals in the area.*" Pānia found it easier to 'deal with the Pākehā males' by telephoning them rather than through a 'kānohi kitea' approach. She explained, "*the [approach to Principals] were all telephone calls, they certainly weren't kānohi ki te kānohi sort of kōrero.*" Underpinning her discomfit with a 'face to face' approach were feelings of whakamā, that is "*having to say who I was and why I wanted them to come to this hui...feeling nervous at the idea of 'oh who is this*

Pānia...she's only a second year...summoning the Principals to this particular hui'." While her reception from Principals was positive, her strategy demonstrated a different approach to one she might have used if the Principals were Māori. She explained, "*if they had been Māori Principals...I would have met them before then and felt by far more comfortable about being able to go and see them...I may have even got to the stage of buzzing past what they thought [of the course] like I did with Mārama.*" Pānia's conjecture that if the Principals were Māori she 'would have met them before' was based on an assumption that in most areas of the country, because Māori teachers are few in number, they tend to know each other irrespective of their position as teachers or Principals. Although a second year teacher, Pānia already had substantial professional and whānau networks.

Having to 'deal with the management echelon' and 'Pākehā males' helped inform Pānia about the position of women generally and Māori women in particular, as under-represented as Managers of schools. In reference to her previous school Pānia said, "*I didn't actually realise how different...Mountain View was by having two women [Mārama and Roimata] in the two top positions and Māori women at that.*"

Hera also talked about changing attitudes or influencing behaviour. She argued that "*if you challenge...on a rational basis, people find it really hard to rationally argue that what they're doing is in fact okay.*" She maintained that "*you've got to challenge the people who are perpetuating the action, trying to validate the action in some way.*" Hera's belief was that "*you can set things in place, but unless you move the hearts and minds of people who are going to carry it on, it will fall into disarray, because basically they don't believe it.*" In their bid to 'move hearts and minds' Lucy found she had to 'sell' or 'lobby' and Adelaide 'monitored' and 'policed.' Hera raised the question that, in terms of the changes she initiated, she wondered how many would stand the test of

time after she left. A situation that is probably applicable to Adelaide and Lucy.

Freire maintains that, for any possibility of change (regardless of proportions) to occur within institutions "there must be a convergence of favourable historical and social conditions" together with a "social force capable of becoming the subject of change," that is, there must be an element of will (Escobar, 1994:59) or a 'movement of heart and mind'.

In Aotearoa, a climate of change was triggered by radical social and political transformation within a New Right philosophical tradition, on the one hand and persistent Māori politicisation on the other. Over time this resulted in a heightened awareness and an increased understanding, especially among Pākehā New Zealanders, of bicultural issues regarding such areas as Māori health, education, language, culture and the Treaty of Waitangi. It was this recent level of understanding and knowledge, that produced an 'element of will', among Lucy's staff and Adelaide's colleagues as subjects of change. But as Lucy and Adelaide discovered, the displacement of alienating structures with a kaupapa Māori framework (school organisation / attitudes and values), meant 'swimming against the tide'⁴¹ and counteracting dominant Pākehā systems. Pānia measured her limits as an inexperienced teacher and the risks that she ran (for example in preparing a taha Māori course for Pākehā Principals) and sought the guidance of experienced Māori women managers.

Swimming Against the Tide

Freire calls obstructions or barriers "limit situations." These situations are perceived differently by men and women as obstacles that either cannot be removed or that they do not wish to remove or as obstacles that they know exist and need to be overcome. According to Freire, it is those people who

⁴¹Freire refers to the task of reproducing the ideology of the dominant class as 'swimming with the tide', to attack and counteract the reproduction is to be 'swimming against the tide' (1994:31).

have understood the 'limit situation' that seek to act to counter such limits (Freire,1995:205).

Significant 'limit situations' the women in this study experienced were the various levels of racism. An analysis of such experiences shows that racism has no gender boundaries and in its various forms generated a barrier the women confronted, resisted and strategised to overcome.

Madan argues that racism should be seen in terms of 'levels', each level containing economic, political and ideological elements. He describes four levels for analysis; interpersonal, institutional, state and international (1991:33). Two levels, interpersonal and institutional, will be considered in terms of the women in this study. However, particularly at the state level, it is acknowledged that the state's role in setting up institutions (schools), laws, policies (assimilation/ integration), administrative structures and practices, has significantly disadvantaged Māori people.

Interpersonal racism "is the racism that occurs between individuals...and includes the understanding of personal bias, prejudice, stereotyping and so forth" (ibid). An example of this level was described by Adelaide. She talked about the introduction of taha Māori into the kindergarten curriculum. She found that a commonly held view among many Pākehā women colleagues was that Māori women in kindergarten, not only understood what taha Māori programmes were about, but, that it was the responsibility of Māori to teach it. Adelaide said, "*the expectation of all our colleagues, just because we looked brown we were to actually have all this knowledge [about taha Māori]. You know, what was their [Pākehā teachers] responsibility [to teach it]?...There were times that if we actually spoke out about things [concerning Māori], we were shunned by people [Pākehā women teachers] we thought had the greatest respect for us.*" Adelaide's strategy was to raise the issue of abnegation by Pākehā women teachers of a taha Māori

curriculum in kindergarten at a Māori Kindergarten Teachers hui (course). The hui provided a space for Māori women to discuss the faces of racism they experienced and the perpetuation of racist practices by Pākehā women (avoiding teaching taha Māori and unwillingness to make the effort to learn) and beliefs (teaching taha Māori is the responsibility of Māori only) within the workplace.

It was at a course (Staff College) that Hera experienced concrete examples of interpersonal racism among several Pākehā male participants. These episodes appeared in the form of "*racist type comments...in what I would call the 'white male pub talk' type of racism.*" The comments were not aimed directly at her or the one Fijian male participant but "*more generally at Māori and others*" The following excerpt provides a clear account of the effects such behaviour had on Hera at the course and her strategy of 'kanohi kitea' to counter it.

"I felt a lot about how I would deal with this [racist type comments] because it was really frustrating and it was keeping me awake at night. What I did was I identified the two main protagonists of this activity and decided that I would confront them and see if I could get something done about it. So about on day four of the course...I approached them separately and talked to them about what I was having difficulty with by virtually saying that I had really been looking forward to the course. In coming to the course I was disappointed because there were some things that were getting in the way. I talked to them about particular activities that had involved them that had made me unable to get the best out of the course. Although there was minor indignation about it, I think I got the point across because after that the behaviour modified considerably and I was able to get on with the rest of the course reasonably well."

In contrast to Adelaide, who admitted to knowing little about racism during the period described here, Hera had studied anti-racism education while on a Fellowship in London. The knowledge she gained, not only assisted her in recognising the face of discrimination ('white-male pub talk') and understanding the barriers that such talk provoked, but the information contributed to her application of strategic skills. These skills included identifying the 'protagonists', planning her strategy for counteraction, a 'kanohi kitea' approach and 'getting the message across'. Using a 'kanohi kitea' approach helped preserve the dignity (mana) of all persons concerned (including her own) thus contributing to a positive outcome (modified behaviour of the protagonists and Hera being able to 'get on with the rest of the course reasonably well'). For both Adelaide and Hera 'courses' provided a significant space for knowledge and application of counter-strategies to racist behaviour. Adelaide gained knowledge about racism from the Māori women's hui. Through the London anti-racism course Hera gained skills to counter the racist behaviour she experienced at the Staff College course.

Pānia described 'reading the signals' of Pākehā resistance to Māori initiatives at the secondary school where she is currently teaching. She observed 'signals' that were manifest in body language, actions and behaviour. One example she spoke about was staff reaction to a proposal for them to attend a 'noho marae' (marae stay) as part of their professional development. Situated as they were within a community with a significant Māori presence, the objective was for staff to gain a better knowledge and understanding of the Māori students, their families and the community. Pānia said, *"now the first prickly signs...was the walls, the barriers immediately came up as soon as the noho [marae stay] was proposed."* The 'prickly signs' included comments such as - *'I've never been to a marae!' 'I don't know what to do!' 'Would we be expected to stand up and say where we're from?' 'I*

didn't come to New Zealand in a canoe! According to Pānia these remarks were followed by "lots and lots of excuses-'got family commitments' 'got to look after my kids', 'I don't know whether I'd be able to stay but I'd certainly be there for the day,' all that sort of thing." For Pānia, staff attitudes were a source of frustration. She viewed their comments and excuses (or "hedging" as Pānia described it) as a gauge to their lack of commitment to things Māori. And measured against the generosity with which the marae community and elders would support the staff at a 'marae stay', her resentment was not unreasonable. Her concern was especially for her kaumātua (Uncle Pere), a well-known elder, scholar, respected leader and national figure whose support and knowledge the school depended upon at the local marae. Pānia said, "I was hōhā [frustrated] because I could see with the attitude [of the Pākehā staff] that it seemed almost sacrilegious...that Uncle Pere who was willing to share...could possibly be wasting that sort of mātauranga [knowledge] on these people who didn't want to be there." While verbal comments provided significant 'signs' of Pākehā resistance to kaupapa Māori initiatives, Pānia found that 'silence' also proved just as potent. She cited an example where the Principal's support was crucial in resolving a matter concerning Māori programmes in the school. She said, "I was looking towards Trevor (Principal) for some support and he didn't give it...to a degree those were the signs...by him verbalising absolutely nothing and I was...seeking his support." Body language (that is posture, combined with verbal language) was also a 'sign' that measured Pākehā resistance. For example, when Pānia notified senior managers (Pākehā) that Māori bursary students would attend a two week immersion wānanga outside the school environs, she said there were "lots of moans and groans...I knew that some people were not pleased...that was how I interpreted their whole body language."

Over time Pānia learnt to measure Pākehā resistance to kaupapa Māori initiatives, in part, by observing and interpreting 'prickly signs' such as 'hedging,' 'silence's' and 'body language.' Her strategy to 'swim against the tide' was to anticipate Pākehā reactions by visualising (*I put myself in their shoes*) what counter-arguments might be raised to undermine her. But to overcome such barriers required a necessity to be prepared. She said, "*I think...this might be their counter-argument, what's mine?*" Her counter-argument to senior staff opposition to Māori bursary students being absent from school for a week to attend an immersion wānanga, was to point out that week-long senior camps and geography field trips were standard practice in the school.

This latter example not only demonstrates an interpersonal level of racism but also an institutional level. At this level, racism is manifest in large organisations and institutions and "is often expressed in certain taken-for-granted customs, routine practices and procedures" (Sarup, op.cit:34). In Pānia's case, the routine practice of week long senior camps and geography field trips that privileged certain groups (senior students and students of geography) was a practice not considered applicable to senior students (most of whom were Māori) of Māori language and is a clear example of institutional racism.

Lucy spoke about being the 'token' Māori woman on education committees to satisfy a quota of Māori and/or women. She said, "*we all know that lots of times we are put into the positions [on education committees] because we happen to be Māori women and that's the little boxes they want to tick as they're having a meeting. I've known about that for donkey's.*" Despite this and an awareness that 'token' membership "*is a waste of time,*" Lucy takes advantage of the spaces such membership offers to "*have her say.*" However, she warned that "*sometimes you think 'oh no I'll get in there and do*

these things for Māori' and sometimes you are in there but you haven't got a hope in hell of doing anything because it's already been done. It's already been sealed up and signed! Completed! And unfortunately we [Māori] get done like that tons of times." Her comments were based on an experience she had while working for an education task-force committee writing guidelines for schools. Her area of responsibility on the committee was to work on the Treaty of Waitangi aspect. However, she found that the Treaty considerations she had worked long and hard on were not included in the completed guidelines. The task-force principles and objectives had been set prior to the committee commencing their work but this crucial information had not been released to them. The rules that were set before hand had been withheld. This construction of 'objectives' or terms of reference and the control of knowledge as well as of procedure to formulate guidelines for use by schools in Aotearoa, without consultation with Māori, is an example of institutional racism.

For Lucy, her experience was a "*salutary lesson*" and provided the basis for any future decisions she might make regarding committee membership. Now, if approached, her strategy is to interrogate committee motives in respect of Māori membership. Lucy explained, "*I say...to people...what do you want us there for? Is this because you need to have it on your consultation sheet? It says that you must have a Māori, is that what you want us there for? What's the purpose of this? Are we just wasting our energy here or is there going to be some outcome for Māori? Otherwise if it's a waste of time I'm out of here...I ask about things like, where are the guidelines for this whole process? Where are the objectives? What's the process of writing?...Otherwise I'll just say no not interested sorry."*

Ngatai's approach to facing discriminatory practices within the institution in which she currently works, was to "*rock the boat*" and raise the

issue with management. For example, she brought to attention the way in which (at an institutional level) the advisory service sanctioned Pākehā advisors excluding support for Māori teachers. She said, "*we work to [three] ministry outputs...one of the three is Māori education...it's an output that all advisors have to participate in...our Director felt that that area was covered [by Māori advisors]...my feeling was that...it was an output that wasn't just for Māori advisors [but] an output for all advisors...it's a ministerial output that we are all expected to work towards and we're contracted to work on three outputs and one is Māori education.*" However, Ngatai's strategy sometimes depended upon negotiating a formidable hierarchy of male gate-keepers (team manager, director, assistant Principal, Māori manager, the College Principal and College Council). To overcome patriarchal hierarchies (Pākehā and Māori gatekeepers) and dual racism's of institutional (sanctioning Pākehā exclusion of outputs for Māori education) and interpersonal (interaction with non-Māori gate-keepers), Ngatai networked with other Māori staff and often formed coalitions with Pākehā women outside the organisation. She explained, "*there's a group of Pākehā women who are very genuine in their desires to implement Māori into their programmes and are very genuine in their own beliefs about Māoritanga...for them and their own lives. So I often go to them to get a Pākehā view of Māori issues, but only in terms of organising strategies, not in terms of who cares. Just in terms of organising strategies that actually are going to make a difference [for Māori].*" A coalition such as this emphasises an acknowledgement that privileged individuals (such as the Pākehā women outside the organisation) who are not themselves victims of racial domination are capable of choosing to support and work on behalf of those that are (Ngātai and other Māori advisors). As Bell Hooks asserts,

such solidarity does not need to be rooted in shared experience. It can be based on one's political and ethical understanding of racism and one's rejection of domination (1992:14).

Ngātai's and Pānia's experience shows that levels of institutional and personal racism are neither distinct nor separate, but that a dialectic link exists between them (Sarup, op.cit:34).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the way in which the women in this study contest, create and capture space for Mana Wahine Māori in the education workplace. As agents of change, their work-place experiences serve to illustrate the complex nature of power relations as they attempt to re-map the workplace terrain and operate effectively within its boundaries. Experiences of change, of negotiating unknown territory and 'swimming against the tide' serve to illustrate ways in which the women strategise to overcome and counter alienating spaces in the work-place.

Chapter eight deals with issues that centre on tikanga in the work-place and of inter-relations among and between Māori men and women within the context of the workplace site.

Chapter 8

Mana Wahine and Tikanga in the Workplace

"In terms of the way that we behave, the way that we think, our realities are influenced by all of our...tikanga whakaaro which make us who we are. Things like our understanding of mana, aroha, whanaungatanga because that's the way that we operate as Māori people. All those concepts drive us, you know. They are the reasons that we operate in a particular way, that we survive and the reasons that we do things...even people who've not necessarily been brought up strongly in tikanga Māori, there are still things which environmentally they've taken on board anyway. Yea, they are what we are." (Ngātai)

Linda Smith has pointed out that the term Mana Wāhine Māori,

"is broad enough to embrace a wide range of women's activities and perspectives. It is a strong cultural concept which situates Māori women in relation to each other and upholds their mana as women of particular genealogical groupings. It also situates Māori women in relation to the outside world and reaffirms their mana as Māori, indigenous women" (1993:61).

Much of the discussion about the women in this study in various sites of the workplace has been about their experiences in relation to non-Māori and 'the outside world'. While issues associated with 'te ao Pākehā' (such as 'swimming against the tide' and racism) are workplace realities for the women, cultural imperatives which simultaneously situate them in 'te ao Māori,' add to the complexity of their experiences. This chapter deals specifically with the women's workplace experiences in terms of 'te ao Māori' and interrelations between Māori men and women, that emerged as significant.

A Bicultural Context

By the mid 1980's an emphasis on biculturalism as a basis for Māori policy became part of the New Zealand public service ethos. Mason Durie (1994:104) describes three structural levels of biculturalism⁴² that range along a continuum between an unmodified monocultural institution (such as treasury) at one end and an independent Māori institution (such as mārāe) at the other.

One level of the continuum is the addition of a Māori perspective into the culture of the organisation (such as taha Māori programmes in schools), rather than as an "integral part of the core business"(ibid).

A second level attempts to accommodate a "representative Māori work force and an opportunity for a Māori component to develop within the central mission of the institution" (ibid). Bilingual or total immersion units in schools are examples.

The third level, represented by Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, is of parallel institutions which operate separately with some degree of autonomy within state guidelines but "which enables them to conduct their activities entirely in the Māori language and within a Māori cultural context"(ibid). Concomitant with these structural arrangements are bicultural goals. These may vary, from acquiring cultural knowledge and skills, to goals that may be aimed at achieving positive outcomes for Māori over a range of activities within a department or institution (ibid:103).

It is within this climate of 'biculturalism' that aspects of 'tikanga' were incorporated into the culture of the education workplace. The concept of 'tikanga' (protocol) is multi-formed and "is woven into every institution that Maori culture has" (Pere, 1982:42). In the context of this study tikanga refers to those customary rituals and practices that are grounded in 'te ao Māori' and

For an indepth discussion on definitions of biculturalism refer to MH Durie, 1994 pp 99-104.

"that are seen to be right for a particular occasion" (Pere, 1991:34). These include rules, plans, methods, approaches, customs, habits, rights, authority and control. Karakia (formula of words), pōwhiri (formal welcome), karanga (call), mihi (welcome speech), whaikōrero (formal speech) and waiata (song) are examples that are underpinned by tikanga and contribute to a protocol process.

For the women in this study, their experiences of tikanga in the workplace were situated within an environment where Māori perspectives were largely an addition to, rather than as an integral part of the culture of the organisation. Three significant threads emerged regarding 'tikanga' in the workplace. First, were issues related to 'working with our own'- that is, interpersonal interaction between Māori. Second, was the notion of tikanga as a strategy to create space for ways of being Māori. Third, was concerned with issues of co-option of tikanga by non-Māori.

Working with 'Our Own'

Mana wahine is a strong cultural concept which situates Māori women in relation to each other and their tribal group (Smith,1993:61) and to Māori men.

Discussions with the women about Māori men revealed several levels of interaction. These were informed in part by colonising histories, that promoted a patriarchal order of power-relations on the one hand, and cultural imperatives in terms of gender roles grounded in a Māori orientation of the world, on the other. Since colonisation, the imposition of Pākehā hegemonies on Māori culture and society has transformed relations between Māori men and women making it necessary at times to construct alternative patterns of interaction.

Ngatai for example, criticised the way some Māori men perpetuated gendered myths about Māori woman in terms of customary practices. She said, *"I remember going around teaching kids that 'women did not touch taiaha' because that's the stories I heard and they came from men...then blow me down...I was talking about ...Tiakiawa who said his grandmother had taught him, I said 'well how did these amazing women do that then without touching the taiaha'. These are the sorts of things I think we have to take responsibility for. If men themselves won't get real then we have a role in protecting our mana wahine."* She supported strategies that increased the profile of Māori women in the educational work-place particularly in those organisations, whose promotional practices for example, seemed to favour Māori men over Māori women. She pointed to the high numbers of Māori male manager's in education compared to Māori women.

While Māori men 'managed', it was Pānia's view that Māori women *"put into action things that need to get done...men talk about ideas but they don't deliver them. I think women have lots of ideas but they're just not voiced...as strongly as the men, they're [men] too busy sitting on the paepae and taking up all the space, the protocol and tikanga."* Pānia was critical of the absence of men involved in the groundwork. By comparison she emphasised the visibility of Māori women as the initiators and driving force behind kaupapa Māori programmes and at the forefront of the drive for Māori self-determination.

Hera acknowledged the 'driving force' and 'passion' of Māori women to *"influence the direction for Māori kids."* She linked this passion with a nurturing role and qualified this by quoting the words of a Māori woman teacher who said *"when I'm a teacher, I'm teaching kids but when I see these Māori kids I see myself"*. Hera's view was that Māori men faced the pressure

of having a huge number of roles foisted on them which often pulled them away from the nurturing roles.

Lucy expressed her view that many Māori male public servants had been co-opted by the state as "*strong gate-keepers for the system and they won't let us in.*" As far as Lucy was concerned, in terms of Māori development generally, such men become "*barriers to progress.*" She said, "*we keep saying...if you're Māori and you work in those positions [in the public service], you must be able to do something for Māori otherwise what are you there for.*"

Speaking Rights

There are tensions in constructing alternative patterns of interaction in the workplace, the issue of 'speaking rights' is an example.

Hāriata spoke about her experiences as a school principal in 'Māori situations', where she was expected to stand and address a formal gathering. In these circumstances cultural imperatives, that take into account her tribal affiliation, age and gender take precedence over her position as a school Principal. She said, "*sometimes I'll stand up and I'll say 'i raro i te mana o Te Kāreti Tuarua'⁴³ if I've got to speak, which clears me from any tribal involvement. I've done that a couple of times in a Māori situation.*" Hāriata 'clears' herself by signalling her intent to speak on behalf of Tuarua College and not her tribal group [Ngāti Awa] thus reducing the risk of transgressing tribal practices that forbid women to stand and *whaikōrero*. These are practices that she both acknowledged and respects. Speaking rights as a male prerogative is a non issue for Hāriata. She would argue that it is women who hold the real political power ("*you may have the male...standing up with the *whaikōrero*, but I know who calls the shots*") and the men who speak are

ranslates as 'under the mantle of Tuarua College'.

doing so as their representatives. Explaining her position relative to her male kinsmen Hāriata said, *"if I'm...at a Māori teachers' course, Tama Pipiri, for example because he's [Ngāti Awa], he'll stand and he'll speak for me if it's imposed on me...if there's no men here [at school]...you won't get me saying a whaikōrero out there [outside]...I will inside. But if men are there....and there's someone who is pakeke [older] to me...I'm always very conscious when they are around"* In assessing appropriate tikanga for an occasion, Hāriata *"worked out for herself"* that differentiating between her position as a Ngāti Awa woman on the one hand, and as the Principal of Tuarua College on the other, not only 'clears' or 'covers' her from possible transgressions. Within the context of an education site, it allows for a degree of flexibility in terms of cultural practices that are negotiated between Māori men and women according to the occasion. Furthermore Hāriata demonstrated, how tribal privilege informs Māori women's notions of social behaviour, setting standards that govern tribal and inter-tribal interactions. For example, in terms of her position as a Ngāti Awa woman Hāriata said, *"you will always find that if there's Ngāti Awa men around, they know [if the situation is right for her to speak or not]. They will either say 'kei te pai, you can do it' or 'no, māku, I'll do it'...so I let it be known when I'm standing on behalf of Tuarua College."*

Relations between Māori men and women in the work-place are complex.

Pakeke/rangatahi; tuakana/teina

Often in circumstances where it is appropriate for women to speak, Hāriata considers other women who are present and who may be older. She said, *"I do another thing, like I give it [the task of speaking] to Mere as being pakeke [older]...it's this thing all the time where you've got a pakeke there and*

not to takatakahi [trample] that pakeke." Being very 'conscious when pakeke are around' and making sure 'not to takatakahi' one's elders and therefore deferring to them, remain important values as expressed in the following whakatauki.

Mā te tuakana ka tōtika te teina,

Mā te teina ka tōtika te tuakana

- It is through the older sibling that the younger one learns
- the right way to do things. It is through the younger
- sibling that the older one learns to be tolerant.

While Hāriata was able to uphold tikanga relevant to her pakeke in the workplace, Ngatai experienced some challenges with observing the same customary protocols between herself and an older woman (Mona) with whom she works. The nature of their work not only required a competent level of cultural skills and knowledge, it also depended on effective management skills. When Mona experienced difficulties with certain management tasks Ngatai was compelled to assist. She explained "*what I try to do is to give her an opportunity to deal with them [tasks] in a way that...she doesn't feel that she's being bullied by me or...that I'm being whakahihi [arrogant]...I'm aware that there are protocol issues here of rangatahi [young] and pakeke, kaumatua...I do develop strategies to try and keep her mana intact.*" Ngatai described keeping Mona's 'mana intact' as a "*difficult process,*" one which often required her to seek support and guidance from "*my network of people*" outside the organisation. Referring to these experiences, Ngatai compared her position as a Māori in the workplace with that of her Pākehā colleagues. Ngatai said, "*Pākehā people can go to lots of places to find the resources that*

they need to deal with some of the less pleasant aspects of their daily work. But we don't because we have other cultural issues to deal with like...rangatahi and pakeke."

The right to Karanga

Among 'other cultural issues to deal with' in the workplace was the issue of karanga (call). This centred around who should or should not karanga and the appropriateness of karanga in the workplace.

Ngātai described karanga as being "*a mahi that is particular to Māori women...[that is] a women's form of expression...[and that] expresses the mana of women.*" Thus, she was unsure about allowing young girls to call. She said, "*[the karanga] is just too tapu for young girls. They didn't do it on the marae and I'm beginning to feel that it shouldn't be done in schools. But I'm still thinking through this notion of perhaps schools being an inappropriate place for the karanga to be done.*" Customarily, karanga was the task of older women who had passed the childbearing age. This was considered necessary to protect the wharetangata thus ensuring the continuation of the tribes procreative potential.

Adelaide also expressed reservations about the appropriateness of karanga in the workplace. Her dilemma was concerned with a responsibility to uphold tribal tikanga regarding karanga in appropriate settings and the reality of a work-place environment which was at odds with such settings. She explained, "*I was also taught that it was inappropriate to karanga inside a building, that the karanga is something where you actually put your voice out to the wind and let the wind carry it...it was just those little things that I've been taught that, unless I clear it with those who taught me, then I sort of hesitate to actually change what they've taught me.*" 'Clearing it' with the elders that taught her, meant seeking their advice and permission to

accommodate such tikanga in the work-place setting, thus allowing her to proceed and karanga 'inside a building'.

Hera spoke about her reluctance to karanga because she lacked confidence to do it well. But she also talked about her desire to experience 'feelings' that other women described transcends them when they karanga. Hera said, *"I am reticent about it [doing the karanga] because I am not good at it and I have not yet got the feeling that some people tell me they have that something bigger than them takes over and they do it. I don't think I've ever got that feeling. I'm not sure whether I'm too pragmatic or too nervous...I've never really got that feeling so I've never really felt comfortable enough to get it. I'd love to get that feeling. I'd love to stand up and feel that it was something bigger than myself that was doing this. But I haven't got it yet. Maybe I will one day...so I always felt that somebody else had greater authority to do it than I did."*

Given the cultural significance of the karanga for Māori women, Ngatai rejected the idea of Pākehā women doing the karanga. She said, *"I don't think they [Pākehā women] should be allowed to [karanga]."* She believes it is a responsibility for Māori women to ensure that Pākehā women do not. *"I think that we should object and be open in our objections."* The issue of Pākehā women and karanga was a moot point with Hera. She described feeling "a quiet fury" when Pākehā women within the organisation did the karanga. She said, *"I always felt that it was like being on a stage where people said here's the script go out and do it...it seemed a little obscene to me, for people to do that."*

What is 'obscene' about such behaviour is that it displays an ignorance of and insensitivity to the significance of karanga and the tikanga that underpins it. This is bound up in interrelationships that are recognised and observed between Māori women. These interrelationships take into account

each woman's position in terms of their tribal affiliations, whakapapa, age or place in the family. Tribal privilege informs Māori women's notions of social behaviour thus setting standards that govern tribal/inter-tribal interactions that are perceived and understood. For example, Ngatai spoke about observing customary practices by not doing the karanga if she is in the presence of elders unless invited by them.

Hariata also observes such practices. She was quite clear about that, "*I wouldn't dare go against the dictates of the tribe...if they're there with me like...the old kuia or one of my sisters I won't [karanga] or my aunt. If I'm with the girls [students] and somebody's got to do it [karanga] and Mere's not there, I will.*"

Adelaide was sanctioned by her kuia to karanga but she made the point that "*part of that tikanga of the karanga was sort of like tuakana/teina, tamāhine/whāea, you know the mother/ the daughter. I was always taught that as long as my mother was alive or around, then I wasn't to karanga unless my mother specifically handed it to me.*"

Pākehā women who, in the presence of Māori women, do not observe tikanga in respect of karanga (such as whakapapa, tribal affiliation and age) are culpable and guilty of takatakahi (trampling) the mana of Māori women. While, as Ngatai maintained, it is the responsibility of Māori women to object to Pākehā women who karanga, it is also the responsibility of Māori men. Their complicity in allowing Pākehā women to karanga, particularly in the presence of other Māori women, is in and of itself an act of takatakahi te mana o ngā wāhine Māori.

Karakia in the Work-place

Although most often translated or understood as 'prayer' there is no single word in English that adequately covers all the meanings of karakia. It

may however be defined as a 'formula of words' or 'incantation' aimed at obtaining benefit or averting trouble (Buck, [1977]:489).

Hera viewed karakia as a corridor to the past, an emotional and tangible link with the past. She said, "*for me karakia is...more than a prayer. It's more than a sort of a religious thing. It's like an affirmation of the past and a link with the past. It's a declaration of some sort of unity that's all linked together.*" In the context of the workplace, it was this notion of unity in terms of a collective well-being ('obtaining benefit or averting trouble') that provided part of the rationale for her introducing karakia into the culture of the organisation. She said "*we always start our meeting with a karakia. We always end with a karakia...in the group I was in before we did that and even when I wasn't there people felt uneasy when they didn't do it. They felt as if the meeting wouldn't go well unless they did it. So it was part of the culture of the place.*"

Adelaide talked about karakia in terms of her individual well-being, for example "*the way I make myself safe...doing my karakia before I leave on the road*" and as protection for moving into other tribal areas unaccompanied by an elder.

While tikanga such as karakia affirmed a collective and/or individual well-being, it's continued practice in the work-place also revealed struggles to do with power. This centred around issues of Pākehā resistance to tikanga, and counter-measures by Māori to protect tikanga against 'tokenism' and co-option.

Ngatai regarded the inclusion of tikanga (karakia/pōwhiri) as a way of capturing and claiming space for Māori. It was a way of contesting the monocultural ethos that pervaded the work-place and as a resistance measure to exclusionary practices perpetuated by the dominant (Pākehā) group. She said, "*they [Pākehā] were excluding us [Māori] and it wasn't always intentional but*

you know that's the reality...so we began to just put some things in place like just saying...we'd like to start off with a karakia and finish with a karakia so those [tikanga] were just being put in because they were our expectations." By creating space for tikanga in the workplace, such as karakia and pōwhiri, Ngatai believed that this would go some way to encouraging genuine bicultural interaction. But by Māori creating or claiming space for Māori in the work-place, two significant concerns emerged.

'Tokenism' in the workplace

One concern was that by introducing Māori protocol and rituals into a non-Māori environment, there was an increased risk of Māori facing issues of 'tokenism' and Pākehā resistance to tikanga Māori. Tokenism in this context refers to superficial behaviour, attitudes and actions with respect to Māori values and culture.

Hera's frustration stemmed from encountering tokenistic behaviour at meetings for example. She said, *"I got to the stage where I actually refused to say a karakia in those circumstances because it was tokenism. I thought it was absolutely ridiculous to stand up before a meeting where Māori things were going to be pushed aside or be treated as if they were irrelevant and get someone to do a karakia at the beginning because that would give it a Māori flavour. I just thought that that was an insult."*

In Ngatai's case, to help avoid tokenistic situations meant negotiating with non-Māori staff and setting in place relevant policies. Ngatai explained, *"[we] organised at meetings for things...about the kawa [tikanga] of this organisation to be discussed and talked about ...what used to happen was that when important people were coming into the centre, then there was a bit of a dial-a-pōwhiri, 'what shall we do?' sort of style of things."* But even setting policy was not necessarily a guarantee of Pākehā commitment in the absence

of Māori staff. Ngatai said, "*when I'm not there[at work] it [karakia/waiata/pōwhiri] doesn't happen.*" In her current work-place Hera said "*I'm trying to introduce it[karakia] in as part of the culture of the place...but it's still very strongly Māori led here.*"

Pākehā construction of Tikanga

Another concern was in the co-option of tikanga by non-Māori managers. For example, Ngatai objected to management decisions regarding protocol in the work-place, that committed Māori staff to tasks without consulting with them. One example, was Management's decision to hold a 'blessing' ceremony for a new room and then informing Māori staff about it. Ngatai said, "*they [management] thought that it was appropriate to have it blessed...so when are we[Māori] going to have it blessed.*" The Management not only assumed authority to make decisions regarding 'appropriate' occasions requiring a Māori ritual (blessing). But they expected Māori staff to assume responsibility for planning, organising and implementing their decision thus, releasing themselves from further responsibility. In Ngatai's words, "*they [management] assumed that it [blessing of room] should be done and that they would call the shots and tell us to get our backsides into gear and organise it.*" What must not be overlooked is the way in which such episodes have the potential to undermine interrelations between Māori. Ngatai's Māori colleague (and pakeke) was the first to be approached by Management and she agreed to carry out the task. This placed Ngatai in a position where she was forced not only to 'rock the boat' with management, but to call into question the decision of her pakeke.

A shared 'whakaaro' (decision-making) among Pānia and the bilingual whānau was to resist the school's 'dial-a-pōwhiri' policy, by refusing to take part when informed by management to do so. Pānia explained, "*we resist dial-*

a-pōwhiri...we will decide when we pōwhiri and who we pōwhiri and where we pōwhiri...It was...really resisting that whole feeling of we're just 'dial-a-pōwhiri'. As soon as we have finished we are sort of shunted off into a little room and our kids told to go home. And us, we'd sneak around the back door while the rest of the staff are sitting on the stage..." Ngatai also found it necessary to set in place policy to avoid 'dial-a-pōwhiri' in her workplace "because what used to happen was that when important people were coming into the centre then there was a bit of a dial-a-pōwhiri" with the non-Māori management making the decisions and 'calling the shots'.

Hera also objected to non-Māori 'calling the shots' on matters to do with tikanga. She was 'riled' by a Pākehā male who "used to say to me 'now you have to say the karakia cause you're the only Māori here'...I would say I will decide when I say a karakia here and when I won't." She expressed feeling ambivalent about tikanga in the work-place but thought that, in terms of relations with non-Māori, it's relevance was in helping "to shift Pākehā who are open to having their work scrutinised by Māori and accepting Māori advice."

Hera described Pākehā attitudes to tikanga in the work-place in terms of a concept she referred to as the 'Missionary Syndrome'. Her theory called for three phases. The first, is characterised by a zealousness associated with political correctness "where people who are beginning to get some understanding about another culture or something, suddenly get this huge missionary zeal and everything has to be absolutely correct." The second, is a diffidence to act without consultation "on every jolly thing...they get so diffident that they won't do anything". The third phase, is when Pākehā become directors of Māori people. Assuming the standpoint of a 'Pākehā director' Hera described the elements of this phase. She said, " I [Pākehā director] know all of these things have to be done, absolutely critical that

they've got to be done but I, as a Pākehā, shouldn't do it so any Māori around has to do it.' So in a way they've [Pākehā] become director to Māori people 'this is the way you [Māori] people are supposed to behave'. That's the feeling that I used to get about this karakia. I used to feel that it was an unfriendly atmosphere and that no Pākehā was going to direct me to do the things that were part of my culture." This latter phase aptly applies to Ngatai's experience regarding the Management's planned 'blessing' ceremony (which did not go ahead) and to Pānia and Ngatai's work-place policy of 'dial-a-pōwhiri.'

The 'power of numbers'

In terms of Māori and tikanga in the work-place, Hera, maintained that the organisation's strategy to perceived 'Māori problems' within its culture was almost always a crisis-initiated response. She said, "*Māori ways of going about things are usually subsumed by the overall organisational goals unless there's a crisis. If people run out of ideas within the organisation, the normal organisational culture for dealing with a problem and it's to do with Māori, then they will say 'come on you Māori tell us how to solve this problem'. I think that's happened in all of my dealings with things.*" She identified the success of tikanga in the workplace with having the 'power of numbers'; that is having a number of Māori staff occupying spaces within the organisation to counter the power of the organisation to undermine 'Māori ways of doing things.' Friere refers to this type of action, as "ideological materializing of the institutional space" (1994:52). Hera found this to be the case when the smaller arm of the organisation in which she worked included herself as Manager, another capable Māori woman (who could act as Manager from time to time), two other Māori staff and a Māori receptionist. She said, "*I think that if we hadn't had the visible framework of Māori people who were talking Māori things and pushing Māori things, we wouldn't have got as far as we did.*" The

cost of transforming the organisational culture was the enormous investment of time by Māori in educating their non-Māori colleagues. Hera said, *"because we had spent such a lot of time trying to build a Māori thing there and getting people's reo...up to scratch, I think the more people learned of te reo and tikanga...the more they learned about how little they knew...so the more they acknowledged where the expertise lay."*

Working in corporate educational organisations Hera described always fighting against what she termed 'an inner battle' with *"what is tokenism and what is valid in the workplace"* and with *"what was Māori work and what wasn't."* The move nationally in the organisation to improve non-Māori staff's knowledge about Māori was considered preparation for any Māori situation they may encounter in schools or with Māori groups. Appropriate responses to pōwhiri, mihi or waiata for example. Hera expressed strong views on the boundaries she considered such responses were restricted to. She said, *"my view is that that sort of work is sufficient to get people through activities that are Māori that happen in schools. It does not give them the licence in my view to go out and do that in the general setting."* Thus the practice of tikanga by non-Māori in the workplace was viewed by Hera as situated within the confines of the work-place setting. Knowledge and skills acquired by non-Māori, most often from Māori instructors and tutors or kaumātua brought in specifically for the purpose, was not a permit for use outside the parameters of the work-place.

Cultural Safety

In the face of the women's struggles such as 'swimming against the tide' and countering barriers to their ways of being Māori and women in various sites of the educational work-place, I wanted to know what it was that sustains them in their work? What gives them the energy? How do they

maintain their sense of well-being? The notion of 'keeping safe' and a concept of 'safe-havens' emerged.

For Adelaide, 'water' and the reciting of karakia were important to keeping safe and providing her with a sense of personal well-being. This follows customary practices where water and karakia are inseparable elements in rituals of symbolic purification, and spiritual and physical well-being (Durie, 1994:11).

Lucy expressed the importance of "*making yourself culturally safe*" by seeking out and establishing 'anchors' whom she described as "*people that you would refer to, that you would ask, that you would talk to.*" In her own situation, her 'anchors' were an older Māori woman within the workplace, other Māori outside the organisation and her whānau. But she also emphasised the reciprocal nature of systems of 'anchors'. Seeking support of an 'anchor,' someone who could be consulted, demands a reciprocal action of support which at a collective level meant "*keeping each other safe.*"

For Lucy, keeping safe was important for her to be able to "*feel that I can go forward...that I'm comfortable in what I do, I have the support in what I do and if I don't have the support, that people will tell me very quickly...And in keeping safe I remain who I am...but I don't lose who I am in a situation, that I remain Māori and that I remain...being a Te Arawa woman.*" Thus maintaining her integrity as a Māori woman, upholding the values that are grounded in te ao Māori.

The notion of 'personal safety' as in Adelaide's case and Lucy's 'cultural safety' may also be explained by Hera's concept of 'safe-havens'.

Hera's concept of safe-havens may be viewed on two levels. One is the personal and private. At this level, spaces are created to retreat, to rest, to mend, to rebuild or to regroup. Hera explained, "*I think people work best if at least a small part of their lives is a safe haven...if you've got a safe-haven with*

a buddy or whatever...you can actually deal with the strife around you." This might include one's home and partner as in Hera's case, or whānau as with Hāriata, Lucy, Pānia and Ngātai, or rituals with karakia and water as practised by Adelaide. However, Hera acknowledged that at this level, the notion of a safe-haven is not always possible therefore it has to be created. She said, "*in your personal life it's important but you can't always get it in your personal life then...you have to create your own safe-haven, that's in keeping your own counsel, reinforcing that you're worthwhile to yourself if nobody else is going to do it.*" In the schooling site, Pānia alluded to a reliance on self-resources as 'digging deep' as she coped with boarding school life. Adelaide's self resource is found in retreating to the bush, near water and in karakia which is her link with tipuna. For Hera building safe-havens is about 'digging deep' and remembering tipuna who are her reference points with which she gauges or measures difficult situations. In these situations Hera said, "*I think back to Tairaoa and I think how can I wimp out on this if his blood is through my veins. I can't do that. So in a way that's sort of building that safe-haven. So it doesn't matter really whether people are putting you down...cause you know that within you there is some element of strength that's been given to you and you've got to somehow find it again or use it again.*"

At the work and public level safe-havens are spaces within the organisation that "*might be created by a mentor, by a colleague, by a friend, by a network...a whānau safe-haven within the organisation.*" Lucy's 'anchors' within the organisation is an example of this. Safe-havens according to Hera may also be created by "*network[ing] across organisations. Some people find that effective. I think because I'm pretty private really, I don't find that particularly effective. I have to have a hands on face to face sort of relationship.*" For Lucy and also Ngātai their 'anchors' are outside the

organisation with 'other Māori', such as members of Māori teacher committee groups.

In terms of being managers, both Lucy and Hera emphasised the importance of being a 'safe-haven' for their staff. Hera explained, "*my own feeling here is that I am the safe-haven. I'm part of the safe-haven for my staff here. Unless they see me as some-one that they can trust to listen to them, to support them, to lead them and all those sorts of things, then their world is a bit shaky.*"

Conclusion:

For the women in this study, practices and rituals of tikanga in the work-place offered a space for ways of being Māori and a space of resistance to the toxicity of a harsh mono-cultural environment. Location in such spaces allowed for the production of counter-hegemonic discourse manifest in actions (strategies to counter Pākehā co-option of and resistance to tikanga). At the core of power struggles (Māori assertion /Pākehā co-option) that centre around tikanga and other Māori cultural practices in the workplace, are definitions of biculturalism. As Mason Durie maintains there is no single definition. Biculturalism has come to mean different things to different people stimulated by vague understandings and differences in perceptions (1994:103). Confusion arises when one tikanga (Māori) is transposed onto another (Pākehā) without establishing clear guidelines of the parameters. Thus, for some biculturalism is the injection of a Māori 'flavour' in the workplace. For the women in this study, it is the right of Māori to self-determination and the right to retain control over customary practices because of the cultural significance associated with these traditions. Creating safe-havens at a personal and public level provides space for the women to heal,

gather strength and above all to maintain their integrity as Māori, as women, as grandmothers, mothers and daughters.

Chapter 9

Drawing the Threads: Concluding Remarks

There are few studies that focus on Māori women's experiences of working in educational organisations. This thesis is but one attempt to address this largely unexplored area. Much that has been written about Māori generally and Māori women in particular are stereotypical constructions written by 19th century male commentators. More recently, many of these Eurocentric views have found their way into contemporary writings by non-Māori men and women scholars. Historical accounts by Māori scholars provide analyses grounded in a Māori world view that deconstruct Eurocentric views of Māori society and customary practices. Recent publications written or edited by Māori women give further insights into the lives of Māori people which provide a theoretical basis upon which to analyse the experiences of women.

A kaupapa Māori research methodology based on Māori philosophical understandings of the research process provides the basis for this thesis. This is research by Māori, with Māori and for Māori people. Principles of mana, mauri, mahitahi and maramatanga provided ethical guidelines for conducting the research into the lives of the six Māori women educators. A kaupapa Māori approach meets the criteria of a Māori system of ethics and accountability necessary for validity of findings and for purposes of accountability.

In this thesis three sites - home-place, school and workplace provide a framework for considering the women's experiences.

The notion of home -place was about identity and concentrated on how a sense of home-place reinforces a sense of cultural identity. With reference to

the metaphorical homeland of Hawaiki, a distinction was made between metaphysical and physical links with the home-place. At a metaphysical level distance to the home-place was collapsed into space (that of adult recollections) and time (recollections told in the present). At a physical level, such links were reinforced through physical links to the land, knowledge of whakapapa, living close to whānau, the importance of the marae and experiences of Māori language.

Familial relations in their childhood homes in terms of the division of labour, revealed a complex and contradictory nature of power relations experienced by the women. These patterns of power were not a singular reality but were patterned along lines of patriarchy, customary concepts such as tuakana/teina, patterns of complementarity and matriarchy. Significant in the lives of all of the women were positive models of womanhood that were grounded in specific sets of experiences and informed by culturally specific knowledge. These were models of strong women (grandmothers, mothers, aunts, sisters and cousins) who remain a significant influence in their lives.

The educational experiences of the women illustrate the complex positioning of Māori women and girls within the education system. All of the women recalled positive experiences of schooling related to being able to cope academically and therefore experiencing success. This was further reinforced by parental emphasis on education that contradicted commonly held views which blamed parental apathy for Māori failure. All the women experienced the cultural discontinuity between home and school. This was manifest, for example, in racist attitudes among peers, multiple experiences of marginalisation and in a curriculum that reinforced the supremacy of Pākehā culture and tikanga. By contrast, the Māori boarding schools perpetuated notions of the 'boarding school' and 'cultured' girl based not only on western

cultural aesthetics but also on Māori cultural practices that affirmed them as Māori and as young women.

A common thread in the career trajectories of the women was a commitment to Māori education. This commitment was seen to be strengthened through, among others, a process of political conscientisation enhanced by attendance at courses, interaction with iwi and access to male and female role models who occupy positions of power.

The women's experiences demonstrated the ways in which they overcame sexist barriers to gain access, 'win a place' and participate in exclusive courses and male domains. Here access included the valuable knowledge about systems (government and business) in education that work to privilege mainly Pākehā men. Courses also provided a space for personal and professional growth, development and political conscientisation of the issues affecting Māori educational development. Concern for the collective interests of Māori people was demonstrated by all of the women in agreeing to and seeking promotion which would lead to positive gains (as opposed to negative outcomes) for Māori in education. The influence of professional role models in shaping the contours of their careers was emphasised by most of the women. Such models included the patronage of men and women who occupied positions of power in the organisation.

This thesis explored the way in which the women contested, created and captured space for Mana Wahine Māori in the education workplace. As agents of change, their workplace experiences served to illustrate the complex nature of power relations as they attempted to operate effectively within the boundaries of the workplace. Experiences of change, of negotiating unknown territory and 'swimming against the tide' illustrated ways in which the women strategised to counter alienating spaces in the workplace. Practices and rituals of tikanga in the workplace offered space for ways of being Māori and space

for resistance to mono-cultural environments. Location in such spaces allowed for the production of counter-hegemonic discourse manifest in strategies to counter Pākehā co-option of and resistance to tikanga. Definitions of biculturalism were found to be at the core of power struggles (Māori assertion /Pākehā co-option) that centred around tikanga and other Māori cultural practices in the workplace. There is no single definition of biculturalism, instead, biculturalism has come to mean different things to different people stimulated by vague understandings and differences in perceptions. Misunderstanding occurs when one tikanga (Māori) is transposed onto another (Pākehā) without establishing clear guidelines or parameters for interaction. For some biculturalism is the injection of a Māori 'flavour' in the workplace. For the women in this study, it is the right of Māori to self-determination and the right to retain control over customary practices because of the cultural significance associated with these traditions.

The complexity of Māori women's experiences was reinforced by the cultural realities of interrelations between and among Māori men and women. Colonising histories that promoted a patriarchal order of power relations and gender roles grounded in a Māori world-view informed levels of interaction with Māori men. The effects of colonisation have ensured the imposition of Pākehā hegemonies on Māori culture and society thus transforming relations between Māori men and women. This has resulted in the construction of alternative patterns of interaction. The creation of safe-havens at a personal and public level allow space for the women to heal, gather strength and to retain their integrity.

Finally, the multiple voices in the oral narratives of the six women reflect the complexity of their lives mediated by multiple realities of living and working in a dual world of te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā. The women refuse to be limited by repressive or artificial circumstances that emerge as a

condition of negotiating between two worlds. Their stories are positive reflections of mana wāhine that find expression in the following whakatauki;

Whaia e koe te iti kahurangi

Ki te tuohu koe me maunga teitei

Pursue that which you cherish most dearly

If you bow your head

Let it be to a lofty mountain.

Appendix 1

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Sites - Home-place, school, work-place

1. **Biographical Background**
 - Turangawaewae - marae & tikanga experiences
 - Familial upbringing / how social relations were conceived & understood
 - The Influences of people/places/major events or changes on personal development and eventual career choice
 - Attitudes, beliefs, practices, values and meanings gained from / attributed to upbringing and associated social and cultural experiences

2. **Experiences of schooling and education - early childhood, primary, secondary, tertiary**
 - Major influences - family (parents' schooling) / teachers/ peers/ events/ situations/ institution/ environment
 - Attitudes, beliefs, practices, values and meanings gained from/attribution to experiences of schooling.
 - Effects of education on personal career trajectory
 - Perceived outcomes, opportunities, losses and gains from experiences of schooling
 - Strategies to cope with losses/gains

3. **Current Educational work-place**
 - Career -path to this point
 - Nature and basis of the work/responsibilities held
 - Current concerns/Issues/understandings about
 - the workplace
 - education generally
 - Māori men, Māori girls, other women
 - Treaty of Waitangi
 - Personal outcomes - initiatives, opportunities, gains, losses or changes from working in this workplace
 - Strategies employed to cope with difficulties/problems/issues/changes

4. **Mana Wahine**
 - te ao tā whito and links with today
 - mahi wahine - i roto i te ao Maori me te ao Pākehā/he rere kē , he rite tonu rā nei
 - Outside influences that impact on the work-place

- Obligations to whānau including those specific to Māori women - impact/implications on the workplace
 - Issues/challenges
 - Strategies to cope with relevant issues/challenges
 -
5. **Multiple realities - Expressions of these in the women's lives.**
- Articulation and manifestation of multiple realities
 - Comparison to Māori men, other Māori women and women generally
 - Specific approaches, processes and strategies that women employ to cope with the multiple realities in which they live.

Appendix 2

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

Contemporary Perspectives of
Māori women Educators

Consent Form

I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I also understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, or to decline to answer any particular questions in the study. I agree to the use of a tape-recorder but I have the right to ask at any time to have it turned off.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my identity is completely confidential.

I wish to participate in this study under the conditions set out on the Information Sheet.

Signed _____

Name: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 3

Themes / Categories

<p> WHANAU HAPU/IWI (red) parents siblings significant relatives religion childhood church community involvement conflict -x/cultural connections/links to tipuna escape freedom health home-place home life kaumatua manaaki tangata narratives/stories national iwi politics ngā kuia me ngā koro ngā tangata me nga wahine obligations parents pathways home/forward rural community sense of security significant events socialisation suburban community tangata maori te reo tipuna whakapapa whānau support whanaungatanga </p>	<p> TIKANGA (green) customary practices tangihanga menstruation in the workplace wairua references create karakia/waiata/kapa haka </p> <p> MANA WAHINE (purple) division of labour gender roles identity independence influences manawahine marriage motherhood perception of self personal relationships personal needs/interests menstruation pregnancy reflections wahine Māori -women & girls talking theory wharetangata Māoriwomen& knowledge </p> <p> ROLE MODELS (pink) within the profession whānau members mentor patronage </p>
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<p>FORMAL EDUCATION (blue) primary secondary boarding school tertiary career - choice, decisions, subject choice teachers/principals - Māori / Pākehā school community</p>	<p>CAREER (gold) choice decisions path progress promotion head-hunting courses -professional level</p>
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<p>WORKPLACE (yellow) changes challenges discriminatory practices exclusionary practices exploitation frustration kaiako Māori support management roles Māori in the workplace Māorimanagers/ management practice Māori /Pākehā teacher interactions marginalisation mediation minority in the workplace networks Pākehā in the workplace Pākehā managers politics of the institution power and control professional development promotion protection road to management safety & well-being safe-haven strategy processes stress support survival systems-management teaching tokenism union involvement winning-a place/voice/acceptance/ respect workplace environment/culture workload</p>	<p>POLITICS (orange) activity/action of the institution involvement politicisation</p> <p>MĀORI EDUCATION (grey) issues Māori children Māori teachers Māori parents bilingual/immersion</p> <p>MAORI/PAKEHA RELATIONS (brown) interaction with Pākehā power & control racism reading the signals/signs tokenism cross /cultural tensions</p>
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