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Ngā pūrākau o ngā wāhine rangatira Māori o Aotearoa

The stories of Māori women leaders in New Zealand

A thesis presented for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in Psychology

Massey University

Rebecca Wirihana

2012

Whakarāpopoto: Abstract

Māori women form the backbone of Māori communities and have long worked within political, health, social, legal, religious and educational community environments to enhance the status and wellbeing of Māori communities. Traditionally, Māori were seen as maintaining roles of balance, harmony, and leadership in te ao Māori (*the Māori world*). This study sought to explore the life experiences of Māori women leaders and how these have been influential on their roles as leaders in Māori communities. Thirteen women were identified by Māori in their communities as leaders and were interviewed using pūrākau (*traditional Māori narratives*) as a method for life story narrative research in kanohi ki te kanohi (*face to face*) interviews. Using a research analysis framework based on pūrākau and the four words which comprise its whole, pū (*source*), rā (*light*), ka (*past, present, future*), and ū (*from within*), four important research findings emerged. First, their source of leadership began from their ūkaipō (*early childhood nurturing and protection*) and was sustained by their connections to whakapapa (*genealogy, descent*) and guided by whānau (*family*) expectations. Second, particular experiences which led to enlightenment were important in sustaining and guiding their roles as leaders through the development of moemoeā (*visions, aspirations*) for their communities. These experiences involved wairua (*spirituality*), mātauranga (*education*) and experiences of racism and discrimination. Third, future aspirations in their roles as leaders were strongly influenced by past and present experiences in their specific social, historical and political contexts. Fourth, the individual attributes these women brought to their roles as leaders enhanced their roles in Māori communities. These attributes were nurtured and encouraged from generation to generation in Māori communities particularly through traditional Māori narratives such as whakataukī (*proverbs*) and pūrākau. These findings were interpreted to show how Māori leadership has evolved to meet the needs of Māori communities, and how Māori women have been actively involved in meeting and advancing these needs. As a result, this study provided insights into how leadership in te ao Māori was developed and can be used to encourage leadership in future generations.

Ngā Mihi: Acknowledgements

Many thanks to the women who have participated in this study for your time, your support and your faith in this study. I can only hope that I have been able to honour your stories and shine a light on the infinite work you have done for Māori throughout your lives. I would like to thank my supervisors Professor Kerry Chamberlain and Associate Professor Denise Wilson for your direction, expertise and unwavering support over the years. Your involvement in this journey has been amazing and without your guidance this study would not have been possible. To Te Rau Puawai and the kaimahi of the Office of the Assistant Vice Chancellor Māori and Pasifika, thank you for sharing this journey with me and for your constant ability to manāki me throughout this process. To Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga and Te Rau Matatini thank you for your commitment to ensuring this journey could happen and for the resources you continued to provide over the years, ka nui te mihi kia koutou. To my many friends for your faith and encouragement, arohanui kia koutou katoa. Most importantly, to my whānau for bearing with me – ahakoa kō ngā piki me ngā heke, ka nui te aroha kia koutou katoa.

E hara taku toa he toa takitahi, engari he toa takatini.

My strength is not from myself alone, it is from those who surround me.

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Te whakatakotoranga ō tēnei rangahau: thesis structure

Te kaupapa o tēnei rangahau: thesis overview

The purpose of this research was to explore how the life experiences of thirteen Māori¹ women influenced their roles as leaders for Māori communities. I aimed to do this by seeking out diverse Māori women leaders who provide roles of leadership in dynamic and inspiring ways to enhance and develop Māori communities. I proposed to analyse their life stories to identify how their life experiences guided their roles as leaders within their communities, and to identify the experiences which led these women towards achieving the success they have experienced throughout their lives. In addition, I aimed to identify the life experiences which supported their development as leaders, which could be drawn from and utilised to enhance whānau and leadership development in Māori communities today.

The focus on leadership within this study grew out of a desire to engage in a research project, which highlighted positive aspects of Māori communities. Māori leadership is a phenomenon within Māori communities which has survived across many generations. Māori have grown inspirational leaders who have influenced their communities and examples of Māori leadership reverberate throughout traditional and contemporary narratives. These narratives include examples of leadership which arose from within traditional Māori society such as those based on Maui who against all odds was able to tame the sun and raise Aotearoa (*New Zealand*) up from the depths of the ocean (Reed, 2007). They are demonstrated in the work of such leaders as Dame Whina Cooper who was a founding member of the Māori Women's Welfare League and Te Puea Herangi who regenerated the Māori King Movement (King, 1991; 2003). Narratives of Māori leadership and heroism were embedded in Māori tradition and are inspiring when retold. However, although these stories of Māori leadership exist Māori people often need reminding of their potential and require encouragement to meet this potential in full. I believe if Māori were consistently reminded of their potential there would be more Māori success in education, health and all other aspects of day to day life. It was for

¹ Māori are the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa (*New Zealand*).

these reasons I aimed to identify how Māori women's life experiences influenced their ability to develop as leaders in Māori communities in a society which often failed to support and nurture them. This failure to nurture Māori women leadership was noted by Hoskins (2000) who stated that 'the marginalisation of Māori women [occurred] through the destruction of our spheres and seats of power, and the imposition of colonial and Western ideologies of gender and race' (p. 38).

Māori women's roles in Māori communities have long been neglected in Aotearoa (Jenkins & Pihama, 2001; Johnstone, 2008; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1992; Wilson, 2004). Yet Māori women have been critical to Māori development over the years. I have seen their influence in the work I have done in mental health, in prisons and in my experiences of education throughout my life. Māori women have been pivotal in shaping the development of Māori communities yet their stories are not often explored, acknowledged or renowned in the wider community. As a result, this research aimed to bring the stories of Māori women to the forefront of this thesis to ensure that they would be shared using their voices and in their words.

During the interviews in this study the life stories these women shared were extremely moving narratives. When listening to them I felt they needed to be captured and maintained for wider community. Their experiences, knowledge and gifts in oration were impressive and their stories were powerfully inspiring. As a result, the first volume of this thesis includes 11 of the collaboratively edited narratives provided by the women in this study and based on their life stories as they were shared during their interviews. My aim in sharing these stories was to *whakamana* (*give prestige to*) their experiences and to honour their life journeys. They have also been included to ensure that their stories would not be lost in the process of completing this study. Ensuring that the narratives remained at the front of this thesis and were not relegated to footnotes or appendices was central to the study because they were as important as the research theory, methods, analyses and findings. Finally, I hoped that as a consequence of being shared these stories might inspire leadership in others.

Te āhuatanga o tēnei rangahau: thesis outline

The following thesis has been broken into two volumes. As discussed previously, the first volume has been dedicated to the stories and voices of the women involved in this project. Eleven of the women's narratives were collaboratively edited with each woman and approved for inclusion in this final report. At the time the thesis was submitted I was unable to finalise and obtain approval to include Sharon Rickard and Annette Sykes transcripts. Both women had consented to participating in this study and were agreeable to being named during their interviews, however due to the busy nature of their lifestyles we were unable to finalise their transcripts for inclusion within this thesis. In addition, my original intentions were to include their narratives in the thesis at the final submission stage because the narratives were never intended to be included in the examination process. This allowed for an increased time frame to confirm approval from both Sharon and Annette for inclusion of the narratives within volume one of this thesis. However, during the examination process it was decided their transcripts would be omitted and all of their quotes would be paraphrased rather than included verbatim within the research analysis. All other quotes from the remaining eleven women were used verbatim during the analytic process (Volume 2).

Entering the women's narratives into the first volume of the thesis was a means for highlighting the collaborative nature of this project. Collaborative working relationships were maintained with the women by ensuring they were aware of the progress and evolution of my study in addition to being involved in the editing process of each story. My focus on editing each narrative was imperative to ensure that each woman was comfortable with the information they would be sharing within a public forum. This was important as many of the women shared intimate details about their life stories during their interviews. As a result, it became pertinent to ensure that they were enabled an opportunity to edit or delete any information they shared during this study, which they chose to remain private. This process was also conducted to offer opportunities for them to consult with their whānau (*family/families*) to ensure that they too were happy about the transcripts, which were going to be used in the study.

A further aim for including the narratives as the first volume of this research was to highlight the importance of their participation to the success of this research. In my experience of research and working alongside other research students I have become aware of the difficulties facing research students when attempting to recruit Māori participants within their studies. Consequently, using their stories highlighted the importance of their willingness to participate in this study. Sharing their stories became a method I aimed to use to promote Māori women's experiences within the wider Māori community and to celebrate the work they have done within these communities. These stories are a celebration of mana (*prestige, power, authority, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma*) Māori and a tribute to the work these women do for Māori. They are a tribute to the Māori women in Aotearoa who have for many generations been leading the way.

The second volume of my thesis is dedicated to the theory, method, analysis and findings of this research. To this end, the first chapter discusses the nature of Māori women's roles in traditional Māori society and how these roles have evolved over time. The second chapter discusses the dynamics of traditional and contemporary Māori leadership and how they have both influenced the role of Māori women leaders in Māori communities. The third chapter discusses the influences of narrative and kaupapa Māori theory to the development of this research. The fourth chapter highlights the methods used to conduct this study including ethical considerations, the interview process and the development of this thesis structure. It then describes the development of pūrākau (*ancient story, legend*) as a method for research analysis in the context of this study.

Chapter's five to eight were dedicated to analysing the women's life story interviews using pūrākau as a framework for analysis. Chapter five looks at the source of the women's leadership development. Chapter six discusses the experiences they had which led to enlightenment and enhanced their roles as leaders for Māori communities. Chapter seven explored how their past and present experiences influenced their future aspirations and directions as leaders for Māori communities. It goes on to discuss how social, political and historical contexts shaped their experiences and the work they do as leaders for Māori. Chapter eight describes the individual attributes these women demonstrated, which instigated and sustained their roles as leaders in Māori communities. The final chapter provides a concluding summary of the findings in this study and highlights how these findings can be used to inspire future leadership and research development in Māori leadership within Māori

communities. It discusses the contributions this research has made to the body of Māori leadership knowledge and offers suggestions for future research. Kupu Māori (*Māori words*) and te reo Māori (*Māori language*) will be translated in the first instance they are used within the thesis. To begin with, I am pleased to be able to share with you the stories of the women I interviewed for this research.

Ngā pūrākau o ngā wāhine rangatira Māori o Aotearoa nei: the stories of Māori women leaders in New Zealand



When you write about people's lives, you become part of the story. I am blessed to be endowed by these women to share their stories in the hope that it will help others understand and support Indigenous women in their life and career journeys (White, 2010, p. 23)

The interviews with the women in this study were conducted over a 15 month period between 2009 and 2010. Each woman was selected to participate in this research based on feedback I received from their communities about the work they do for Māori. The following is a brief synopsis of their interviews in the order that they were completed. This is followed by their collaboratively edited interview narratives in the order that the interviews were conducted.

Although I have included a discussion regarding their interviews, as noted earlier, Annette and Sharon's transcripts have been removed from the thesis.

My first interview began with Beryl Woolford-Roa who was identified as a key supporter of adult women learning te reo Māori in Auckland. I interviewed Beryl first because she was known to my whānau and local to Auckland. Beryl was given copies of my information sheets and discussions regarding consent were held at our first meeting. The initial interview with Beryl was held in her home and was followed by a number of formal and informal follow-up meetings, which focused on reviewing her transcripts and editing her narrative together.

The second interview was with Kirsty Maxwell-Crawford in her office at Te Rau Matatini in Wellington. I knew Kirsty personally through her work at Te Rau Matatini and following our initial interview regular contact was maintained using email correspondence. Due to the nature of her work in Māori health workforce development we were able to connect at a number of different forums we attended throughout the duration of this study. Kirsty was identified as a leader in her community because of her work in Māori health workforce development. Kirsty was the first coordinator of the Te Rau Puawai programme, which was a scholarship programme based out of Massey University. She then became the Chief Executive Officer for a national Māori mental health workforce development service, Te Rau Matatini. Kirsty has been a strong and dynamic leader for both services over the past decade.

My third interview was with Louise Elia whom I knew through her connection with my whānau. Louise was a kaumatua (*elder*) for the Waitemata District Health Board. She has been working in health and social services for a number of years now and she mentors a number of people working in these fields. Louise and I initially made contact through her connection with my whānau and the interview was organised using email correspondence. Our initial interview was held in the staff kitchen at the Waitakere hospital after hours. Since this interview Louise and I have maintained email correspondence and held additional meetings in which we collaboratively edited her transcript.

The fourth interview was with Kuini Rangiamai (née Moeahu Karena). I was asked to consider Kuini for an interview because of her involvement with Māori Women's Welfare League. Kuini joined the League when she was 14 years old and she was 83 at the time of

her interview. Kuini worked in the League in a number of different roles including security, transport, cooking, providing food parcels and helping organise conferences. Kuini's work in the League and her commitment to its purpose is an example of why the League has been so successful. It has been due to the many volunteers such as Kuini who have kept the Māori Women's Welfare League going. They have provided the foundation from which the league was able to grow due to their commitment and dedication to its purpose.

My fifth interview was with Tariana Turia and was held at the Auckland Domestic Airport. The interview with Tariana was organised entirely through her personal assistants. Many interviews were organised and rescheduled in both Auckland and Wellington until a meeting was organised at the Auckland airport. This interview was conducted in public area and due to the nature of her work as the co-leader of the Māori Party many people came to speak to her during the interview. This highlighted how while in public she was always working. I believe that because of her role as a Minister of Parliament she has to be available to people where ever she goes.

My sixth interview was with Rangitīnia Wilson at Awataha marae, which is an urban marae based in North Shore City, Auckland. This was the first interview in this study to be conducted on a marae. Rangitīnia has been one of the most significant people involved in the development of this marae for the Auckland community. She was the Chair for the Board of Awataha Marae and was renowned in her local community for the work she has done promoting Māori health and education. She was a previous president of the Waiwharariki branch of the Māori Women's Welfare League and throughout her life she has worked in a number of different roles with Māori in prisons and within social services.

Following the interview with Rangitīnia I met with Pani Waru. Pani was one of the kaumatua with the Te Rau Puawai scholarship programme. She provided a leadership role for all students within this rōpū (*group*) within her own whānau and in the work she does professionally and in the community. As a member of this scholarship programme I have watched as Pani would begin working from the pōwhiri (*formal Māori welcoming ceremony*) until early hours of the morning providing cultural supervision and support to students from all over Aotearoa.

The seventh interview I held was with Annette Sykes, which we organised in Auckland while she was travelling to Northland. We held this meeting in the Office of the Assistant Vice Chancellor Māori and Pasifika (*Pacific Island*) on the Albany campus at Massey University. Annette was identified by a number of people in the community as someone who has always stood up for what she believed in with relation to Māori communities. Annette has had a strong voice regarding her work on behalf of Māori rights under the Treaty of Waitangi and regarding Māori community development. More recently, she has been one of the leading figures in the development of the Maori political party, the Mana Party.

My eighth interview was with Ngahuia Te Awekotuku whose thesis I had the pleasure of reading when I was completing my honours project. Ngahuia has been an inspiring academic leader for Māori women. She has been a huge inspiration for wāhine Māori (*Māori women*) based on her perseverance and dedication towards the arts, academia and mātauranga Māori. Ngahuia's contribution to the development of mana wāhine theory is highly renowned and her work will influence many future generations of wāhine Māori (1991). She has also been involved in the Māori and Pasifika Research Unit with the Waikato University.

My ninth interview was with Caren Fox in Wellington at the home of her whanaunga (*relative, relation, kin, blood relation*). Caren is currently the Deputy Chief Judge for the Māori Land Courts. Caren was suggested for an interview by her colleagues based on the work she has done for the Māori community. In my search for wāhine (*woman/women*) to interview Caren was another woman who was consistently identified by members of the Māori community as a Māori community leader and a potential candidate for this study. Caren is a leader for wāhine professionally and is an inspiration for the Māori community both tribally and nationally.

Towards the end of 2010 my timeframe for interviews was coming to an end and I held three interviews in relatively quick succession. The first of these final interviews began with Naida Glavish at the Auckland District Health Boards Greenlane Clinical Centre. Naida was the Chief Advisor Tikanga and General Manager for Māori Health at the Auckland District Health Board and a member of the iwi leaders group in her role as the chair for Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whātua (*The Ngāti Whātua Tribal Council*). I met Naida in my role with the Auckland District Health Board (ADHB) in the Māori Mental Health Services while she was in her role as the Chief Advisor of Tikanga for the ADHB.

Following my interview with Naida I scheduled an interview with Sharon Rickard. Sharon currently runs a private Māori Clinical Service in Counties Manukau. Sharon is a clinical psychologist who has been working in Māori communities for many years. In her role as a senior clinical psychologist she has supported many Māori students in their studies at the University of Auckland. Sharon was suggested by a number of my colleagues because of her mahi (*work*) with whānau and her support of students in psychology. I conducted my interview with Sharon at her office.

My twelfth and final interview was held with Helen Moewaka-Barnes at her office with the Massey University Te Rōpū Whāriki (*The Whāriki Research Group*). Helen is the Director of Te Rōpū Whāriki and has been for a number of years now. She was also the Associate Director for The Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation within this research group. Te Rōpū Whāriki service focus was to provide high quality research, which would support the development and aspirations of Māori communities and was aimed at improving health outcomes for Māori. Helen was suggested to me by a number of people to interview because of her mahi with Te Rōpū Whāriki and within the Māori community.

During the process of conducting these interviews I learnt valuable lessons professionally and personally from these women and I hope that by including their stories in this thesis they will enhance your experiences as they have mine. These women offer an immense wealth of knowledge and skill and it was my great pleasure to be able to work with them.

Nā Beryl Woolford-Roa tēnei kōrero: the story of Beryl Woolford-Roa



Okay, I think I need to start way back when ‘cause my family background has just shaped everything I do. This is where I gotta be careful ‘cause it doesn’t just involve me it involves everyone in my family.

My mother was from Maniapoto and she was a very strange lady because she was one of seventeen kids and her mother, granny Hana, came from the Ormsby family. Have you heard of the Ormsby family? I’ve never talked publicly like this not because it’s a big secret, but because this involves my whole family.

So my grandmother and grandfather, he’s from Maniapoto too. I’ll show you a picture. That’s granny Hana and she married cousin Reti and Reti’s dad was from Maniapoto, but his mother was from Te Āti Awa. Granny Hana’s parents were both from Maniapoto and when Maniapoto got done from 1886 onwards all the land got stolen by the crown legislation and the Native Land Court, which was when those two were born.

She was born in the 1870s and they owned the whole of the King Country. It was totally owned by Maniapoto. She was about five when the Native Land Court came and by the time they died they had no land. They never had enough land to give any of their children except one daughter and one grandson. They went from total ownership of the King Country to nothing and they'd seen this descent in their lifetime.

So, granny Hana tried to bring her kids up as Pākehā-fied as she could and none of them spoke Māori very well. I can understand why she did this because being Māori wasn't gonna get them very far. She was the guts of the family and she was the matriarch so she brought her family up very harshly. They were really really poor and they farmed the land they had left, but they weren't very successful farmers.

My mother was the second youngest of all of her children and by the time my mother was born Granny Hana was in her forties and she was already a grandmother. My mother was born in the late 1920s. I don't know what the hell happened to her, but she was born in the 1920s and I think life had become easier for my grandparents. Most of their kids had gone and they weren't struggling as much, but they were never rich.

Anyway, my mother got involved with her cousin at the end of WWII and she was only about fifteen or sixteen. This bloke came from a very traditional Māori family and people like my grandmother who was trying to Pākehā-fy her family looked down on them because that's the way it was. So, this bloke was considered lower class by my grandmother and he had gone to WWII and come back completely done and he was a violent alcoholic. His sister was telling me that you used to see it on the news reels when the Māori battalions came back. There was a whole ceremony at Ngāruawāhia and they had all the kui kuia in their greenery and their black when all the soldiers were coming back. When they came back to Tainui there were huge big hui especially at Tūrangawaewae with Te Puea in charge and he wasn't there. Auntie Sharon told me his mother sat in the railway station for three days and three nights waiting for her son to come home and then her father came and carried her home. She hadn't seen him for years and didn't know what the hell had happened to him. Anyway, her brother turned up several weeks later and never said anything, he never said anything. She was still a kid at the time and she said, "I don't know what happened." So, my mother got involved with this bloke who'd just come back from WWII totally screwed and she got pregnant to him. She would have been sixteen and I don't know what the hell happened but she had that

baby in Auckland. She got sent away and adopted out and he was the first mokopuna of that other family. What should have happened was he should have been given to the other family, but that never happened. I dunno if she was responsible. I don't know what the hell happened. Anyways, my mother went back and two years later she had another baby to him and the same thing happened.

I don't know what happened after that but their relationship broke up and she met my father. He was a married Pākehā Catholic with children and he left his wife and went with my mother and his wife moved to Auckland. His wife was practically disowned by her family because they were staunch Catholics and in those days you couldn't get divorced. She spent the next few years being outcast from her family and being a housekeeper. You know what being a housekeeper meant in those days? Solo mothers couldn't get a benefit and often became housekeepers. It put a roof over their kid's heads and it often meant screwing the employer as part of your job.

My father and mother got together and I'm pretty sure they had a baby, but God knows what happened to it! Then a year later they had me and I got adopted out and then a year and a half after me they had my sister who got adopted out. So the pattern of her life from her first baby she just repeated it, repeated it, repeated it. She never kept any of her children and all her life she said she had no children and people used to feel sorry for her because she loved children so they felt sorry that she couldn't have any. Her whole life was a lie! A complete lie!

She stayed with my father till she died. She stayed with the man who had done this to her! She might have gone into automatic mode, but he never did anything about it. I met them when I was seventeen and somewhere along those years he said to me that he didn't want her to have children because she was such a good cook and house wife and he needed her to do the work. Now he might have just been telling me bullshits because he was a bit of a bullshit artist, but horrible aye?

I got adopted luckily. I got adopted by a Pākehā couple and I'm so grateful because if I'd have been bought up with those two it would've been a hell of a life. My mother, my adopted mother, she'd had an interesting life too. Her dad was a Pākehā from a Waikato farming family and they weren't rich, but her mother died when she was born. She had older

brothers and sisters but her father kept the older brothers and sisters and because she was a newborn baby he took her to her maternal grandparents and he never saw her again for another twenty five years. However, she was brought up in a very loving family by her grandparents. Her grandparents were Norwegians and they lived in Dannevirke in Norsewood. They were all saw millers and rabid Salvation Army people. She was born about 1918 so this was during the 1920s. She died about thirty three years ago but she used to talk about her grandparents all the time. She was brought up as the baby of a huge Salvation Army family and they were very strict. You could never drink alcohol. You never went to the pictures and you never wore lipstick, but they were loving people so she was lucky.

Then she met dad just before WWII and he was from a Salvation Army family too, but not as strict. It was a terrible marriage. They should never have gotten married but never mind they stayed together and they never had kids God knows why. So, they adopted my brother who lives over in Langholm when they were in their late thirties. Then a couple of years later they adopted me and my dad always used to make this joke. He used to say they came up to Auckland to get my brother because this was in the 50s with the huge baby boom and babies were up for adoption all over the place. He said they went to the orphanage and you had to give the donation and you gave two pound. Then he said they went back two years later to get me and it cost five pounds. He wanted to know why I cost three more pounds than my brother that was the joke. How come the price of babies had gone up so much in two years? It was his little joke.

We were bought up in Hastings, but what happened before they got us was my mother had left the Salvation Army and that was huge. It was exactly the same as leaving the Mongrel Mob. You know you were leaving all your relations and everything you've known and she was sort of ostracised by them. They all lived in Hastings by this time all her aunts and uncles and cousins, but growing up we always felt like outsiders because we didn't belong to the church. No-one was ever mean to us, but you just got that feeling.

So, the rest of her family was busy banging on the tambourines and what not and mum was busy doing her search for her own religion. She kind of went down the new age thing and the vegetarian thing. She was quite radical actually and when I was about ten she got deeply involved with a little group. It was a kind of new age spiritualist group, which revolved

around a spiritual leader. I can spot cults a mile away now. I'm very good at it. It wasn't an evil group it was just stupid devotion to the leader crap. Māori's are very good at that especially Maniapoto. We've got Bryan Tamaki at the moment and before that we had Alex Phillips and before that we had Tāwhiao. So this little group involved three families. It involved our family, the leaders' family and another family. The women in these families decided they would sell up all their properties in Hastings and start a commune, a spiritual commune. They bought this property and it was originally fifteen acres. It started from the two driveways and it was fifteen acres and it cost twelve thousand dollars.

There were ten kids and most of us were teenagers and none of us wanted to leave our friends. They brought us up here screaming and shouting because we didn't want to leave our mates and come to the middle of nowhere. They had no money by this time so we lived in tents and caravans for three years down the bottom. We hated it because we were teenagers. We finally got enough money to build these three houses. They were very badly built on the cheap with asbestos everywhere and then we moved in. Just before we moved in the leader of the cult died. She'd starved herself to death. It was all part of the spiritual cleansing and there was a huge scandal. It was in the paper and it was awful. It was especially awful for her children because her youngest kid was about six at the time. So the commune had split up by the time we got into the houses and it was decided that they'd split the land in three. Dad and mum got the bit where it's mowed so way over there is our bit.

My mother was heartbroken when the commune had split. By this time she had angina from smoking like a chimney like I do and she died. I was about twenty one and was married by that time. My marriage had broken up and I'd had a baby. My baby was about one when mum died.

I'd had a good life and I had very loving parents. I was really lucky because some of my brothers and sisters were adopted into not very nice families, but I wasn't. I was a restless kid and I wanted to know who my mother was. My mother had been brought up by her grandparents and she never knew who her mother was so she understood how I felt. She actually understood so she looked for my mother. This was before the adult adoption stuff came in so everything was secretive, but she knew someone somewhere and they looked up the file and she found my mother.

We had some really close friends in Te Awamutu and I often went down there in the holidays to stay with them. My mother came from Te Awamutu and they knew the family. So me and mum went down to Te Awamutu and we went round to see her and she was absolutely devastated. She was terrified that someone would find out I was there and we never got on. We were like two nerve endings, her nerve endings and my nerve endings, and it was like raw meat rubbing together. And because I was still young and stupid that didn't help either.

She was still living with our father. I didn't know he was our father but she told me and I quite liked him. We had this terrible relationship off and on for several years and often she would tell me to piss off and never come back again. I kind of don't blame her. She wouldn't tell me anything about my family because she wasn't interested. I mean all her relations were in Te Awamutu and she loved all her nieces and nephews, but her life was racing and revolved around her husband, the RSA and the pub. The racing and nice clothes and God knows what and she wasn't interested in her Māori side. She played it down a bit and she told me I must never go to the marae ever! Never step foot on the marae! Our marae is just out of Te Awamutu. So I had this tortured relationship and I think she told me to piss off.

By this time I'd got involved with Te Atārangi and my girl was born so it'd be the late 1970s. I used to go to the Te Atārangi hui and they had a hui in Te Awamutu. I decided I'd go to it and it was at our marae. So I went and I rolled up at about five o'clock in the afternoon and there was hardly anyone there and the hui had been cancelled. So these people there, none of whom I knew, they saw this Pākehā looking thing and they felt sorry for me so they asked me to stay the night. There was this woman there who's just a bit older than me and she let me sleep beside her and I didn't have enough blankets so she gave me half her blankets. Then she said, "Do you know anyone from round here?" I said, "Oh my mother comes from round here." I'd opened my mouth. She said "Oh that's my aunty." She said, "You gotta come round meet my mother." So the next day she took me round to her mother's place to see her mother, I'll never forget it. Her mother was in the garden with her pruning shears and her big hat and my new mate took me up and she said, "Oh mum this is Gail's daughter." She said, "Oh yeah, where's the other one?" That was the first time I knew there were others and I was determined to find them and I did find most of them.

Yeah, so what should I talk about now? How I got involved with things Māori being brought up as a Pākehā? Um, I suppose it stems around wanting to find my mother. Like mum always told us we were adopted and gave us the usual spiel of that time, which was you were chosen. Have you heard that one? People of my generation were chosen. It was the official thing and it was how your mother couldn't look after you and she did the best thing for you and we chose you. So that was the official kōrero around adoption in those days you know legal Pākehā adoption. She was always very open about it, but I still wanted to find my mother in those days. I always missed her.

Um, so how did I get involved in te ao Māori? When I was at school you couldn't learn Māori because there was no such thing. At high school there was no such thing, but I wanted to learn Māori. I never really started learning it properly until my girl was born and my marriage had broken up and I realised I was a solo mother. I'd left school without any qualifications and I failed school cert and I hated school. I'd got expelled from Kelston Girls, but I wanted to get a job so I could look after my girl. I was living here and my mum had died and my dad and my baby were here.

I thought teaching would be a good job because you get the school holidays off so I applied. I had no qualifications and I had to go back to school so I went back to Green Bay. They had just started letting the adult students in and I think there were about three of us. So I rocked up there and at the time Green Bay was a very liberal progressive school. They had a headmaster there called Des Mann who had sort of liberal progressive ideas and I said, "I want to do school cert." He said, "Try UE." So he put me in UE and I went there with two others one of whom I still see. They had no facilities so I was stuck in the toilets with the fourth formers smoking. It cost me a fortune!

I got UE accredited so then I was off to Te Col. I rushed off to Te Col and they looked at my record and they said, "Oh no we can't accept you because you haven't got a proven academic record", and they wouldn't have me. So the only thing I could do was go to university. So I went to university and I started learning there. It was a really good move actually, I'm glad they didn't take me.

I started learning Māori there and it was with Whare Kerr who was from Kawhia he was a lovely old fulla and Meremere Penfold. Now Meremere Penfold and Mira Szászy are from

way up North from Te Hāpua way. I think Meremere's from Te Hāpua. They were sent away to Auckland in the early 1950s just after the war time by their families to be educated and they were two of the first Māori women to get degrees. I remember something that Meremere talked about. She'd never seen a washing machine in her whole life even though it was an agitator. That's the sort of environment she'd come out of to move to Auckland and into the boarding school. I don't think it was Queen Vic I think it was Auckland Girl's. I'm not sure, but this woman had spent her life teaching. She was a secondary school teacher and I think she went to university and started teaching Māori. She was teaching years and years of beginners Māori to idiots. She was a native speaker and she must have been bored out of her tree. Whether they were Māori or Pākehā she didn't care she was just bored out of her tree. She'd been doing this for years and it was totally unproductive.

Learning Māori at the university was a really bad thing and it was all grammar based. Then when we got up to stage three Māori in our class and we had native speakers. One of them was Reitu Robson. She just died - she was a kaiako at Henderson and a native speaker. Another one was Hariata Pōhatu from the Coast, Taina's wife. There were others, but those were the two I can remember. So they had us idiots sitting in a class full of native speakers. Most of them were teachers and had been told to go and get qualifications. This was in the early 1980s and it was the Bruce Biggs method, which was grammar based and because native speakers didn't know what the word for a transactional prefix was they failed the exam. We all passed and we were mortified! We were so ashamed because we couldn't speak any Māori and these ladies could and we'd passed the exams! But that's the way it was and then I could go to Te Col.

I did a BA in history and Māori and learnt I had a few brains and could handle it. It was mainly because my dad was here and before my girl started school he worked at Crown Lyn. He used to take my girl to work with him and she used to go to the day care centre. Then either he or I would bring her home at nights so I was freed up until she went to school, and by that time he'd retired. I was really very lucky I couldn't have done it without him.

I went back to Te Col and they accepted me on the condition that they didn't want any history teachers. They didn't really want any history teachers because history had been sidelined but I had to do Māori otherwise I couldn't get in. At that time the person who was in charge at Te Col was in charge of secondary school. I did the one year training to get a diploma and

then you were out. I couldn't do primary because that was three years. Graham Smith was there and Linda was doing her studies so she waltzed in and out all the time. I think she was probably still doing her asthma studies and the other major person was Tuki Nepe and she's really important. There's another native speaker and she got landed with my class and I think there were about six of us. I think one of us could actually speak Māori and her job was to get us to teach Māori to secondary school students. I forgot what her maiden name was she married a Nepe. Her sister's Tāmāti Reedy's sister. They're a really nice looking family the women in that family.

When we used to go on section round the secondary schools in Auckland every bloody HOD for Māori was one of her relations from Ngāti Porou. They were all products of Āpirana Ngata's thing to send them to boarding school. They were all graduates of boarding school. When I was growing up the highest Māori could ever get to was nurses and teachers. You heard of nursing and of going off teaching. These kids had been brought up under the Āpirana Ngata system of send them to boarding school and get them educated. They'd all mostly become teachers and every school you went to was one of Tuki's cousins. They were all Ngāti Porou. Then later on they all went into the education department bureaucracy. It's changed now, but at that time it was all terribly incestuous.

Anyway, so Tuki must have been horrified when she got us. I don't know how long she'd been thinking about it but she cooked up some scheme whereby you got native speakers and trained them for a year and then you sent them out. So you either got native speakers or you got the idiots. She also wanted to do something with our abysmal world to get us up to par. Her cousin was Katarina Mataira, and she went over and was living in Fiji for some reason. She'd heard or went and studied the guy over in America who's got a funny name Gottenberg or something. His kaupapa was to teach Spanish and he devised the Silent Way with the cuisenaire rods. Katrina saw this and she thought it would be a really good thing for Māori. So she came back to New Zealand and went to talk to her Auntie Ngōi Pēwhairangi because she had the mana of those people. They started Te Atārangi together, which was teaching the native speakers this rākau method. It didn't cost any money and they could start teaching te reo around the marae's and around the Māori communities. It was brilliantly conceived.

By this time Katarina was living in Raglan and because she was living in Raglan, she wanted to train up all the native speakers around Tainui and Hauraki. She wanted to hold wānanga with those women to teach the cuisenaire way, but she needed students. So Tuki knew her because they're cousins. They must have talked about how useless Tuki's students were and Tuki offered for us to be her taura for those Tainui ladies.

By that time the year was up, and I didn't want to go into schools to teach Māori and I couldn't speak Māori. So Tuki said she was going to take the next batch of students down to Raglan for a three month course to be the guinea pigs for these ladies under Te Atārangi. I asked her if I could come back and do it and she let me. We piled our kids down and Tuki had brought her granddaughters. She was bringing up her two mokos. Iri was about four and BJ was about two. My girl was about seven at this time.

We all jumped into our vans on a Monday morning and went down to Raglan. Then we'd all come back on Friday night and go back down again on Monday. I think it was for three months. The place we went to was Eva Rickard's place, and because Katarina lived there in Raglan she knew Eva and her husband Tex. They had that land they lived on; Eva's families land. They were just starting to build a huge complex because they wanted to bring in street kids and people like that. They wanted to look after them and teach them tikanga Māori until they were well enough. They had just started building all this and so we stayed in their cabin things and our kids went to the local school. My daughter remembers it really well because she got scabies. It was quite magic. It was really intense because we worked all bloody day and half the night and in the morning too. She'd get up in the morning, Eva Rickard and her husband Tex. He's from the police and he's a Manuel. She was up at the crack of dawn making breakfast and bread and she just worked her butt off. They just worked so hard those two and she was utterly charismatic. She was one of the most respected people I know in the world that woman. She walked the talk, she never got rich and she said the truth.

So, we were there with the Tainui ladies that Katarina wanted to train up. One was called Peti Manawaiti. Have you heard of her? Now she's from Kawhia and she's a Moke. She was also very charismatic. She could charm the birds out of the trees. She was brilliant. The major one there was a woman called Ngānehu Turner who was from Taharoa. She had

another lady there from Ngāpuhi called Fiona Rea. She trained them up and they practised on us and it did so much for our reo. It was just amazing I just so loved getting that.

Anyway, so I finished that and I came back to Auckland and I had a friend who I'd been to Te Col with. She was Katarina's daughter-in-law, and at the time the kura had just started up at Waititi. The people behind the kura were all the people of the marae plus Peter Sharples, Aroha, Letty Brown, whaea June lots and lots of them. Also, there was no money for it because it was outside the state system so no-one got paid. It had been going about two years and Peter had gone to ask Katarina to come from Raglan and help get the school started. I asked her if I could come to kura and I was on the DPB. I was always on the DPB that's how I got my education. In those days it was easy to do, but it's not anymore. So I said, "I'll stay on the DPB don't pay me." I just wanted to work in the kura and she needed the money. So I was there and Aroha was there and Katarina came in and out. Then Evelyn Tobin came over and Linley and Bev. It was magic because no-one had any money and it was just aroha and energy and belief that kept it going. It's not there anymore that spirits gone unfortunately. It will come back again, but it's not there now. It was like how it goes when you're up against something huge. It was just Māori doing what Māori do so well when there's a war on.

I taught the babies. I could never teach anyone over six because I couldn't count enough. I couldn't! I've got math's problems. I'm dyslexic when it comes to maths! I could never teach anyone over six because they could count better than I can. After two years I got this letter from the Education Department saying if you don't go into a state school you'll lose your accreditation. So I had to go to a state school and I didn't want to go into the normal system.

My cousin was working at the kura and he was the chairman of the board or something. He was also working over at Queen Vic and was the deputy principal. I went there and I loved it. I just loved it. At that time they used to get sent out from the countryside like when my aunties and some of her sisters went there. They never used to get home for a year because they couldn't afford it. It was hard to travel and it was run like a prison camp and by that time half the kids were from Auckland. Some of the kids were from the Coast and some of them were from up North, but it wasn't the kids from the country anymore. The rest of them were from Social Welfare and they'd been put there because they'd been taken away from their families. Tom Roa was the Deputy Principal and Judi Waititi was the principle. She

was good and Tom was superb. I was there for years and I wanted to go back to university. I wanted to learn about language teaching because I was supposed to be a language teacher and I didn't know anything about language.

When I was at Waititi because it was the first kura it was experimental so they decided they were going to teach the kids English. They bought in a teacher who was the mother of one of the kids, Jill Bradley. Now she was married and was going with Uncle Bill Campbell. You know Haki's mother's brother? She was going with him and her son was at the kura so they brought her in to teach English. She was the most brilliant teacher ever. I've never met as good a teacher. She's totally off the wall and hell to work with, but absolutely brilliant. She's always getting the sack because she's totally off the wall. So she came to teach English and her and I decided to go back to uni and learn about language acquisition.

So here we were DPB women having two years of salary and we decided to go back on DPB again to do this post-graduate thing. It was one year and it wasn't very good. It wasn't what I wanted. I hate linguistics. While I was there Graham Smith was in Māori education and he said, "Do a couple of papers with us with this diploma". So Jill and I did that because you could do two options. We went over to the Māori education thing and it blew your mind away. It just blew your mind away because they were doing critical theory. I never did critical theory because I couldn't understand it and what those guys did there then was a revolution. Everybody my age that I know who's got passed BA level went through them. It was so successful, but it's completely collapsed and crashed now. Why it was so successful was because they actually went and shoulder tapped people. I don't think they were particularly discerning they just wanted as many Māori as possible. They understood the barrier that we'd all have about theory and learning that academic stuff so they walked us through it very very slowly and they had such a good team. They wouldn't have been able to do it by themselves. There was Kuni and Margie and it was after school at night time and they did those things like you know we'd bring kai. They taught us how to swot and how to help each other. They did all those things people who don't belong in the system need to know like all the secrets that you don't get told.

When me and Jill finished the diploma we were absolutely skint and my car had blown up. We had a sudden rush of blood to the head and we decided that we needed to make money really quickly. At that time we had a friend who was teaching English in Japan and we had

all the quals, so I left my girl who was about fifteen with my father. She left her youngest son who was ten with his big sister and I had five hundred dollars. We had no money and we went to Japan and neither of us had been out of the country before. We were complete lunatics! Katarina's two sons lived there and we went to live with one of her sons. His wife was the one I went to Te Col with.

We couldn't get jobs for three months. We couldn't get jobs because we were too old and the Japanese language market was just a veneer. It was all to do with Americans and blondes, and we just didn't fit in. We had all these quals we used to wave and no-one gave us a job. So Katarina's son and his wife supported us and we couldn't even support our kids. It was awful! Then when those two got sick of supporting us - they had a friend and he was the one Samoan we knew in Japan and we went to live with him. He supported us until we got jobs. It was awful! Then we got jobs. We all had like three jobs. We used to work all night, all weekend and all day. We used to work like dogs. I couldn't do it now, I'd die. After a year Jill couldn't bear it anymore. She couldn't bear not seeing her boy so she came back home and I came back home to get my daughter.

I had also decided that my daughter would go to AGS, so I sent her to AGS, which was miles away because it was the only kura that had Māori. She went to the local school in Langholm and then Glen Eden. They started up the Kahurangi immersion unit at AGS and it was the nearest one. I made her go there and all her best mates are from Kahurangi so she's lucky she went there.

In her fifth form year when I was still at Vic her class was really naughty. They were really really naughty and no-one wanted to teach them. We used to have to go there and have lots of huis and say how sorry we were. They were so naughty that they brought in one of the best English teachers. She was a teacher I knew and a friend of mine. She never spoke to me for a whole year! We're fine now but because the girls were so naughty and they couldn't handle the class so they brought in Arapeta Blanc. Have you heard of Arapeta Blanc? Now she's really important because she was another woman like Eva Rickard. She just walked the talk and never made any money. She was like Whaea June, exceptional, and she gave something to those kids. They will all tell you because Shida's mates are Kahurangi girls and they're all her mates still. There's a whole bunch of them and they were naughty naughty girls. They were all the same year and were Kahurangi girls. You ask them about Ma Blanc

and they will all say she did something magic for them. She instilled the love of learning. God knows how she did it, but she did it. Whatever she did was magic and they've got it for the rest of their lives. All those girls who were so naughty and headed for prison have turned out to be exceptional, except my daughter really. Well, she's exceptional in her own way. If they hadn't got Arapeta they probably wouldn't be like that. She gave them something really special. Now Arapeta is a Kaa from the genius Kaa family. She was a close friend of Katarina's as well as being her cousin.

Can we go back to Waititi? I was a very minor figure but the kura got started. Then other people got together to try and make it a nationwide thing and to get funding. So there was a group of people Graham Smith, Linda Smith, Tuki Nepe, the lady at Te Pai, Katarina, Peter, Aroha and a woman called Elizabeth Rata. Have you ever heard of her? Well she's very important. Well, they're all important but Elizabeth is very important. Nowadays you read histories of kura kaupapa and you'll see all those names except for Elizabeth's. She's kind of been expunged. Elizabeth has been wiped out of the history of kura kaupapa so if you see her name there I'll be surprised. She was a very important Pākehā lady and she's now a senior lecturer at Auckland University Department of Education. The Māori's hate her because she's kind of the spokesperson for the right. Rodney Hide and all that lot can base a lot of their stuff on her writings. She's kind of given them the academic ideology. You need to read some of her stuff it's very dense. She's published a lot of stuff. Her person is Immanuel Kant and she bases a lot of stuff on him.

I met Elizabeth when I was at Queen Vic and she became good friends with Tuki Nepe. Anyway, Elizabeth was wonderful to me 'cause you know when you go teaching it's probably the same with psych as well. You go to a new job and they just leave you there. It's sink or swim and it's the same everywhere. So I was sink or swim and Elizabeth was my main person. I wouldn't have been able to manage without her. She was also a brilliant teacher and in the boarding schools at that time. So Tip and Vic were in the same Anglican board. All the money went to Tip and hardly any used to go to the girls. You tended to get two teachers at the boarding school. There were teachers who couldn't give a stuff and they were Māori as well as Pākehā. They were just lazy and should've been shot. Some of the Pākehā teachers were racist because they believed that the girls were dumb. Then you get the passionate idiots and Elizabeth was a passionate idiot. She didn't believe in the deficit model. She used to pitch them really high and she was really really good.

Elizabeth and Tuki became close mates and there was a group that was starting up this whole nationwide kura thing. Waititi was really going well and they wanted to start up Rākaumangamanga and Kathy Dewes one down in Rotorua/Ruamata. The other one that was starting up at the same time was Matawaia up north. The ones we really seemed to have a lot to do with were Rākaumangamanga and Kathy Dewes' one down in Rotorua. So they had this group and Elizabeth was in it. She was close mates with Tuki, Graham and Linda and that was the group that started the legislative stuff. They did the lobbying and Elizabeth was instrumental in doing the legislative stuff like the writing of academic crap to justify the whole thing. She was really important, which is ironic considering she's been expunged and never spoken about ever since.

The trouble began, but I don't know how and I don't know what happened. Most of it I don't know 'cause I was doing my own thing by that time and I was never close to Tuki. By that time I'd left Vic, but her and Tuki fell out big time. Tuki had started up the kura kaupapa at Teacher's College and that turned into Maungārongo, which moved out later. They fell out and Elizabeth did a complete three sixty turn around and this is why she's been expunged. It was bitter. It was horrible and I'm not privy to what went on.

I've really tried hard to find out where she's coming from. It seems to me that her main thing is that the Treaty and things Māori cannot be acknowledged and should not be acknowledged because it's undemocratic and that's Rodney Hides spiel too. It's not democratic! It's not democratic! You know he seems to forget that the Māori Treaty had been signed, but never mind. Her other thing, which I kind of agree with is that she's the one who coined the term neo-tribalism. She talks about this and she's right in one way about an educated Māori elite. Her criticism of it is that the neo-tribal elite are reinforcing the usual structure of a few at the top and all the minors at the bottom. She's kind of right. I don't think that's true of everybody, but if you look at the sort of corporate structures in the tribes who've had their Treaty settlements like Tainui. Tainui had the Tainui Trust Board, which was set up to do nothing and never had any money. When the Raupatu settlement came in, part of the settlement was that the tribal structure had to be restructured to handle the money and the business side of it, but also to allow everybody to participate. You have beneficiary roles and voting and it's all got to be done according to laws. The Tainui Trust Board was abolished and they spent years trying to set up the tribal structure based on New Zealand laws to handle the settlement. Now in Tainui you've got the business arm and you've got a parliament,

which is the Kauhanganui. Every marae that's affiliated to it has three representatives in Kauhanganui. In theory it sounds quite good but in practise it doesn't quite work out that way. Then you have the real power house which is the executive body. I think there are twelve people on that and I think that the Kīngitanga has a rep. Tuku Morgan's the head of the business arm. It does seem that they've paid enormous sums of money up here. It does seem to be based upon this model. So, in a way I agree with Elizabeth Rata, but there are still heaps of people out there like Whaea June working for nothing. It's no blanket kind of thing, but democracy is her main platform.

Going back to my family this photo was taken on my grandfather's birthday and these are some of his children. That's my mother there and these are her sisters. The only ones alive now are her and she's ninety seven; her and another brother who's not in the photo. Anyway, so out of all these sisters I had no idea who to pick, but I picked this one here. She's the oldest sister. I have no idea why I picked her but her name is Ruta. I rang her up and she lived in Otorohanga. I didn't know anything about her, but I said, "Can I come and talk to you?" She said, "Certainly." I went round to her house. I'll never forget it because she lives in Otua, which is just out of Otorohanga. She came to the door and she was in her nightie. She said she'd not been well and she said, "Come". She was really nice. I didn't know her that well and she sat me down in her lounge. She always had hundreds of people staying at her house 'cause she had seventeen kids. She had about three of her daughters there and she made them stay in the kitchen. I said, "I'm Dawn's daughter and I need some help." She burst into tears 'cause she didn't know anything about me.

A few months after that there was a family reunion for the Roa family. It was the first one they'd ever had. She wanted me to go and I knew what my mother would do. She'd just hit the roof but Aunty Ruta said I could go. She insisted I go and she got another branch of the family to take me on to the marae. Anyway, so they had lots of hui before this. My mother told her family that if I went to the hui she would cut everybody off. She told another sister that she'd kill herself. She told another that she'd go to Australia. She'd threatened and it caused a huge split in the family. The split was already there and was between those who'd married Pākehā and those who'd married Māori. So the Māori side were kind of looked down on by that lot in the family portrait. They supported my mother and wouldn't have anything to do with me and this lot just love me to death.

I went to the reunion and I took my baby. I remember holding my baby's hand at the pōwhiri. I expected to be struck by lightning because it was so engrained in me. My mother said, "You must never come here! You must never tell anyone who you are!" I honestly thought I was prepared to be struck by lightning 'cause I'd done a bad thing. I held my girls hand 'cause if I was going to die she might as well die 'cause there was only my dad to look after her and that's how I felt. At that reunion that lot were out to get me and that lot protected me. I had bodyguards. I never went to the toilet without someone with me and they just gave the silent message to that lot that you leave me alone. It was amazing. When my mother died about three years ago they did the same thing. It wasn't necessary but they did the same kind of protective thing around us again. I went to the reunion and that caused a split. It was so bad that my mother never spoke to her older sister again in her life. One of the brothers who was close to her never spoke to her for a year it was that bad. It was awful! These people paid the price of her inability to cope with her past and they just love me to death.

When my brother and my sister turned up I took them back and I never took them back unless it was safe. They did the same thing for them. I'm just so grateful and it was Aunty Ruta's doing she set the scene. Next to my adopted mum she's the most influential person in my life and I'm just so grateful. My daughters having her first baby in a couple of weeks and her second name is gonna be Ruth. My adopted mum's name was Ruth and her name was Ruta, which is Ruth. So the moko's gonna get this name, which is a tribute to both of those ladies.

Anyway, I used to go down and see her a lot in Otorohanga. We had this special bond and my life would have been so different without her. Even though she had fifteen kids and they were dirt poor. If you ever met any of her kids they'll tell you how they had five people in one bed. There's a picture of their house and they never had any windows. They had sacking on the windows. They were sort of the dregs of society. We've got a joke we say in our family, "The Roa women don't cry, we clean." Now I'm not a great cleaner but they clean clean. This woman lived in this house with no windows and this place was spotless. The kids would spend all day and night cleaning and some of her daughters are just as bad.

When I used to stay with her I used to try and help her 'cause she was in her seventies. I'd go and hang the washing out and she'd come and hang it out again because you had to hang the washing out a special way and then you had to have the right pegs. I remember the worst

time of all was the middle of winter. It was freezing and she used to cook on a coal range and God she was a good cook. Anyway, she didn't have any kindling so I went out with the torch to cut the kindling and I took it inside. She took one look at it and she took it outside again to re-cut it 'cause it wasn't straight enough! It would still fit in the friggin' stove, but it wasn't straight enough! I was so embarrassed 'cause it was really cold and raining and I was standing there holding my torch while she cut the wood again. She must have been eighty by this time. I was so scared someone would come and see me standing there holding this torch while she was cutting the wood; they were fanatical cleaners.

Anyway, Ruta had eleven daughters and they're all still alive. The oldest ones about eighty, but her kids weren't jealous of me. She's got about seventy five grand children and three thousand great grandchildren. She was a great great grandmother by the time she died and she managed to fit me into her family. She had time for me. What she used to do was she used to tell me all the whakapapa and the history and I just used to listen. She did it because I was a blank piece of paper. When she'd start talking about things to her own family or her brothers and sisters they'd all end up arguing because they had something to add. They'd interrupt and they'd go down that path just like normal people, but with me she could talk and talk and talk and talk and I had nothing to add. It was all just going in and because I had a car she used to like visiting her kids all over the place so in the holidays I used to drop her off at places and on our trips she used to do the same thing. I didn't realise it at the time, but it was actually amazing.

When she died they had her tangi at our marae and it was huge! Just her own kids would've been enough, but it was a huge tangi 'cause she was really loved. All of my cousins will say she was their favourite aunty 'cause she had something magical about her apart from the fact that she had a mind like a steel trap. Another branch of the family came to the tangi and they brought this photograph. It was framed and the family came on and they brought this photograph and they came in and they put it in front of her coffin. It was the last photo taken of her. This family had come to visit a couple of days before she died and she was in the garden. She didn't have her teeth in and she didn't have her bras on. She hated having her photograph taken like that. It turned out to be the last photograph taken of her. She would've hated it because she didn't have her bras on. They put in front of the coffin and they said, "This is for Beryl". They gave it to me and it was mind boggling; the last photo. After the tangi they had to give it to me 'cause everybody knew it was mine.

Nā Kirsty Maxwell-Crawford tēnei kōrero



I think for me quite a significant influence and probably the first one around my career development has actually been being brought up in Australia. My parents left New Zealand when I was three and so I spent from when I was three to eighteen living in Australia. It had quite a profound influence for me in a sense that it really reinforced my commitment to being back here. I didn't realise that until my parents came back for one year when I was thirteen. There's just the two of us siblings so of course my brother and I came back with my parents. I didn't realise it prior to thirteen, but once I got back to New Zealand I really felt like I was home. When my parents decided to return back to Australia I literally begged them to let me stay with my grandparents here in New Zealand. My parents weren't keen on that idea so back to Australia we went. I remember when I was thirteen saying to them that as soon as I was old enough to make my own decision at eighteen I'd be back and almost eighteen years to the day I came back to New Zealand. So, I've always felt after spending that year here this was very much my home. It's very different in Australia living in a multi-cultural society

and being Māori, but not really knowing exactly what that meant. I wanted to make sure that my children didn't grow up with that same disenfranchised experience and that they would see and be a part of things Māori and Māori communities and Māori development so that's why I came back home when I was eighteen. I did all my university studies back at home.

I think the second pivotal experience for me was studying psychology at Victoria University and literally having no Māori content in the area of psychology apart from when we had one session about psychology and culture. We had just one session in the three years of doing your undergraduate degree. I was so excited about it that I'd looked forward to it for weeks in advance. We basically watched a segment out of *Once Were Warriors* and it was a real deficit approach. So, I graduated with my undergraduate degree in psych not being aware that there were any Māori models of health or Māori psychologists and psychiatrists and leaders in our field like Mason Durie. I was not aware that there were models in the literature which could and should have been very easily infused into the curriculum. In my second year I also picked up education as a double major with psychology. I had a real interest in Māori education, which came as a result of watching my brother struggle through the education system. It wasn't because he wasn't intelligent and he wasn't very gifted in his own right, but they weren't in the areas that the education system was recognising. So I had a real interest in Māori education and I don't think the system did him very well at all. In fact, I think it probably did him more of a dis-service. He was a fantastic practical kinaesthetic learner where a classroom kind of shackled him. So, I picked up education and psychology as a result of that and was one of about thirty Māori students who started psychology together.

Then in the second year I saw such a massive drop out. There were probably only about five of us left going into the second year. So I started to get really interested in how we could support more Māori students through psychology. The School of Psychology in their wisdom decided that although I was a second year student we would establish kaupapa Māori tutorials and I'd become the Māori tutor for the first years coming through. It was exciting in one way, but it taught me that it's not just about creating a Māori face. If the curriculum doesn't reflect anything Māori you're getting the same questions over and over again. They were the same questions that I asked myself. How does this theory based on a white American sample relate to me as a Māori woman in New Zealand? I also realised that I wasn't the only Māori student having those queries and those dilemmas and those frustrations as I was tutoring. The

kaupapa Māori tutorials that were coming through were also raising the same questions. I didn't have any answers for those questions beyond the kind of Western theories that they gave us. So I did that for a couple of years and that combined with my education studies instilled a real passion around Māori education for me. It was then that my interest around work force development started.

I'm not a particularly patient person so I don't really have the patience for the education of tamariki or rangatahi. I knew straight away that if I was going to try and maximise the strengths that I have it would need to be with adult education. You know with learners that have chosen to be in a learning environment and at the same time recognising the growing number of maturing Māori coming back into tertiary studies.

When I finished my undergraduate degree I really wanted to go on and do a Masters in Māori education, but the lecturer who was doing that at the time was on sabbatical for a year. So the School of Psychology convinced me that Industrial and Organisational Psychology is just like education, but with adults. I really wanted to continue on 'cause I knew once I'd gone into the workforce I probably wouldn't go back into full time study. I did my honours year in I&O psych and that's where the workforce development part of it became even more of an interest for me. I didn't really gel too much with a lot of the Industrial and Organisational Psychology components because at the end of the day when you strip it all back it's actually about increasing profits for employers even if it's about job satisfaction, which is part of workforce development. A lot of the underpinnings within I&O psych were if you got happier staff they're more productive and they'll make you more money so I realised quite quickly that I wasn't commercially focused. I wasn't really interested in that side of Industrial and Organisational Psychology. I was really interested in capability building, recruitment, retention, training, job satisfaction and the organisational culture side of Industrial and Organisational Psychology.

Once again I finished my studies and I was really fortunate to have applied for a role that was about establishing a new programme. The programme was Te Rau Puawai and that one was at Massey University. I'd done a lot of my own sort of readings and research around some of Mason's, Paul Hirini's and Rose Pere's work of course and at that stage a lot of the rangahau writings and Māori research writings were happening at that particular time so I was really keen to actually move away from Victoria and spend more time with Avril Herbert. I wanted

to spend more time learning about actual Māori models of practise and about Māori workforce development and Māori adult education.

Te Rau Puawai provided the opportunity to establish something different. Also, through my experience in psychology and how isolating that was, I think there were two of us in the end who graduated with honours. It wasn't because we were necessarily smarter or more intelligent or more talented than those that we started with. It's just that many of the others either couldn't find the relevance or couldn't see the relevance of psychology for them. Others struggled with some of the academic systems or they became isolated and some majored in social studies instead and had other priorities. The sad thing in watching this was the number of Māori students who would've been really fantastic as psychologists, social workers or counsellors have been really been put off by the study experience in psychology. Te Rau Puawai was about establishing a programme that would better support predominantly mature Māori studying psychology, rehab, social work, Māori studies and nursing. So that's what really started to actively put me on the path for where my careers gone. It was also about wanting to try and make a difference to the training and study experiences of Māori coming through university and was a result of the poor and isolating academic experience I'd had when I'd done my own studies.

I was fortunate enough to be successful for that position. I spent the next three years really being mentored by Mason around establishing the programme and learning how to proactively utilise university systems to serve our people, rather than to serve the university. We basically put all of the supports established through Te Rau Puawai in place based on the expertise and feedback of the students coming through. They designed the programme. They designed the tohu of Te Rau Puawai. They wrote a waiata actually so there is a waiata in the archives somewhere in Te Rau Puawai. It's not the easiest one to sing, but it was heartfelt. It was about the students that were going through that first year. There was thirty two in the beginning. It was about me and them getting together and saying, "Right, how can we make a difference for your studies? How can we put things in place for future students coming through? What do those things need to look like?" Through that experience and with Mason's guidance I was able to develop a multi-faceted approach to try and provide a better wrap around service for Māori students coming through. That's not to say that the Māori students coming through were lacking anything. It was more that the academic processes and systems actually don't provide some real fundamental things.

It was really about recognising that universities don't necessarily provide good pastoral and academic learning support. It's often based on a premise that students have come through and got Bursary or Year 13 and they have those fundamentals. They know what an essay is and how to do basic research and literature searches and those sorts of things. The university doesn't have a lot of things built in to recognise what happens for mature Māori students who don't know what those things are and how to do them. How supports can become available and accessible really quickly to them in a way where they won't become to whakamā to ask or to need to ask. It's laid out there for them so they can without stigma or labels associated with any kind of deficit on their part then learn and pick up some new tools.

We based it on the premise that the Te Rau Puawai Bursars know the mahi anyway. They know the kōrero because the large majority of them are out there doing the mahi. They're already leaders in their own right in the mahi that they're doing with our people. So what it was about then was helping them to utilise academic language, processes and systems to bring to life in a different way than what they may be used to their expertise and their knowledge. Helping them to understand how, yes it's an hōha, but you have to reference. Yes, you might have an opinion on that but then you've gotta find someone who you can reference to be able to express that opinion. It was just helping them to know how to utilise those academic systems.

The exciting thing through Te Rau Puawai was that we found pretty much after the first year that the students were actually really kicking butt academically. So, for the first three years there was an average academic pass rate of eight five percent compared to sixty five percent for the whole Massey University student population. So what it really showed was if you make those fundamental academic learning support components available early on and if you mentor and support mature Māori students to navigate that system 'cause it's a different type of system than many are used to. Then we can actually create some really exciting Māori education gains, Māori development gains and Māori workforce development gains. Of course we also started to almost immediately see intergenerational applications coming through. We'd have applications from papa and then his daughter two or three years later. The impact it was having for them and their whānau as they saw their mum or their aunty studying and going to university was really exciting. Seeing the flow on effect that those things can and do have to the wider whānau where they start recognising that this is

something that they can also achieve. You know if uncle can do it or if sister can do it then I think I'll give it a go as well.

Te Rau Puawai was one of the first national Māori mental health workforce development initiatives and was funded initially by the HFA [Health Funding Authority] in 1999. Then funding was continued by the Ministry of Health. It was a really exciting opportunity to develop something different. I'm a big fan of some of Albert Einstein's philosophies where he talks about if you want something different you need to actually create something different. If you want the same then do the same thing all the time and you're gonna get the same outcome. So it was exciting to be able to do something different and to be able to have that leeway. It was exciting to be able to have been based at Māori studies so you didn't have to justify why it was different every five minutes. It was also incredibly scary at the same time because I had still only been back from Australia for four years. I would've felt a lot more comfortable having it based at the School of Psychology. When I first started there those were the processes and the systems that I knew and having it based at Māori Studies was almost the scariest experience of my life, but that's where the programme needed to be based. I knew that I would also grow and learn a lot from the opportunity to be able to be based at Te Pūtahi- a-Toi and to be mentored by people such as Mason, Whaea Ephra Garrett, Paul Hirini and Taiarahia Black. Avril had left the university by then, but it was an exciting time.

From there Mason asked if I'd been interested after a couple of years in looking at a wider approach to Māori mental health workforce development through the establishment of a new programme. We knew and had recognised that Te Rau Puawai was a fantastic programme for kaimahi and akoranga Māori who wanted to study in health, but you had to be at Massey University. It was not about trying to create a difference in work force development it was all about an academic tohu. There are a lot of other barriers, systemic barriers, work place barriers, role definition barriers. There's a whole heap of barriers around why we need to continue to grow the Māori mental health work force and why we're not attracting enough Māori into mental health and health roles. Why are Māori not necessarily staying there sometimes? Why are Māori not featuring at that senior level in management to be able to create or have a different type of influence?

Te Rau Matatini was designed to be a lot broader than Te Rau Puawai. It was not meant to compete with Te Rau Puawai in any way shape or form, but recognised that there were a range of different barriers associated with workforce development particularly around recruitment and retention. Te Rau Matatini aimed to provide a number of long term solutions to try and rectify those things. By long term I mean that a lot of the work force development issues aren't a five minute quick fix. Unfortunately, there's a gambit of quite complex reasons as to why we don't have good engagement in numbers of Māori in pretty much all health professions.

It was also about how we can better support the non-regulated Māori work force as well. How do we support them in a way that recognises there are a number of them who may not want to become clinicians? You know that's fine because they enjoy the grass roots expertise and not being shackled by a clinician label. They are often more accessible to whānau or whānau find them more accessible. So, how can we look at that side of the work force, which are our biggest work force as well as the clinical side of the work force at the same time? So that's what I've been doing since 2002. I have been working alongside the team at Te Rau Matatini with Mason's mentoring and guidance to develop a national coordinated response to some of the Māori health workforce development issues.

I think being isolated from Aotearoa and watching my brother struggle in an academic or an educational environment and knowing what a talented person he was and seeing the injustice of that. Then going through university through a solely Western focused study programme and watching a number of friends who are Māori drop away from that study programme and some of them drop away from University altogether. When perhaps if they might have chosen a study programme which was more inclusive of who they were as Māori they probably would've graduated. I think this is an indictment on the psychology curriculum and the lack of prioritisation of things Māori. Then being fortunate enough to have gained a role where I could continue being mentored by Mason and many others in Te Rau Matatini. We've been very fortunate that we have a number of leaders we work with from the sector in our Board and through our Trust and reference groups. We have kaumatua and kui from around the country and through the sector. I think all of those experiences have shaped how I've come to be where I am today.

I mean everyone's different, but for me I just knew that I needed to be at home right from when I was thirteen. There just wasn't any doubt that I was supposed to be anywhere else and the same when the opportunity for Te Rau Puawai came up. I guess people sometimes say, "Oh you must be so proud!" Or "You must be so amazed to become a CEO at thirty!" And all that kind of stuff, but that just doesn't enter into it. It's not about sitting back and thinking oh wow this is so wonderful. It's about thinking we'll hold a position that someone else could hold and do a better job of if you don't get off your butt and do everything that you can. Age is no excuse for not being the most effective CEO that you can be. I don't mean it in a negative way, but I don't see it as this fantastic type of thing. It's more that this is a burden of responsibility that I've chosen to take and I need to do all I can to carry it so that's something I feel very strongly about. I don't spend a lot of time thinking about the apparently amazing accomplishments side of it. I spend more time thinking about how I make sure the responsibility side of it gets taken care of as much as I can. I guess it's about accepting that I'm not always going to be perfect in the things that I do particularly as a CEO who's never been a CEO before. You've gotta learn from experience, but I think the most important thing is that at the end of the day no-one else would've worked harder that day. Then at least you know that you're doing your best to be able to fulfil a privileged opportunity that's been given to you.

I think for me when we're talking about Māori leadership I think a lot about the waka. Personally, I believe that Māori leadership is actually not about positioning yourself at the front of the waka all the time. Actually, if we go back to looking at our navigation stories and we go back to our waka, the rangatira for that waka stands at the back of the waka and directs the waka from behind. I believe that's how things work best in a Māori kaupapa and that's how I believe I'll serve a Māori kaupapa the most effectively and also alongside it with Mason's guidance.

We try really hard to recognise the expertise of the sector reference group's consultations, which are not tick box exercises for us. So, just like the process of placing the students in the middle of the design of Te Rau Puawai. We conscientiously try very hard to always place the work force, tangata whaiora and whānau in the middle of Te Rau Matatini processes because they're the experts in terms of what work force solutions are going to work. We need to recognise the privilege of being able to make those things come to fruition and that we do actually do that as kaihoe or as kaihautu within the waka. Yet in a way that still absolutely

consults with the expertise that sits in the māhau of the waka, and that's the way I feel most comfortable working. It's also about recognising that you can't possibly have all the expertise yourself and it would be really arrogant to think so. So everyone of our team will have different areas of expertise or perspectives that need to be brought into play.

The workforce themselves will know what the problems are and some solutions around how to make it better. Just like Te Rau Puawai, if I'd designed the whole programme just based on my own experience perhaps it wouldn't have been as applicable to a mature Māori who's studying from Ruātoki doing first year Social Work. Studies came fairly easily to me academically. So I may have, you know not realising it, I may have potentially developed a programme, which better suited academically strong young Māori students because that was my frame of reference and what I knew. So we need to create programmes where Māori services place tangata whaiora and whānau in the middle of all of their processes. We as a Māori workforce development organisation need to do the same. I've been really fortunate to have this Board and a Chair like Hayden Wano and mentors like Mason who have allowed and encouraged us to evolve in that way because it allows for greater innovation. It allows you to recognise the best form of leadership is actually being open to others expertise and ideas. Not to say it becomes a free-for-all, I mean the person standing at the Kai of the waka still needs to keep that waka on track, but he doesn't stand there alone. He stands there with kaihoe who are rowing in front of him. He stands there with the māhau in front of him with the tohunga and the expertise sitting within that he or she can consult with. It becomes more of a collective journey and so that's the way that I prefer to operate. It provides the safety net for me to make sure that I'm not developing things based on my own frame of reference alone. It ensures that we are developing things to be as inclusive as we can and that the processes we're developing recognises the mana and the expertise of those that we're here to serve. I guess that's probably the other part because for me being a leader means you need to be prepared to humble yourself and be a good servant. If you don't do that you can't lead. So that's the way I enjoy being active in Māori leadership development because it's a safe, collective and an innovative way to be able to grow and develop things.

I'm very privileged to have a Board and a senior advisor that has mentored me to develop in those areas and to be comfortable in constantly being uncomfortable. We have no comfort zones because you can't. When someone's sitting in the drivers' seat or in your consultations or you're putting a group or others in the centre of the process you don't have control. You

know where you need to get to as an outcome, but sometimes you don't have control of how you're gonna get there. You need to be comfortable knowing that sometimes you're gonna have to go to places that you've never been before. It might not be physically that might be in new frameworks and new ways of thinking and applying things within this context. It might be in new or different battles with funders, but at the same time remaining accountable to our people.

Our people are also very diverse and so we can develop something say a training programme. We pilot the programme and it gets feedback saying it's too clinical and too cultural all in the same training programme. It's about being okay with those sorts of things and being okay with the fact that it needs improvements 'cause we should never settle. We should always be inspired to take it up a notch. It's being okay with knowing that we need to be worried when our people stop engaging with or stop telling us what's wrong or what needs to be improved 'cause that's what they're there for. When they go silent that's when we know we're so far off the mark they've given up on us and we're not worth them taking us to task. Also, accepting that the workforce is very diverse and we're working as hard as we can. I'm leading an organisation to work as hard as we can to serve a very diverse workforce, but because of that diversity that means that we won't always get it right for everybody all of the time. How do we develop a suite of programmes that recognises the different needs of the Māori workforce? We're not a homogenous work force in any way shape or form.

I was really lucky because with Te Rau Matatini when we first started we wanted to potentially develop or utilise an existing whakataukī that would capture what it is that we wanted to do. We're really lucky that at the time they were both based at Te Pūtahi a Toi Rangi Matāmua and Taiarahia Black allowed us to use a whakataukī from Ngāti Awa:

Kia ngātahi te waihoe

(So let us row the waka in unison)

Tāhuri te kai ō tōu waka whakawhiti ngāru

(Let us position the front of the waka facing the waves to be able to push through them)

Haere ki tua ki papa pounamu te moana e topa e rere ki uta

(Past those waves the ocean is flat and we can speed into the distance and reach our destination or the horizons we want to get to)

For me who was still new on my journey of being home it was important the whakataukī wasn't just treated as a tokenistic whakataukī. I learnt more about what the waka was about and about what being on the waka was as an organisation. We've also been on a waka tangata together so it was about infusing those philosophies right through our organisation. Like many whakataukī which are amazing one of the things that I find absolutely amazing about us as Māori is there are layers and layers of meaning. So it can be applied to team work. It can be applied to how we work with the work force. It can be applied to risk management and project management. There are just so many different facets that you can use a whakataukī like that for. We also physically drew a waka to symbolise the waka of Te Rau Matatini. In drawing and creating a waka I needed to learn about the different facets of the waka and the different roles within the waka and how the waka was navigated and all those sorts of things. For me that was a personal choice I took to really make sure I could honour the whakataukī that was given to us because we need to role model as a Māori organisation. We've been gifted our tohu and our logo for Te Rau Matatini and it's important then that we know every facet of the meaning of that logo. We're gifted a whakataukī to be able to utilise and it's really important for me as CEO to role model and then to make sure that our staff have opportunities to have access to that kōrero. They have access to what that whakataukī is about and know where it came from and why it was given to us. They know what it means and they have opportunity to learn about the waka. This is what prompted me to understand more about the waka.

One of the other things that I've been really fortunate about is being young in this position sometimes means that you don't realise how different things are. So for me I've only ever known a leadership style in this way and that's how Mason leads. It's not until I actually go back into mainstream organisations that I get a bit of a fright. It's a good reminder and check about how different hierarchical based leadership is viewed within mainstream organisations. How different those underpinnings and philosophies are to the philosophies we try and utilise here at Te Rau Matatini. Not to say that I'm perfect in any way shape or form or Te Rau Matatini's perfect in everything we do and it's all roses and it's all wonderful and an over romanticised view. You know we have our challenges like any organisation, but I think philosophically-wise and kaupapa-wise, we have the kaupapa embedded right. We provide opportunities for our staff to understand what that kaupapa is and to understand what our whakataukī and our tohu mean and our underlying philosophies are. Then it's really up to them about whether they are comfortable in this mahi, which is about serving not processing.

It is just as much about following and walking alongside as it is about leading. It's a privilege to be a part of a kaupapa in this way.

I think personally I do believe that there is an innate side to us as Māori that some may tune into and some may not. For me I have the experience of being away and coming back. I absolutely believe there is an innate side to us that's guided by our tūpuna and it actually allows us to tap back into thinking Māori. Even though I'd been away for pretty much the formative years of my life and I didn't have the reo and I still don't have the reo anywhere near as much as I want it, desperately! The ngākau Māori and thinking Māori was something that came back quite naturally. I think that was part of my desire to come back home and part of how mokemoke I was back in Australia. I just knew that this is where I needed to be and that we're really blessed to be a part of an awesome culture and country so it wasn't hard confidence wise. I mean you know being thirteen and not remembering your marae. Then coming back when you're thirteen and busting to go to the toilet and not knowing which toilet to use 'cause you had no idea what tāne and wāhine meant. It was really embarrassing for a thirteen year old.

Then coming back when I was eighteen and one of the first things I did was go back home to my marae. Actually all of my aunties and uncles and my father and stuff don't live back at home and I drove straight past it. I was with a friend at the time and they said, "Is that it?" I said, "Oh no no no! The hill behind it is *huge* it's *heaps* bigger than that!" We kept driving and then I saw a sign that said Te Whānau ā Apanui and I was like, "Oh my gosh! We have gone too far!" I went back again and I sat outside our marae. You know when you're thirteen the hill looks heaps bigger! I went back when I was eighteen and I was like did someone chop that hill in half? You know in my mind it was a huge big mountain and you know at eighteen and driving past and not really knowing or not recognising your own marae. Those kinds of things for me are pivotal shaping experiences in the sense that they've definitely taught me what I don't want my children to have to go through. I want them to know instantly where they come from. I want them to be able to recognise it instantly. I want them to feel comfortable at home on the marae. I want them to know where their place is in the kitchen and I don't want them to have to think twice about it. At the same time I want them to also know that if they want to go to university. If they want to go to polytech or if they want to climb the corporate ladder they can also participate in those are environments. They can be in environments that they can engage with as long as they don't forget where

they come from. So that's one of the exciting things that continue to drive me personally and now we've got our first baby.

Even for nieces and nephews and those sorts of things. My nephews would come to me at the university and that was aunties kindy. My dad went to law school when he was about forty five I think he started his studies at law school. I think he graduated when he was fifty from law school and for my nephews that was pa's kindy. They were used to going to law school here in Wellington and they'd use lego and they'd build Massey University and Victoria University. For us it was just about helping them to understand that this is an environment that's just as much for them if they want it to be. It's not just something that only brainy people go to or other people go to. It's a means to an end. It gets you a ticket that makes sure that you can provide for your family. You can get into roles where you can influence. You can have a greater choice over your career and professional and personal development and that's something I'm equally passionate about.

If we go back to looking at the lessons of our tūpuna we're a fierce people and that's really good. Otherwise you know we would've ended up like the aboriginals who were a real peace loving passive indigenous people. We're a bit feistier than that but at the same time I absolutely do believe in our peoples own innate genius and gifts. I mean just even looking at the navigation of us as an indigenous people to Aotearoa. You've gotta think wow! We were scientists. We were navigators. We were of the best in the world because we managed to make it the furthest away. As a people we had to have been fit and savvy and of sound mind. We had to know how to work together and how to navigate.

It's not to say that I wrap everything up in a bow, but I do hold on to those things really strongly in the sense that we don't need to take a deficit approach. We don't need to always focus on the deficits of our people. I mean we have a look and not to say that it's all perfect, but you have a look at movements such as the Kōhanga Reo Movement and what's happened to our language. You know you have a look at the strategies that have been used by the Māori Party at the moment. You have to look at Māori Mental Health and how far that's come in terms of service delivery. We still have a long way to go but if you look at Māori Art and Designs. There are lots and lots of different examples about how creative and innovative and how amazing we are as a people. I think also as a people sometimes when we decide to do something we decide to do it well. Then there's the other side's too that we tend

to excel in. Some of those other areas are not necessarily positive for us as a people and for our future generations. Our tūpuna were always focused on our future generations and I don't think some of our people have access to that kōrero and to those philosophies through urbanisation and all sorts of other things. Some have put their time and energy into other areas. I do believe because we're quite a fierce, ferocious and a full on culture that they tend to go full on into those other areas as well.

I think for us one of the things I enjoy about my mahi here is we're government funded, but we don't have to think like we're government dependent. So we still have dreams as an organisation of Tino Rangatiratanga. We want to be able to have our own funding stream so we can serve our people the way we want to. We're already starting to put those things in place. Again it's just about doing everything we can to be able to have our own self-determination for a kaupapa that's bigger than this organisation a kaupapa that's greater than ourselves. It's quite satisfying to be able to serve a kaupapa that's far more than a pay check at the end of the days. My mahi here is not a nine to five job it's a lifestyle choice and I'm all good with that. I feel very lucky to be able to be a part of working in this way. It's also about trying to do everything that I can to honour the faith, confidence and opportunity that others have put into me for leading a Māori organisation in this way.

We actually started Te Rau Matatini at Massey so when Mason said, "Do you want to set up Te Rau Matatini?" I was like, "Oh yip." I said, "Oh but um..." And Mason was saying, "Oh it will just be a small research project". I said, "Oh yeah okay no problem, no worries." We actually established Te Rau Matatini at Massey University. So for the first two years we were based at Massey University, but the overheads got really high. Once we signed the contract at Massey Tariana got wind of it thank goodness. In her wisdom she didn't want the contract, which was very much about a Māori kaupapa to be held by a mainstream organisation even though it sat with Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, The School of Māori Studies. So she forced Massey to establish a Trust or its own entity of Te Rau Matatini. It could still be located at Massey University, but the contract wouldn't remain held by the University. It would be remaining with the Te Rau Matatini entity and just be hosted at the university. It was so fantastic because when we got to about two years into it we were starting to really hum and get some work done. Suddenly a few more contracts came and we needed more staff and we had no office space. We were literally measuring up the hallway. One part there

some of us were working out of our cars in the car park because we just didn't have any space at Massey and they were charging us through the roof.

Our Board and Mason were able to make the decision because Massey never held the contract to give us some more space and to make it worth our while to stay or we were outta there. Massey wouldn't respond and they said, "Well okay then we're outta here." So the Board gave us a week to find some office space saying, "Don't tell Massey." It wasn't at Te Pūtahi it was down on campus with the echelons and so we moved. Then we rang that Monday and said, "Oh gee we don't know why but our emails aren't working and our phones aren't connected". They said, "Oh where are you?" So we told them where we were in our new space down in town and 'cause Massey's so big it took them about three weeks to figure out we were never supposed to be there anyway. They said, "You have no authorisation to be there!!" We said, "Oh really!?!". So we moved out of the university in 2004.

Then we had a choice and went through another series of negotiations about whether we'd stay in that office space and still be hosted by Massey University or whether we'd go it completely alone. In the end the Board and Mason had confidence that it was time for us to kind of spread our wings and go out on our own so we set up the Palmerston North office. We only closed that one down in March of this year but it got smaller and smaller and smaller over the last two years and 'cause it's heaps easier to recruit to Wellington, the Manawātū awa's just not a selling point to anyone. People were like, "You want me to go where?" So we were in Palmerston North for only a couple of years and then decided we'd just open a small office here in Wellington. It might actually become the office that I'll work out of to create some strategic relationships here in Wellington and maybe even an executive assistant or something. Then some of the team said, "If you're going we're coming too!" Then it became easier to recruit to Wellington and so we got bigger and bigger here and smaller and smaller in Palmerston North. We shut the Palmy office down in March and here we are.

Mason was the original sort of CEO although he was called the director. Then when we left Massey University they wouldn't let him take a formal role with Te Rau Matatini so he became our senior advisor. He could have an advisory role and I took on a project manager transition role to transition us out of the university. I became the CEO in 2006 I think so the last three years. I think we signed our contract in December 2001. I think the Board itself

was established by about March 2002. They chose what type of entity we were to become, and then we established the entity itself in about August or something in 2002.

We're really lucky because we've had people like Hayden Wano, Bob Hēnare, Te Puea Winiata, Hinemoa Elder, Materoa Ma and Phyllis Tangitū. We've been really lucky. We've had whaea Monica Stockdale we've had people involved in our Board of Directors and our Trust who have a real wealth of knowledge and expertise that help to guide us. They were especially pivotal in those early set up stages while we were at Massey during the transition phase and then setting up independently. I don't think we would've survived without such a strong Board to help us to manoeuvre and manage to get away with it so Massey don't get too upset and we can still have some programmes with them. You know training programmes and bursary programmes and our funders remain comfortable that we're not part of the university anymore but still see us as very credible. You know, how do you achieve that? So yeah it was a challenge, but we got there.

We've grown quite a lot and we've got about forty staff now I think. We also host Matua Raki downstairs, the Addiction Workforce Development Centre. They came out of Otago University so we host them downstairs as well. So yeah it's all go, but it's good though. I believe our tūpuna call us back to things. I believe that if we look to our whakapapa it will tell us some of the career areas we are destined to be a part of I do believe that although each to their own, but that's been my experience.

Nā Louise Elia tēnei kōrero



One of the things which have been very poignant for me was when I began at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. One of the requirements of the course was to look at ko wai au. It actually made you think and start recalling and recollecting your past experiences. They framed it in terms of deconstruction and reconstruction and I used a narrative about being a whangai with my karani when she was ninety eight, I used my experiences and the learning's and the kōrero from my karani. I was eight years old when my karani died, yet now and again I can recall a whakāro. I know it's really close to me and I have to really think about it, but then I think ae tika, this is the kōrero from my karani. In lots of ways what she was doing was preparing the

soil. When I did my deconstruction and reconstruction I called it the soil and I used the methodology of a kākano, because I was the kākano at my karani's rekereke. I used the kākano to describe what I had learned and the things that she had instilled into me. I don't even think my karani knew six Pākehā words and when she did talk in Pākehā it was in pigeon English. I don't even think she uttered six words and they weren't proper English words they were way out words you know. Now days kids will laugh at that but for me they were very poignant and I suppose that's what made it special. She was very special to me.

We'll go back a little bit more. I was whangai from birth and my mother's oldest sister actually breast fed me. It's pretty vague and there's not much kōrero about the time from when I was born. The only time I can begin my own kōrero and how I remember things was at the rekereke of my karani. I worshipped my karani that was where the difference was. I actually worshipped my karani. In today's world she's my wise person and we're connected with each other. I think in some sense she was a matakite and she was preparing a pathway and planting the seeds for when I grew up. It's possible she knew her time wasn't too far away so it was like she didn't have a lot of time to be able to share some of the kōrero.

When I use the analogy of a kākano and my of karani being the gardener of the kākano, she nurtured me and she grew me. She grew me to the point where I was far more advanced in my thinking and training than my cousins of the same age. She had so much knowledge and so much wisdom and so much experience at ninety eight years old. She wasn't totally Māori, her great grandmother was Irish. Even in those days there was the influence of non-Māori in the Hokianga, but she couldn't even say half a dozen words in English without it being pigeon English. Yet there was definitely Irish somewhere in that whakapapa because my karani was much fairer than me although her brothers and sisters were dark. They had Māori features, but not the colour that normal Māori are. It was really awesome for me to retrace those kōrero and to throw myself back. I really trusted her you know. My karani could tell me to jump a wide sea and I'd be okay and I would've believed her. There was specialness about her and I held on to every breath and every word that she said.

One example of my karani was when she started to become unwell and as a child I didn't know what it was. As an adult I know that she had respiratory problems because she was always full of phlegm. I think she was more prone to pneumonia and pleurisy than anything. I can remember as far back to when I was six year old and that's nearly sixty years ago. I can

remember they used to have baking powder tins and they used to insulate it with newspaper. My karani used that for spitting her mare into. Everybody said, “Ewww”. They didn’t want to empty the tin full of mare, but for me it was a labour of love. I used to empty it out and clean it and wash it. Then I would reline it again with newspaper and take it back to my karani. You know, I did things like that a little eight year old would not do. I became her little helper. I became her mouth. I became her eyes because she became bedridden. I became her feet. I did all the walking for her. I did all the fetching. What I got back from my karani you couldn’t put a monetary value on and for me it was the teachings and the growing. She’s influenced my life in so many ways and that’s impacted on who I am. If I’m not sure about something I always say, “Well karani what am I going to do now?” I have no hesitation even inaianei asking my karani, “What now? What am I going to do now?” So in doing that deconstruction and reconstruction module I thought yes I was a kākano. I began my journey without realising that my first supervisor was my karani.

When my karani died I wasn’t allowed to go to the tangi. It was well over fifty years ago when she died and I can still see myself standing outside the hearse. Karani did not come from Pipiwai she comes from Poroti so they took her back there to be buried alongside her parents. I can still see myself standing there when everybody went to hākari and they put my karani into the hearse. This big black car was literally covered in flowers and I was standing outside and I said, “Oh karani take me with you I don’t want to stay here”. I can still feel what I felt with my karani, but I was not allowed to go to the actual burial. They used to put the tūpapaku on mattresses to wait for a casket to come from Whangārei on the bus. Then they’d take them downstairs at the marae and wash them and bring them up on a sheet or a flax mat. Then they would wait for the casket and put them in the casket. The children were not allowed to be present when they put the tūpāpaku into the casket.

I do not remember all of it because a part of me died when my karani died. I knew a huge part of me was gone. I stayed with her when everybody had to look the other way while they did stuff. I screamed and I screamed and I screamed and I cried and they said, “Waihotia ia ki reira pai ana ia. Kei konei tana tūpuna ki te tiaki ia ia”. So I stayed, but I can’t remember what they did with my karani. Even though I was there I can’t remember. I believe that was because my tūpuna took those memories away from me so I would not to see my karani deceased and lying in that state.

Now prior to that I didn't start school until I was eight years old because there was lots of bullying in Pipiwai School. My karani took this skinny scrawny 6 year old to kura and they said, "No take her back. We're not taking her because she's too skinny ka patua ia". So my karani took me home. I can't remember much between the age of six and eight, but I did not go to school until I was eight years old.

My cousins used to belt the non-Māori teachers and violence was rife in the school. I was not frightened of the violence I was really safe. I felt safe because it was my cousins who were the bullies, but they protected me. I was their kōtiro so they protected me. I also had my brother there so I was not fearful. My brother and I were both raised by our karani. My brother is five years older than me so in a sense he became my protector too.

I wasn't afraid of going to school. I was looking forward to it although I did not want to leave my karani because all we used to do at home was the garden, go walking, go to the forest and she taught me about medicine. She took me to identify the plants and told me what the plants were. I was thinking years later how she had a high expectation of my recall skills. She didn't know I was like woops I can't remember. She did a lot of introducing me to Papatuānuku. There was a lot of kōrero around wāhine and people in general and about attitudes and how to build relationships.

From an early age I was introduced into the kōrero, "Kia tika tōu mahi." You know, "Me haere ki tō tika koe e kore koe e whara. Kaua e takahia koe te toto me te whakapapa o te tangata." If you are correct you will not fail and those types of kōrero. My karani was deeply into Catholic religion and I was a Mormon. It just goes to show the knowledge imparted to me and how the messages had no boundaries and religion was not a boundary. She not only gave me grounding, but also a rounded teaching of things that kept me safe.

When I come into the DHB in the last ten years it's really been the hot thing to make korowai and all that. I had a taken for granted position where if someone smacked me because I was being naughty my karani would be hōha with them and say, "Haere mai kōtiro. Ka haere tāua moko." She would put a korowai on me and those were our travelling cloaks at night you know that's a taken for granted position. Our torches were the old preserving bottles. You broke the bottom off and screwed the lid on and put a candle in. There's the photo of Whina Cooper with her moko walking up the hill well that was my karani and I. I would be

holding my karani and she had one hand holding me. Her other hand would be holding her tokotoko and I'd be holding the light. I become her eyes. Whether it was nine o'clock at night we didn't go by road. We went up and down the hills so she was pretty active at that age. You know when people say, "Māori didn't do this". I say, "No hang on Māori did do this. It's just that you don't know where the Māori's were who continued doing this." My karani was the kaitiaki of the kākano and I was the kākano.

Before she died she sent us back to our biological mother. I really hated it. It was like sending me back to a foreign person and a foreign upbringing. I knew I had a mother, but that was fine she could stay over there. I said to her, "No you are my karani!" I said, "No! I don't want to go. E kore au e pai ana ki te hoki!" She said, "Me hoki koe e moko ā te wa ka kite koe ka hua ou whakāro. Ka titiro i mua koe i te whaea. Ka mohio koe i te piringi o te kotiro me te whaea." I said, "Kahore! Kore au e pai!" So I really resented and resisted going back from the word go. As a young girl I was so angry at my karani for leaving when she died and for sending me back to my mother. My karani never lived much longer after that. It was perhaps three months later when my karani died. She knew it was better for me to go back to my biological mother, but to tell my childlike mind I had to go for my own sake, I couldn't accept it. I went back there with a lot of anger and a lot of resentment. I became an ostrich with its head in the sand. I went through the stuff that Elisabeth Kübler-Ross talks about in grief. I could've easily willed myself to join my karani that's how strong the connection and bonds were, but that's when I knew to endure I had to start reaching out otherwise that kākano would not survive.

My karani still has a huge influence on my life. When she charged me to be her eyes and her feet it was not just a momentary giving. Kua haere ia ki tu o te arai engari ko au te whakāro mō tōku karani. Kō au ki te whakaoti me te whakatutuki i ngā mahi whakatakototia e whakamahia ia. It was that obligation and from a very young age I knew what obligation was. I learnt the word commitment and that really affected me because I can talk about being the kākano.

I had to think about how to reach out to others. I didn't reach out to my own mother, but I reached out to her brothers. Two of my uncles were gentle giants, but the other uncle was influenced by his wife and he adopted a lot of her behaviour. From my uncles I learnt how men value wāhine. One of my uncles was in the 28th Māori battalion and he was a returned

serviceman. I never saw either of my uncles lift a hand or raise their voices to their sisters or wife. It was another lesson with my uncle's. One uncle was a Bishop in the Mormon Church like his father was before him. I had very strong Mormon input in my upbringing alongside the Catholic. When my mother's older brother died my mother pined for him. She died within a year of him, which left two younger brothers one of whom was another favourite of mine. I was about twelve going on thirteen when my mother died.

By the time I was nine I knew how to chop Ti-tree for wood because we had no power. I had to go up to the bush to chop wood. We had to bring the wood back and chop it up ready for the fire. We had one of the coal rangers. I knew how to use an axe and how to put the sledge on the horse. Yet still to this day I don't know how to back a car and neither could I back a sledge everybody would back the sledge for me. It was much easier to take off the whole thing and turn the sledge around then bring the horse back and connect it back in again. I did it the hard way because I couldn't do it any other way. I had to be careful because if it got hit by one of the tree stumps you knew all about it.

There was no tar seal on the roads and there was a little shop about six kilometres down the road that sold lollies and small goods. Other than that you got all your groceries from Whangārei. You had to catch a bus and if you didn't have two and six to catch the bus someone else would bring your groceries. You were kept in the village because of poverty and we were all farmers. It was a hard place to grow up, but a beautiful place. I have some really good memories of that place and it keeps drawing me back because it's my ūkaipō. When I want to draw from something I go back. I go back to the urupā and I sit or I stand there and I talk to the spirits of those buried there.

Our house was very sparse, but my biological mother was spotless. You could see your face in the floor she polished and she had an immaculate dress sense. She was a cook and she cooked for the hospitals at Dargaville, Te Kōpuru and Whangārei. She was the person that made all the preserves when it was ready for preserving season and jam making. Our mother used to come back to the valley and everybody knew she was home. I don't know how they knew, but they always knew when she was back. She used to come back for two weeks and that was her holidays. She'd come back and start from either the top of the Valley or the bottom and she'd work her way right up. So people knew, okay timata koutou te waruwaru o

ōu koutou pītiti aianeī nā kei konei hoki. They would let people know when she was coming and the next one would be ready. All she had to do then was the syrup because everything was already prepared and then she'd bottle. She went like that all throughout the Valley so in lots of ways that was another learning. By the time she died I was going on twelve and I could make jam. I could turn the sledge without breaking it and I still do it with a trailer. I know how to make pickle so that was some of the practical stuff.

We had no washing machine so everything was done by hand in a drain. In those days they used to be so strategic and they implemented what they had. They had this little stream that trickled down so her brothers dammed it and put a board across it. They put another board in for walking on. My mother used to sit there with the old club. She didn't have a copper to boil the clothes in so that's how she washed her clothes by rubbing. Her clothes were the whitest clothes out in Pipiwai. Her sheets were immaculate. Everything had to be immaculate. I think that was the influence of working in hospitals and my mother came back with that. Apparently her parents were immaculate and they taught the value of family and of whakapapa so she was embedded in that too. As I said my mother had some good points around cleanliness and around kai. When people came my mother was one of those people that would make something out of nothing. I don't have that skill it missed me. My mother died of a heart attack so I only lived with her for I think two years at the max.

After my mother passed away I became a ward of the state and I was a real candidate for the prisons for Arohata. I mean I have awesome foster parents. They're still my foster parents after fifty odd years and they're non-Māori. I used to go to jukeboxes and being under the care of Social Welfare you couldn't do that! It just was not done in those days. You had to conform or you would be disciplined or labelled idle and disorderly that was how it was framed. We learnt that you had to have six pence or two shillings in your pocket because if you didn't have any money you were picked up and taken to jail.

They sent me away for six months to Greytown to have this culture shock. I wasn't even there six weeks and I got kicked out. Faron House closed down and out of thirty two girls two of us walked out. I suppose that's another example of good relationships because the Social Worker I had up here was very good and I had developed a good strong relationship with my foster parents. She was able to talk to the social worker up here and she said, "No

she's not a bad kid she's just a flower child". So I was released and I went out into the wop wops because I love the wop wops. I worked there for awhile before I came back into Masterton then I worked there and commuted to Wellington. Then I went to Greytown to work so that was learning, but that's not in my journal. The one in the journal is all around the kākano because there are so many pieces to our lives.

At the residential you had to be careful with whom you aligned yourself too. I was fortunate and I always think my karani looked after me in those days. There were five of us and they said to me, "Come with us." They showed us how vicious the girls were. It wasn't a nice place, but you stayed away from that group. You never went into that group by yourself. You always had to protect your back, which I believe is no different to today. It's no different to how they behave today in those institutions. When you went to bed you never slept. We'd say, "No don't sleep you know she's coming into our dormitory". The next morning we'd hear about how this group who were all Māori girls had raped the other groups and done horrible things to them. I was the last entry and the girls that had been there before me had constructed some sort of warning device around the doors to protect them. They said, "Don't worry we'll hear them if they come." So that was another learning curve for me. Often it's difficult to tell these stories because I think that lots of people don't know about it, but that's why I'm passionate about violence in terms of Māori things.

Often my grandmother would say, "E moko, don't turn your back you belong to the four winds." She'd say, "He uri koe nō ngā hau e whā". It was not about tribalism. It was not about whānau. It was not about hapū. It was about belonging to the universe and the universe belonging to you. You have to live and find your own way within that universe and walk that pathway knowing you are going to be responsible for my eyes, my ears and my mouth. It was a heck of a load especially when you want to be a haututu! I think I've heeded maybe seventy five percent of what my karani tried to instil in me. I'm not as wise as what my karani was. If I can only be even sixty five percent like my karani I know I have achieved some of the moemoeā she had for me because it was about being tohi you were chosen. This was your role and you were chosen and your responsibility was to uphold that role. I always keep saying, "Oh God! I'm tired of being good!" But my role is about people and it's about connectedness and interconnectedness. It's about how to bridge gaps. How do you bridge those boundaries? I've learnt that you have to be diplomatic around things like that. So my karani has had a huge influence on my upbringing and despite all the things that

happened after my karani's death, I held on to that thread and to the things that I was exposed to from my karani they were my life link. They helped me to overcome my personal trials and tribulations and I became a foster parent for about thirty something children while I was with my first husband.

I'm privileged that I am able to work across both Māori and Pākehā worlds. I am able to be accepted in one world and navigate in the other. I'm actually fortunate for that even though te ao Māori today has more contemporary than traditional practises. One of my moemoeā is to be able to influence and talk to some of my grandchildren the way my karani talked to me so they can have that as their silver lining to hold on to ā te wa. It's about building a relationship. It's very important to build healthy relationships with them not as adults, but to mentor them from the cradle because that is where it began for me. My mentoring began at the cradle. When they talk about whānau its holistic. It's not an individual it's about whakapapa.

I think the healing and where I am now had already been laid with the whāriki. It was the silver lining from my karani otherwise I would've been a candidate for Arohata, a rebel without a cause. You know people are so angry and this is where a lot of the violence comes in because people are angry. I wonder about why people are so angry. What is it that they're carrying? Whereas I had someone there with me always and I had someone to kōrero with. I had my karani and she was my silver lining. I always had some way to unpack what was going on. I had to let go of that mamae and I always held on to what she'd told me. Remembering you never go by yourself, but spiritually our tupuna travel with us. There are many travellers who travel beside you wherever you go.

When my karani died I remember right from the time when I stood outside the hearse back in the 50s. It was just like having a satellite from America land in Pipiwai because you either went up on the tractor or they carried you on the back of somebody's truck. The baby's caskets were made out of wood by my uncle before they bought them from town and some of the adults were made out of wood. Some they put in shrouds, but my karani was special. My karani had to have a casket. She didn't have all these other things and of course there was no embalming in those days so three days before te timatatanga o te haunga o te tangata you had to be buried.

I went back to Poroti to this tangi and I stood in this cemetery. I kept feeling my karani, but I didn't know where she was so I left the cemetery. The second tangi I went back to was in the same cemetery and I had one of the whānau there and I said, "Where's my karani?" I said, "Is karani Heko here?" She said, "Yeah". I said, "Where?" And then she took me to where my karani was buried and the name on it was different. I had been around that cemetery before and I was like a ship just roaming looking for a harbour. I couldn't find her because she's buried under a different name. You know what I felt like doing? All I wanted to do was go into the foetal position and lie on my karani's grave and I thought now this is gonna be stupid! This is gonna really look ridiculous! Here's the whaea of Waitemata Health coming up to tautoko this tangi and there she is lying in a foetal position on top of her karani, but the pull was so strong. Even as I talk now I can feel it in my pito and I went, "Oh my karani!" That's all I wanted to do was connect back. I think one of these days I will do it. I will just lie there with my karani again because that's how I always laid with her in a foetal position. Even as I sat I hugged her leg and I sat like that. So for me years were irrelevant because here was my karani and finding her was like making me whole. I think the completion will be when I do lie on her.

When I had my accident Matua Pereme rang me. I couldn't understand the accident myself, but Matua Pereme rang me and said, "Hey sis, who's this kuia? She was a person to be reckoned with when she was younger and she comes to me with a taiaha. She's using the taiaha and she can flip that thing!" He says, "I'm not going near her sis!" I went, "Oh, I don't know Matua." I said, "She's not friendly?" He said, "No! No!" So I went, "Oh okay." He was quite anxious and he said, "As soon as I finish my karakia she's there. I can see her right in front of me." I went, "Oh who is she?" He said, "Oh I don't know." I said, "Ask her you're the one that's seeing her so ask her!" He said, "Oh no, I'm not going to." He said, "I've got some things to tell you." I said to him, "Oh it must be my mother's cousin because she was called the colonel!"

So he comes out and I said my sister will make breakfast because I had my hand up you see. So he came around and I said, "Kia ora matua, come in". Then I said, "Is that her?" Pointing to a picture and he said, "No!" He spun round to this photo that's now faded and he went, "There she is! That's her!" He said, "What is she to you?" I said, "Remember I talked about my karani?" He said, "Yes." I said, "That's her". He said "What is she to you?" I said, "That is my great grandmother's sister. She's the one that brought me up and she's also the

one that named me.” He said, “No wonder.” So Matua had the experience of a visit from my karani in person! Not once, not twice, but a few times! So he was charged and she said, “You have to look after her!” It was all said in Māori, “Me tiaki koe i taku mokopuna!” And she charged him with my care. So I think how strong the influence was to transverse veils, and that they can still get their messages across without you knowing. How privileged it is that they still maintain those linkages and that they’re still doing the kaitiakitanga.

All in all I think I always like the back. I like driving from the back. I’m not comfortable up the front, but I do the best of my mahi from the back. It’s a kaitiaki role. It’s around knowing who you are and that was why it was so valuable doing the deconstruction reconstruction exercise at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa because it was focused on what you are doing. What is it that your goals are? What are your aspirations? He aha tōu huarahi? You know, if you’re going to work with people do you know what you’re doing with them? So you had to know first what you’re doing and you had to plan and all those sort of things. It’s about putting it back and acknowledging where it came from. Where did it begin? It’s about acknowledging the source and it’s about hoping to hell that you actually honour that source because it’s a hard call. It’s a big boot to fill and you can only do what you can do. You can only go forward with some of those ethics because that’s the tikanga and for me the tikanga is tiaki.

What makes a person’s calibre is essentially what sits in kō wai au? Who am I? What are the legacies I’m going to pass on and how am I going to influence my children? How am I going to influence my grandchildren? Now that I have great grandchildren it’s a privilege. So how do we do all that? Basically, if we don’t have good roots and we don’t have a whāriki that’s built with honesty and integrity then you don’t have that basic foundation. For people of my age the foundation is already there and we are already going through our pathway of life.

I often think that the Māori are very critical, but within that there’s something there which keeps you connected. I think that Māori have had to be very defensive. Yet I don’t see a need for that any longer. There’s another way of doing this today that doesn’t takahi on peoples whakapapa or their wairua. I call it the silver lining between you and your tūpuna and the unseen. So that’s when I come back to the words of my karani and the many things she says to me, “Mahara koe you are not a Māori he tangata koe! Engari, e hikinga mai tātou ō ngā Ariki.” That’s all she used to say and so that kaitiaki process for me completed her mahi.

She had done her mission on Earth and part of her mission was to be able to prepare me to be a teenager, to be a Mum, to be a grandmother and a great grandmother. She prepared me to be a worker, to be a person and to be who I am. She groomed me and I think that was her assignment.

It's about many things and many roads which lead to one. There's many ways of getting here and there's many ways that people travel those roads and there are many travellers. I find through working with women that those women tell very similar stories to my story yet they are still very unique to them. Sometimes they're not able to articulate their stories and it comes out in anger. I mean I don't have an issue talking about what I've shared with you today, but the question is what makes you who you are? Ko wai koe? I can rattle off my pepeha, but see that doesn't really tell you much about the person does it? It's about finding the core of that person. It's about finding out what makes that person tick.

There was always the influence of Mormonism too, which really affirmed what my karani had said around whānau. It was not just about the word whānau because whānau was much bigger than the word. Whānau is about loyalty, but kia tika ana you know it had to be the right loyalty. It had to be the right whānau because from her teachings and alongside the Mormonism influence it was about being right. It was about you being part of the vine and others being part of you. You know and those people that the vine attracts because the vine needs to have a purpose in life. The vine needs to be able to sustain and feed and nourish other people so the vine becomes the shelter. The vine becomes the food. The vine becomes the sustenance for others and my karani made sure that the soil around her kākano grew.

I'm also saddened by what's happened to our wāhine. You know those ones who've been in prison and those ones of te kore. Instead of being uplifted it's like there's something drawing them down and they haven't found their self-worth. They haven't been able to unpack and de-construct because all they can see is what's happening in front of them and the blaming. What they don't realise is when you unpack the layers are really thick. As you unpack it becomes thinner and much easier to unpack, yet some of them don't have the energy to begin that process. So I wanted to be the best social worker out. I wanted to be able to be a resource and help our people and our women who have been victims of violence and of losing their tamariki. I wanted to manāki and tiaki and to help them find the pathways and to

help them find their feet. I wanted to be that person! I wanted to be the best bloody Māori Social Worker out!

When my name was put forward for my current position I had a kōrero with my whānau. I went back to my whānau and they said, “Why not? You’ve been doing this sort of position.” I said, “Who the heck wants to be a kuia, a bloody kuia?” I said, “I’m going to be one of those one day, but not today!” So my cousin Boss Tipene said to me, “Get off your laurels there’s nothing you can do.” I said, “I don’t like it!” He said, “You’re not meant to like it! You’re not there for you you’re there for your people.” That was the key. You’re not there for you you’re there for the people. So I went to the interview and the HR manager said to me, “Why do you want to apply? Why did you apply for this position?” I’m very clear and straight up and I said, “I didn’t apply, some idiot put my name forward.” I said, “You’ve got to be stupid wanting to be a kui!” You don’t say that at interviews! It’s not a good impression! I didn’t sway them one bit and at the end of the day they rang me and said, “We’d like to offer you the position.” Not at the end of that day at the end of that week. It was a Thursday and I was having dinner with one of my friends. I said, “Are you sure you’ve got the right person?” They said, “We were really impressed with how forthright and frank you are.”

Anyway, you know for me it was like Boss said you’re not there for you. It’s not about you it’s about the people and you’re being trained.” He said, “I’ve told you before throw your text books away and stop going to kura!” But its great having this world view too and to be able to work and walk in both worlds. I think it’s a real privilege because I can help this world. I always say this when people say to me, “Don’t use high words.” I say, “Well no it’s like this darling I’m not coming down you’re coming up.” You know it’s not about Pākehā it’s about Māori saying let’s move our thinking and shift our attitudes. I like to think that’s what my karani was saying about progress and planning and about being strategic. I know I’ve been privileged. I’ve had to go through lots of the yucky stuff and I could’ve stayed there but I chose not to. I have the strength and the energy and the belief in what my karani told me and I’d like to think that one day I will be what my karani was to me.

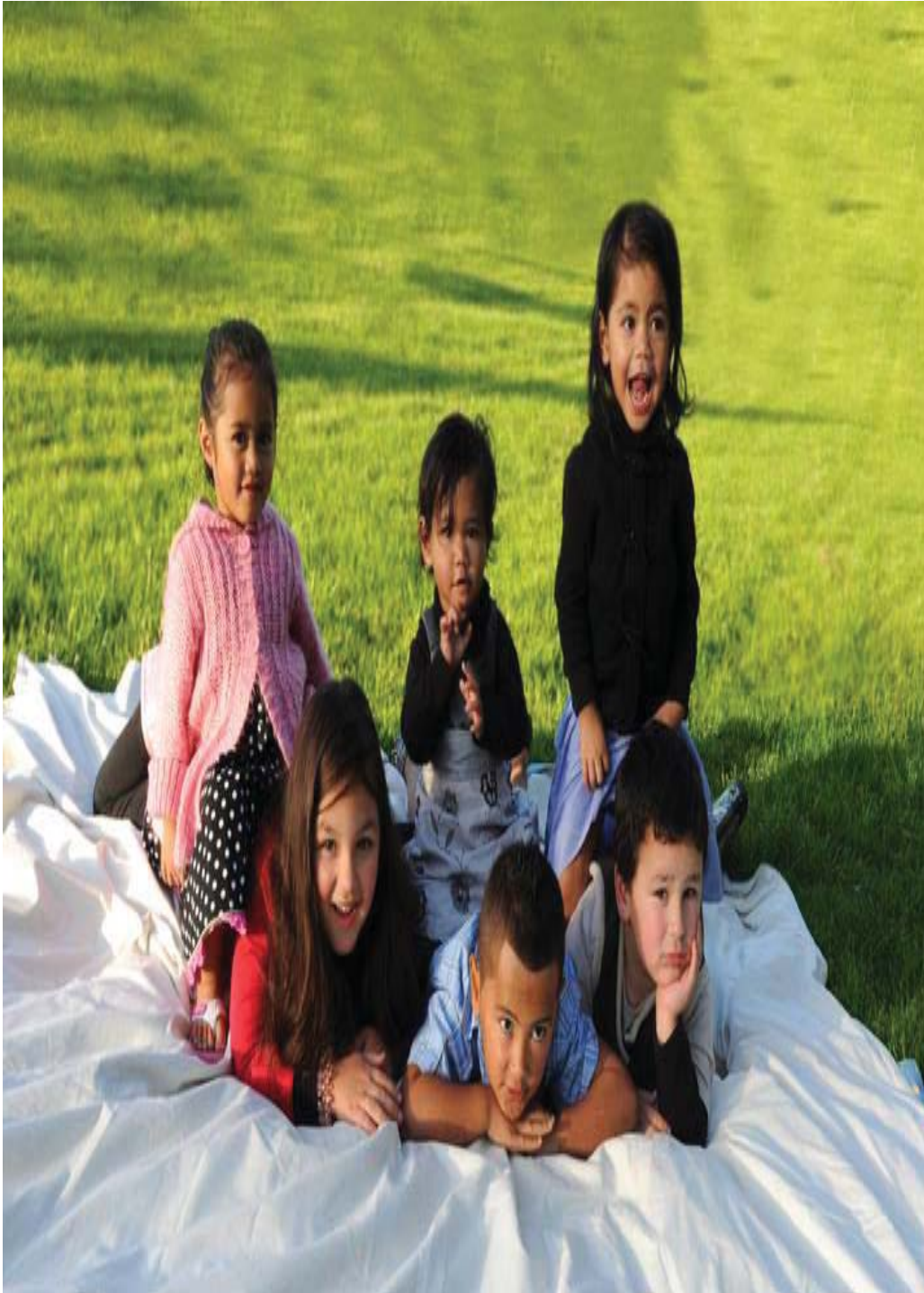
My foster parent mum has written a book and it’s called Tapestry of Life and within it she talks about her foster children. I’m threaded throughout because she not only had me, she had my children. When I was separated from their father my daughter had read the book and

she said, “Nana called you Karen.” I said, “Yes, I am Karen.” She said “You had an eating disorder.” I said, “Oh I can’t remember that.” It’s really interesting because now the other parts coming in. My daughter’s a hard nut to crack, she really is you know. She used to play league and women’s touch and she said to me, “I’m going to play touch.” I said, “Well, if the other players had any sense they’d put the ball down and run the other way.” And yet she rang me the other night and said, “Well mum you’re Karen. I went to see Nana the other night.” She did it voluntarily after many years of not seeing my foster parents. I’m talking a good five to eight years she hasn’t gone to see them. She just decided out of the blue to go and see them and mum gave her the book. I said, “Gee, your grandmother must have got a shock that the book dropped in your hand!” She says, “No mum I’ve thoroughly enjoyed reading about you as a as a teenager”. There are some things that I don’t even remember as a child you know so for them that kākano has already begun. She’s a grandmother she’s got four grandchildren. Yeah, it could knock me over in terms of where my daughter is.

So how do you build relationships? I kept saying to my guy I was going with, “What do you think your children are going to remember you by?” He rattled off all this materialistic stuff. He said, “You don’t have to worry about your children you’ve done a lot for your children.” I said, “I’ve only given them a pathway. They decided whether to go down the pathway and the choice was theirs because they were given options.” He can’t understand how we can sit down and negotiate things if there’s an issue without swearing and screaming at each other. Yet for him he has to use the F’s and B’s and all the letters in the alphabet and he won’t even come to a conclusion. Whereas there’s not even one letter of the alphabet used in our communication and I think that’s about a different set of values.

I like to think that what my karani had planted in me my children will actually take some of that and influence their children and their mokopuna. I was talking to one of my two year old great grandchildren and he says, “Karani I miss you.” I says to him, “I miss you too Luka.” I said, “Is that you moko?” He says, “No, this is Luka!” He speaks with a very strong Greek accent and I said, “Oh Luka Duka how are you darling?” He said, “I miss you karani!” I said, “I miss you too Luka. I’m coming over to see you next month”. Try telling a two year old “next month” that could be next minute for them. I thought he’s not going to retain that but I’m hoping that one of those children will be able to and they will. My grandson is part German and he loves the marae. He loves anything Māori and he is tūturu Māori. Whenever he comes up to our place I always try to give him some more words. I said, “You may not

remember all of this.” I said, “Ā te wā.” I love the concept of wā, although I don’t have much patience. Anyway, I think that’s a small version of my life with the influence of my karani up to now. This was how she influenced me and her influence has strengthened over the years, but now the onus is on us. When things happen you have stop and take stock. You have a look at what is good for you regardless of or despite your situation.



Nā Kuini Rangiamāia (née Moeahu Karena) tēnei kōrero



I was adopted by my grandmother and I grew up in Bell Block between New Plymouth and Waitara. I was brought up in Muru and there were fifteen of us in our family. I was the only one that was adopted. My mum and dad had fifteen children, but it could be more than that for all I know. I didn't know I had brothers and sisters till many years later. I knew my

grandmother wasn't my mother, but I didn't know there were so many other children. As you're getting a bit older you sort of find these things out by talking to different people.

It was pretty good growing up there. I was taught the right things and of course what I was taught gave me courage. I was brought up to know the good things from the bad things and the bad things from the good things. I mean, there was no alcohol drinking in our household or anything like that it was a clean life. The old people did a lot of things themselves. They all put in together to make a big garden and had poultry. We lived not far from the beach and always nanny was down getting kaimoana.

She was always busy weaving mats and coloured baskets and things like that. She smoked a pipe and she had a moko and Māori was the only language she could speak. It was the only language I could speak. I'd learnt it so fluently that I was able to have a conversation without having to break it by using English words like some people do, but of course I lost all that. Well, I haven't lost it all I do still have it, but it was good when I gradually went away and found work. Of course when she died that was it she was more or less my parents she was my everything. When she went I think I might have been about fifteen or sixteen. I was away at the time and nobody contacted me when it happened. When I was told I thought oh my God! Now you tell me? I was out working and of course after that well I just sort of went on my own.

Then I thought well I've got brothers and sisters and they haven't been to see or look for me so I thought I'll just go hunting myself. My friend had a car and she said to me, "Where would you like to go today Kuini?" I said, "Well I wouldn't mind going round home." She said, "Home? Where's that?" I said, "Okaiawa in Normanby". I thought I would go because they've told me I've got brothers and sisters out there so I thought I'll go and I'll hunt them up. The word got back to the sisters that I'd been and one of them rang me up and she said, "I believe you were out the other day." I said, "Well, I have been told I've got brothers and sisters and with granny being gone well I'm lost now." She said to me, "Well you can come home if you want to." I said, "Oh I'll think about that". I didn't go back I stayed where I was.

I was staying in Stratford then. I worked at the laundry at Stratford Hospital pressing sheets and all the linen. It was hard work, but it was a good experience for me. I stayed there and a

cousin and his wife came to see me. They took me under their wing and said, “Oh come home and stay with us.” So I said, “Oh okay.” They said to me, “We’ll get you a job because there’s plenty of work where we are.” It didn’t matter what work it was I still did it anyway. I was with them for about a month I suppose. They had three boys going to school and they had a sick one. You might as well say I was working for them as a caregiver looking after their kids and doing all the washing and cooking and stuff. Then finally because I wasn’t able to speak English properly he found me a job working for his mates, a Pākehā couple in Waitara. He says to me, “I’ve got a job for you. You can go and work for this couple that we know. They’re Pākehās and they’re very good and all you have to do is housework.” I said, “Okay.” He said, “You just do housework or whatever she wants you to do”. It was alright and I sort of learnt my English going around amongst the European people. I was learning a bit of English when I was working at the laundry.

I didn’t have much time to learn English because I hadn’t allowed myself time to learn. I had left school because the teacher we had knew I couldn’t speak English and she called me up front to get something out of the cupboard. She was rattling away in English and I was looking at her thinking what is she talking about? I just stood there and she spoke to me about three times. When it came to the third time she opened the drawer and I thought uh oh she’s going for either the strap or the ruler. Of course I just stood there thinking I don’t know what you’re saying! I just don’t know! I just stood there and the drawer opened and in went her hand and out came the strap. Anyway, I said something in Māori to her and she wanted to know what it was. There was another Māori girl in the classroom and she called her over and asked her what I’d said. I didn’t know how the girl explained it to her, but she came over to me and grabbed me and took me to the door. She opened the door and up the corridor were all the hand basin taps for drinking water so up the corridor we went and we stopped at a hand basin. She put me over it and the soap came out and into my mouth. I thought right this is it and behind me were all the coat hangers. When she had finished with me I turned around to my peg and grabbed my coat and bag and took off out the door and went home. I had three and a half miles to walk home and that’s how far I had to walk to get to school some mornings.

When I got home the old lady was outside. I went inside and got changed into my home clothes and of course she didn’t know why I was home so early. My cousin came in off the farm and he said, “What are you doing home so early?” I said, “Oh half a day today”. I

didn't let on about what happened. I just said, "Oh half a day". After that I thought to myself I ain't going back to that school in the morning. Nan always had my breakfast ready and my lunch done. She'd wait for me to get up and I'd go so far up the road with the milk cart. Well this particular morning I didn't go. I didn't get up. I didn't wake up. I just lay in bed. My cousin came in and the old lady must have said to him that I was still in bed. I heard a voice at the door saying, "Come on! Get up! Get out of bed! You're late! Get up you need to go to school!" I just blocked my ears and said, "I'm not going to school!" He said, "Yes you are!" I said, "No I'm not! I'm not going to school!" He said to me, "Get out! Get ready I'm taking you to school!" I thought oh here goes. So anyway, I got up and got ready and he said to me, "Now have your breakfast and when you're finished we're going." So I had my breakfast and he came in and he said, "You ready?" I said, "Yeah I think so." He said, "So, what actually happened?" And I told him had happened. Anyway, he said, "Oh okay we'll suss this out." So away we went.

We got to the school and walked in and knocked on the door. Anyway, she came to the door and when she saw me and my cousin she didn't know who to look at. Straight away she turned around and said to him, "Oh I'm very sorry about all this!" He said to her, "Well I brought her in just to see what actually happened." Then he said to her, "You knew full well what the situation was with her and about her speaking Māori. You understood that She couldn't speak English." She apologised to him and he turned around and said to her, "Don't apologise to me this is the girl you need to apologise too! Don't apologise to me!" I was standing there thinking oh hurry up, but I listened to her. We talked it over and he was quite happy about it all. I thought I was going to get it because he was just as tough as she was but it was all over in a flash and it went on okay. He said to me, "Right, we're all finished." I said to him, "Well I'm not coming back to this school! I'm not coming to school in the morning!" I said it while she was standing there so we left and came back. The old lady wanted to know what was going on. Oh I tell ya I had some times. I started school at the age of seven and left at the age of seven.

After that I more or less helped on the farm and worked around the place. Nanny had a big family and our house was one of the old time houses. It was a homestead with high ceilings and big rooms, but it was cold except in the kitchen where it had a wooden coal range. There was always plenty of room and plenty of gardens and plenty of fruit and veges. There was always plenty of kai. The men folk went out scrubbing and cutting gorse. I stayed with nanny for quite a while and then she brought her family home, a family of ten, and gave them

a roof over their heads. There were two lots of families actually and she gave them both a roof over their heads. The first lot of family were all first cousins to me and our mothers were sisters.

It was hard times back then not so much for me but for my nanny. Especially knowing all the things she used to do and the sort of hard working woman she was for the ones at home. She was always cooking and gardening and washing and all that business. I learnt a lot of good things from my nanny she was an awesome person. She made all my clothes and school clothes by hand.

She'd go to town with her daughter once a month and they'd do a big shopping spree. I had to harness the horse and cart and then take them up to the other end of the road to catch the bus. Then I would go back and meet them with all their shopping and bring them home. Every time she'd go shopping they'd always come home with some bolt of material and she was a great sewer and weaver. She used to make mats to sit down on and she used to sit on the floor and weave away. She used to say to me, "Haere mai." I would sit down next to her and watch. It was a shame I didn't take it up because she did show me parts of it like how to start off. She made her own designs and colouring. I liked her kete and her baskets were lovely. She used to take them all with her when she went into town and she had a place where she'd go and sell them off. She'd sell them to Pākehā's and she'd come back with all these goodies. Of course I knew when she'd go into town because she used to get the bus driver to stop at the gates and I'd be ready and waiting for the bus. I'd see the bus slow up and think oh yeah that's nanny. She'd give the goodies to the bus driver to give to me at the steps. It might be a pie or an apple and all my mates would stand there watching and say to me, "What you got?" I'd say, "Oh never you mind!"

Sometimes she used to make Māori bread or a fried bread for my lunch and our butter in those days was bacon fat. When I'd go to school there were two Māori girls and they always knew what I'd have and they'd want to swap. So I'd say, "Oh what you got?" They'd say, "Tomato" or "banana". I'd say, "Oh I like that. What do you like?" They'd say, "Oh we like your Māori bread and your fried bread." I said, "It's not the proper butter its bacon fat." They used to say, "Oh yes we'll eat it" because it was something different. Oh laugh! In those days we had ration books and we were only allowed so much butter and so much sugar.

Sometimes if there was anything you didn't want you could swap it with somebody for something else.

My nanny also used to put corn down in the running river to make rotten corn. I used to have to take a bowl and a sack with me. I had to go down to the creek and open one of the bags. I had to crush the corn before I cleaned it all up and took it to the house. When she was cooking it you could smell it from a mile away! When they had no sugar they used golden syrup. It used to turn a nice colour and a nice smell and that was our kai rotten corn.

I suppose I would've been about fourteen when I was asked to join the Māori Women's Welfare League. There was no age limit those days 'cause they were pleased to have anybody to make up the forum. I just got straight in on the League at that time. There were lots of goings on and it was just about how you fit in with it all. You had to allow time for yourself to fit in as well.

I also went to the Orakei marae just to join the kaumatua and kuia group that they had there through the week. You could go to learn how to weave korowai or sew and get to know who's around and that. We sort of watched them doing it and even now I wouldn't know where to start. It's terrible but I try. It's a big marae that marae. It's lovely with its big dining room and different people coming in just to have a look at the place. We'd always have meetings and of course we have kai and they supply you with morning tea and all that.

When I came back to Auckland in 1952 I joined the Papakura Māori Women's Welfare League and of course we did a lot of different things. We used to have the ball for the daughters and we'd make lei's and try to weave in between. We had jobs to do like me and another lady used to have to go out to the car park, especially on housie nights. We were put out to inspect cars for any little ones left in the car. There was a lot of that at housie games. There used to be kids left in their cars crying in hot weather and so forth. It was just about looking after them and their welfare. When we saw them like that we'd go back to the building where the housie was and we'd report to the organisers the car registration number and everything and they'd put it over the mike. We used to go to pubs especially on benefit days and stuff like that those were the sort of things that we did. Where was the money going too? Why were children left like that? When there'd been any domestic problems or anything like that we used to go to our meetings and they'd tell to us to have boxes of food

made up. We'd take a box to those who haven't got much food in their house for their family and the kids. We'd make up a parcel for them and a lot of the women made preserves. They did a lot of preserving and they'd put down a lot of vegetables.

I got into the League through another lady that belonged with them. They sort of got the word out about what they did and they asked if you'd like to come in and join. When you went you would sit and listen and realise that it was quite a take up what they went through. Then they sent ladies away to conferences and stuff like that. It was marvellous what came out at the conferences and of course we had to open our one up and be there for Whina Cooper when she came to the Papakura.

We started the one in Papakura when there were other groups forming in other places. They were little groups and they would visit one another. We'd have them coming to us or we'd go to them. You would learn from the ones who started before you and that sort of thing. It was marvellous really.

When I was in back in Muru in Taranaki when the movement there was happening it was amazing where everybody came from. You know they'd talk about it and people would say, "What group are you in?" And before you know it they're in the group you'd not long ago been too. I got involved in that one through this lady that we knew from way back. She formed the one at Muru.

Anyway, years after I left Muru I got the job at Stratford. I came to Stratford and I sort of stayed there and met the kid's father there. Their father was a Pākehā but he was Māori in lots of ways. If there was anything like puha and brisket you had to get in early with him around. I had all the kids up here when we moved from Stratford to Auckland. We had two girls and two boys, but I've only got one boy now. The eldest ones been gone about eleven years and the other one took off to Holland. He's come back now though so I've got them all home. He came back with his family when he heard I was in hospital. Its good having family around. He came back at the right time because he was here for my eighty second birthday last year. I had all of them there. I had twenty eight of them there with all the mokos, and all their mums and their dads.

At the rest home you have entertainment and games for everyone's birthday. They put on a birthday party on the second Sunday of the month and whoever's birthday falls on that month gets a birthday cake. They put on an afternoon tea and they set up the table for drinkies and you can have a wine or a beer. My family all came over and the entertainer comes and they have a sing-a-song to the birthday ladies. Anyway, when the time came the boss of the rest home came out with the cake and handed it to the people and says, "Can everybody sing happy birthday?" Then the entertainer came along with her guitar and sang *Happy Birthday*. Then she made an announcement and said, "I have a request here for Kuini's son and it's called *Welcome Home*." Well, you should've seen everybody. Of course my son's wife she's a Dutch girl she just cried because it reminded her of being away from her home. Anyway, she sang it right through and I thought oh that was nice and most appropriate.

There must have been about five of us that day that had birthdays. I looked at all of my crew coming through and thought oh gee when are they gonna stop? I started counting them including the Mummy's with their babies and my stomach started churning. I was thinking how are they gonna behave? You know what kids are like they can't sit still and I thought oh gosh how are they gonna behave? Well anyway they shocked me and I couldn't get over it. Some of them were sitting behind me and some of them were sitting on the floor quiet as a lamb just sitting there. I thought oh you are good mokos. You're well behaved and there were so many of the beggars. I was counting them as they came through the door and they came from all over. Then one of the ladies said, "Oh you got a big family." I said, "Yeah big family alright ha ha ha."

My husband was a jack of all trades. He was a great flower gardener and a vegetable gardener. He used to work in the cheese factory. It didn't worry me though taking him to Māori houses or Māori places because I knew that he mixed well and he was champion for Māori kai. He was good with the kids he'd never smack them or hit them or anything. He'd only use his tongue and the boys used to give him what oh, especially the eldest one. If you were busy outside doing something he'd go along and take a saw or a hammer and of course the father would be looking around for his hammer. I'd say, "Rangi! Boy! Your fathers looking round for the hammer take it back to him." Of course he couldn't bend his knee because he'd been shot in the knee cap so he couldn't run. So they'd run away from him and they'd say, "Dad can't run. He can't catch us!" I said, "Oh you kids are awful! Don't be

like that.” Oh yeah they used to give him what oh and take off with his tools, but he’d do anything for us you know.

Lorraine (Kuini’s daughter): Dad’s parents settled in Stratford and possibly immigrated to New Zealand on one of the ships. We’re not quite sure about dad’s family, but we think they were born back in the 1840 era and were immersed in the wars in Taranaki. Then dad was born in 1896. He went to war in 1914 because he told them he was eighteen, but he was only sixteen. He wanted to venture off with everybody else so he was in that generation. Then he met mum while she was nursing his uncle in hospital, so dad’s uncle was match making mum when she met my dad. He was fifty something and she was twenty five and back in those days mum experienced discrimination. She had to go in the back door of pubs and sit on separate bus stops and things like that so he advocated strongly for her. You know things like, “This is my wife! This is my wāhine!” Mum would tell us what used to happen to her and dad about how she was treated in her time and how dad would stick up for her. I also think about how they embraced dad down home and like when they were working in the Māori Women’s Welfare League in Papakura. He did a lot of mahi behind the scenes looking after the women. He would taxi them here and there and pick everyone up and he was working alongside Mum. All of the other women and their husbands embraced him as one of their own.

Kuini: He’s been a great husband to me. His first wife died when she haemorrhaged. When I met him he told me that his wife had died and he’d come down for a break. He left three girls behind, one of them was in Rotorua and the other two girls were twins and they were in Manurewa. When my eldest boy was born and they found out their father had a son, they spoilt him because they’d never had a brother. Then of course the rest of the children followed the other brother and I said, “Forget about this step sister and step brother thing. You’re actually sisters so never mind about being step sisters.” I said, “He’s their father as well as yours.” Oh look, you couldn’t ask for a nicer family. They work in well together the whole lot of them and believe it or not they’re in their eighties those girls.

Nā Tariana Turia tēnei kōrero



(Findlay, 2010)

My mother had me when she was twenty six years old and she had me to an American marine. I had my aunt and uncle who lived at Putiki, Rangi Tāmou and Tenga Takarangi, and they wanted to adopt me because my mother had been engaged to their only son and he'd got killed in the war. So, it was kind of all on for the adoption, but then my uncle who I always thought was my dad, and he was my dad in every sense of the word, Tariuha Manawaroa Te Aweawe. He stepped in and said no when I was born and he took me home. My grandmother raised me along with my uncle and his wife Mihiterina and I lived at Whangaehu. My grandmother was Hokiwaiwai Uru Te Angina and she died when I was young and my aunt died when I was only eight. I had to move into town and live with another aunt and uncle, they were my Godparents. I suppose to other people that would sound like a mixed up childhood, but all my life I have been lucky to have had people who loved me and guided me. They have given me the values and dreams for myself and my family. I've lived in a very particular way by being part of a very extended family. Wherever I have lived I have never lived alone and I've always lived with lots of cousins.

I ended up living with my aunt and uncle, and while I was with them I went to boarding school. My dad died when I was fourteen. My aunt was Waiharakeke Hunia Waitere and her sister was Paeroa Hawea and their brother was Pahia Hunia. They kind of shaped my life at a critical point in my teenage years. We were brought up knowing that there were expectations of us and expectations that we were part of a family. As members of that family we had responsibilities to one another. It was like that when I was with my nanny. I knew that we were part of an extended whānau and as such we had responsibilities and obligations to each other. My nanny used to have big gardens and I remember the kai was graded into three lots. All the best stuff went to manuhiri, the second best went to our relatives and our families and what was left was ours so you grew up with that as a very strong value.

My aunts and my uncles had huge aspirations for me so I always believed when I was a kid and as a teenager that there was not anything I could not do and that I could be the barrier to my own opportunities because I was a bit head strong. I wanted to do things that I shouldn't be doing and all that sort of stuff, but that was a message that was given to me constantly.

I went nursing when I left school in Whanganui at the hospital there. I probably had an ulterior motive for going nursing. I think I went because you could live in and leave home. It was a great opportunity to get away from the folks. I met my husband virtually as soon as I

went nursing, which was disastrous for my family. The last thing they wanted was for me to be falling in love. In those days you couldn't be married and be a nurse they wouldn't allow it and in those days all of us lived in a hostel. You couldn't go out and go flatting so it was very controlled and you weren't allowed to be married.

Anyway, I went nursing when I was barely seventeen and I got to eighteen and a half and I decided that I would choose my darling over a career. I got married very young and George was very young. He was an apprentice brick layer and we struggled. My family were very annoyed with me to say the least! In fact I recall my aunt saying to George that they had dreams for me and they didn't include him so he wasn't impressed with my family! However, we struggled in our early years but those values we grew up with were very strong in shaping my thinking about things. I took on a lot of quite menial jobs when I was young and married. I had to take on jobs where I could take a day off and I wouldn't be missed. I worked in factories, which distressed my aunt and I went and did cleaning where I could take my boys.

Then I think I was about twenty eight and I used to read a lot. I began meeting people who weren't from home. They were people who were really politically active like Irihāpeti Ramsden, Terehia Tapata Stafford and Sister Makareta Tauaroa. They were women who were very strong and who had very strong views about what happened to us as a people. I began to read a lot about our history and it was around that time that my aunt was very strong in the Anglican Church. I decided that I would give the church up, which really upset them. I felt that I was happy to believe in the same Gods my tūpuna had believed in. It confused the hell out of my children because George's family are very strongly mōrehu. I then began sort of imposing my views on my children about religion, which again distressed my family and my husband. I think that was probably about the time that I began to gain my most important strength and I began to really see the situation that our people were in. I began to have an understanding of our context and about the reasons behind our poverty of land, of resources and of thinking.

When my dad was alive he used to drive us around home on his truck. He would talk about the land and who it had belonged to and how it had been lost. We could drive from Whangaehu into Whanganui and we would know that at one point the majority of lands had been a part of our Ngāwairiki and Ngāti Apa history. I think it was during that period after

my dad died and I'd got involved with these women. I began to give a lot of thought to political issues and about what had happened to us as a people and I felt passionately about it. When we were about thirtyish we decided to move home to Whangaehu where I'd grown up as a small child. We leased my uncle and aunts farm next door and we began farming. I'm just trying to think what year it was about '74. Then the Springbok tour came along and it divided our household down the middle. I grew angrier and angrier about the racism that I would see in our community and I began to relate it to ourselves. When we first went to look for a flat we couldn't get one. We could get it if I went on my own because they wouldn't be sure if I was Māori, but if George and I both went to look at it that night it wouldn't be available. So I was really angry going into my thirties and I think that my energy was dissipated by that anger. I got off-side with probably most of my relatives through making anti-Pākehā and anti-system comments.

A Rotary Club invited me to come and talk about racism. I was probably about thirty five then and I was invited by the judge at the Court. I used to go to the court and pick young kids up and take them home. I always took in kids particularly teenagers because nobody kind of wanted to look after teenagers and we had the room. We had the farm and I had a lot of love for kids so I used to pick up the kids at Court. The judge at the Court recommended that I come along and talk about racism at this Rotary Club. Unbeknown to me there was a media person sitting in the room and I went and shared my deepest thoughts about racism in our community. It came out in our paper the next day and the crap hit the fan basically. My husband had come with me and I think he was distressed that I was so honest about things that had happened. People in the audience knew my aunt really well and they were shocked at the things I'd said. They thought they were not things I could've learnt in my home. It left quite vulnerable. My phone was ringing hot for days. People in our valley that grew up with my birth mother were ringing telling me how enraged they were because my mother and their family would never have thought like I did and they didn't know where I'd got my ideas from. I got off side with everybody including my own relatives.

I remember our accountant who was a wonderful old man ringing me up and saying to me, "It may well all be true, but whether you were wise enough to talk about it as openly as you did, I think you need to be more guarded about how you feel about things." I thought wow you know the whole reaction to all that in many ways made me more determined that I wasn't gonna tolerate that. I wasn't gonna tolerate living in a world that was intolerant of who I was

and that you're only tolerated if you behaved in a particular way. So I got really involved in doing work with young people. I did a lot of voluntary work in that time. I did some courses trying to improve myself not really sure about what I wanted out of life, but just knowing I felt really dissatisfied I suppose.

My husband used to run schemes at the marae for young people and I'd go down there and I'd help the kids. We had 22 young people who'd been kicked out of school and it was really amazing. I sat down and I was looking at those kids and I was thinking to myself, what is it? You know, what is it about these kids that have been kicked out of school for fighting and swearing? Then I realised that they all had one thing in common they were dark *really* dark. I don't mean milk chocolate I'm talking dark chocolate. I said to my husband, "I bet if we sat down with these kids and we really explored the issues with them I guarantee it's been about colour." He said, "We don't know that" I said, "Well, you know." So I sat down with these kids and we had a talk. Sure enough, they not only had Pākehā kids calling them black names they had *our* kids calling them black names! They didn't fit anywhere. They didn't fit with one group and they didn't fit with the other group and they were really isolated in the school environment.

I guess all of those things were kind of justifying my thinking at that time. I was thinking that it was hard for us to fit anywhere. It was difficult for our people to get decent jobs. You could from one end of Whanganui City to the other and you'd be hard put to find a Māori person working behind a counter. There were maybe one or two, but it was a really rare thing. We filled all the factories and all the other places during that period in the '70s. Then there were these women I was meeting with probably every two or three months. We'd get together for the weekend and pump each other up with how we were gonna change the world. Father John Curnow came to Whanganui and he started training a group of us women in structural analysis and having a look at how the systems worked and how they operated. We immediately identified how they operated against our people.

We decided as groups to market each other. There was a Rarotongan guy Michael Bowler and Dennis Ratana there was a few of us. We got together and we decided that we'd set up an organisation. We went and asked our own people to put money in so that we could go along this pathway of independence. We would tell those who were giving they wouldn't necessarily get anything back for it and that this was the ultimate koha and we would start

some small businesses. We set up the Whanganui Regional Development Trust we called it. Our people gave anything between two dollars a week to twenty dollars a week whatever they could afford and they expected nothing in return. I think that that was probably the most exciting time in my life was having a group of people who had that self-belief that we could do for ourselves. So we started up the board and we started running small businesses. Māori affairs noticed us and they began to send us around the country talking to other groups who could be interested as well. We made a fatal mistake during the time of Mana loans. They offered Mana money to the Development Board and our Board took it. It just completely changed the whole philosophical base with which we'd established ourselves. We had established a number of small businesses and then big money came along and people with larger business ideas were not always committed to repaying loans; it was disastrous.

Then I can't remember whether the kura kaupapa came first or whether the health centre did, but we contracted ourselves out to get money so we could establish a kura kaupapa because you couldn't get resources up front. We had to operate for two years without any money. The Development Board had money so they gave money towards the establishment of the kura. A couple of us contracted our services out and paid it straight into the Board who gave it to the kura. We had enough money to pay a Principal for a whole year. Then we went back to the people again and we did the same thing, "Do you want to contribute to the educational opportunity for our kids?" And lots of our families gave. We knew that with the money that we'd got from the contracts and then the money that we were giving we'd have enough money for two years. We thought that's how long it would take us to get off the ground, which it did. Most of us paid in for five years so that the kura had a bit of money behind it and then with our health services we did exactly the same thing again. The Development Board put up a substantial amount of money and we bought three buildings, which allowed us to use them free.

We established the first health centre employing our own doctors, nurses and midwives and that started in 1993. We had amazing support from the union health centres. I was working fulltime at that stage at Te Puni Kōkiri as the Kaiwhakarite. I was basically working at the centre all night. There was a group of us women who were working to get it off the ground and our cousin Linda Thompson was one. We got all our young people in to paint the buildings for nothing. It was a great time actually. It was a really exciting time.

We employed our first two doctors and both of them had husbands who were specialists at the hospital. They were both women and were very brave because all the GP's in town came out against us. They wouldn't give us after hour's services because we weren't individually owned. We were a collectively owned organisation so they wouldn't give us access. We threatened to take them to the commerce commission. There was a doctor, Dr Lawrence Malcolm, who was at the medical school in Wellington and Don Matheson he was a doctor in the union centre. They came up to Whanganui and met with all the doctors and basically told them that we had a case to take them to Court if they didn't give us services. The interesting thing was they then wanted us to pay up front for any after hour service they gave to any of our patients. They were just so racist, but anyway we got the health services up and running. It's now probably one of the larger organisations in the central region. It employs over a hundred and forty staff and it's amazing. Our kura has grown to three kura. The kura kaupapa at Pūtiki, which was the one we started. The Kura Kaupapa Māori o Atihaunui o Pāpārangi, Te Kura Kaupapa o Tupoho and we have a Kura ā Iwi at Kokohuia. All of that grew out of the first kura at Pūtiki.

Then I was working at TPK and along came the fiscal envelope. Our office was charged with helping to organise the hui and my boss said that he was probably better off to not have me around at those hui. I wasn't noted for saying the right things in those hui even though I worked for the state. I asked him for leave because we decided that at the same time they were going to have this hui up at Kaiwhaiki we would celebrate our Whanganuitanga and our right to be a sovereign people in our own right and in charge of our own affairs. We went to Paikaitore, which was smack bang in the middle of town at the place the Pākehā renamed Moutua Gardens. We decided we'd go there partly because we wanted to highlight the issues and we knew that going there would give it a focus and we went there because historically it had been a safe place for our people. Our people had often gone on to that piece of land when the police or somebody else might have been after them. It was kind of sanctuary and a market place for them so we decided we'd go there on the same day the fiscal envelope started.

On the morning of the fiscal envelope three hundred of us had karakia by the river and then we moved up on to the whenua. The first thing we decided we'd do was put a pou whenua into the ground. Well you're not allowed to do that on parks and reserves but we did it. The

mayor came down and he immediately started wagging his finger at us all and telling us we couldn't do it. We thought this is hardly an expression of Whanganuitanga when we'd had the mayor coming down to tell us what we can't do there and we didn't think that what we were doing was really that bad. You know you could bury the hole at the end of it all or plant a tree or whatever. However, he came down and he really got everybody going the way he talked to us. He talked down to us and wagged his finger at us and did everything you don't do at an angry group of Māori really, especially three hundred most of whom were young. The great thing about it was that a lot of our old people were there and the whole expression of our Whanganuitanga and our nationhood gave new life to our old people. It was amazing and it gave amazing life to our young who came. We had kids who'd never participated in anything at the marae who had never participated in anything Māori. They all turned up in droves down there and I think it was the first time that they'd ever had a strong sense of the essence of who they were. We decided to stay there. We didn't know how long, but we decided that we would stay.

My husband who's never been an activist in his life, he and I slept under the tarpaulin on the ground the first night we were there. The amazing thing was that he who's very conservative said to me it felt right it just had a strong sense of rightness staying there. So, had I have stayed there on my own I think everyone would've said, "Oh she's up to no good again", but because he'd stayed there too a lot of our relatives thought wow. I think the great thing about it was that from one end of the river to the other, even though there were those who weren't happy at the way in which we went about doing it, nobody spoke publicly against it except for a couple of individuals. No marae and no hapū spoke against it which I thought was hugely uplifting. I think that the kaupapa of Whanganuitanga was the thing that silenced everybody. Upholding your right to be who you were and celebrating your nationhood. It wasn't about being Māori. It was about being Whanganui. It was about being a descendant of that river. You could see it in our kids and our old people. It was a wairua thing and it really affected all of us who went there. We stayed there for seventy nine days and during that time we had a heap of wonderful experiences and some horrific ones.

Over all I think the strength and the growth that all of us went through from taking that action was really what set me on the pathway to politics because it was while I was there that people came and asked me if I would stand in parliament. I had been asked earlier than that back in the 1980s. Matt Rata had approached me and asked me to stand for Mana Motuhake and I

said, “No, I’m not even slightly interested in politics.” I thought being politically active at home was important, but not national politics I’d never really thought about it. Anyway, people talked to me and the Labour Party came and saw me. They’re probably sorry they ever did, but they came and saw me and asked me if I would stand. It was decided that what we’d do was we’d stand in different parties and the goal was to get in. Ken Mair was to stand for Mana Māori and I was to stand with Labour. I had the support of our hapū at home on our Ngāti Apa and Ngāwairiki side as well as my relatives from Whanganui. My Ngā Rauru relatives were really supportive too and by then I’d left TPK. Well, I’d kind of just about been asked to leave. After I went back after the seventy nine days I was offered the opportunity to decide what I’d do with myself and I chose to work consolidating our health services.

I think that basically I went with Labour because the goal was to get to parliament. I didn’t think I’d get in to be frank. I didn’t really care I had a good job I’d left TPK and I was CEO of our iwi health authority. I loved my job and I loved everything I was doing. I nearly bloody died when the results came in. In fact I’d gone to bed because I didn’t think I had a show of getting in. I was twenty one on the list and Labour was polling really low. I went to bed and my whangai sister rang me at about two in the morning screaming to me on the phone that I was in. I said to her, “You probably don’t know how to read the polls.” They kept rolling over on the TV and then the names would drop down. I thought she’d got it all wrong. Gosh when I switched on the TV I couldn’t sleep. I was beside myself just thinking about what I’d done. Three people had to lose their seats just for me to get it in Whetu Tirikātene-Sullivan, Chris Carter and Richard Northy. Labour insisted I go to Wellington for ten days and I had the embarrassment of sitting around with these three people who were all awaiting recounts. Their recounts had gone against them and the three of them lost their seats. Now our people saw that as the hunga wairua at work. They really believed more than anything that I was meant to go and that I was meant to be there.

I was meant to be running a hui at Putiki where I grew up with the old people. We had been doing this strategic planning looking at our future as an iwi and trying to develop a set of policies that would clearly demonstrate our own authority when we were working with the government on anything. It was just so so great I just love doing that work. I arrived at Pūtiki and I hadn’t told any of them that I’d got in, and I was hoping that none of them had watched TV that night. Of course when I arrived there, well they were all crying these kuia

who I had grown up at their feet and who had taught me everything I knew about working at the marae and working in the dining room and working out the back. These kuia who had growled me and who had told on me when they saw me up town when I shouldn't have been. All of those people were at the marae and they cried. Most of them have gone now but I realised, probably more vividly at that time just how much each of them had contributed to shaping the person that I was.

I got into the Labour Party and I found it incredibly difficult. I was a bit of round peg in a square hole or a square peg in a round hole. I never fit really and it was always hard. I had really strong views about things and because I was a list MP you had to pledge allegiance to the party. I couldn't do it because my first allegiance was always to our people. I always said that. I will say that Helen Clark was quite amazing to me really. I worked hard in the job and I worked hard for the Labour movement. I think she recognised that and that's how I became Minister in the first instance. I think she had a huge trust in me and I did in her too, so I was shattered over the foreshore and seabed!

I think philosophically I can't say that I always believed in all the things that Labour believed in. I don't believe that all the assets should be owned publicly. I think that they should be owned within New Zealand, but I think that iwi are the most important players on behalf of whānau and hapū. If Joe Blogs wants our assets to stay in New Zealand they should insist that iwi are in partnership. They will be the only ones to save our assets because it will be our people who will protect them. Anybody else will sell them off to the highest bidder. Whereas you can rely on iwi and that strength of feeling that they have about whenua and about our assets. They are the ones who'll keep those assets here in New Zealand. I'm not somebody who supports so called public ownership because it means that the Crown owns it and the Crown can sell it at any time it chooses. It doesn't matter who the government is both of them have sold off some strategic assets to others.

After the foreshore and seabed came along I knew that I couldn't stay from the very first time they started talking about it. Helen knew that I was really torn. They offered for me to be away from parliament so I wouldn't have to vote. I just felt totally compromised especially when they'd offered for me to keep the house and the car, and that I'd only stand down from the pay a short time. It really hurt me that she thought I went to parliament for a house a car and money. I was disgusted actually and it just helped me be more decisive about leaving.

Our people wanted me to move. My electorate supported me to leave. I think I had one email in all that time that asked me to stay with Labour all the rest of them asked me to leave. At that point I hadn't thought about a Māori political movement. It wasn't until I sat down with a group of people whom I trusted and talked about what was the best way forward for us. I thought if I stood against Labour I'd lose because that's what happened to Matt Rata. I thought it would happen to me too.

What I didn't take into account was the strength of feeling right throughout the country about the issue. When I got a sense of that I knew that it was the time for a political movement. I went and asked Matua Whatarangi Winiata his advice about that and he agreed. Then we went to see Pita Sharples to see if he would consider standing and co-leading the party. One of the main reasons why I didn't want to lead was because I didn't have the reo. I just felt it was inappropriate to have the leader of an indigenous movement who couldn't speak te reo. Even today I see that as my greatest weakness. I have some reo and I can understand, but I'm certainly not a confident speaker of te reo and I didn't think it was right for somebody like me to lead the movement because of that. I felt that our people had to hear their reo. I thought it was important. It was one thing to have the heart, but I saw it as a weakness. So I talked with Matua and we decided we'd go to Pita and he agreed to stand. He put John Tamihere out. I have huge regard for John Tamihere his skills and his expertise. He is someone whom I never got on with in parliament mainly because we talked past each other. Yet philosophically we'd done quite a lot of similar things. Like prior to both of us going to parliament we'd kind of been on the same pathway in many ways, but he was very urban focused and I was very iwi focused. Sadly, I think that's what divided us was the iwi/urban focus, and of course those who knew in Labour played on it to keep that division there.

The party was formed in 2004. I went to a by election and won. The main election was only about four or five months afterwards and we won four seats. I think the thing that I am most proud of is that I believe we've set a platform for our people. It has been the strongest platform since we signed the Treaty and that was done by putting ourselves into a position where it doesn't matter who the government is. We can work constructively in our people's interests because in the end they all bounce to the same tune middle New Zealand. We can sit at the table making important decisions to ensure that our people and the things that are important to them are always in front of the political masters.

I think people have changed since we've been in. I've seen huge changes in the attitudes of people who were there when I started and they are different people today. Parliament has changed we have simultaneous translation. People can speak te reo and it will be translated. You wouldn't have even thought of that back in 1996 when I went in. People are taking more care of pronunciation. The use of Māori words by more people has been amazing. Members of parliament talk about whānau and hapū. It might sound such a small thing, but it's been *huge* and I think people's attitudes have changed. I think they are a lot more careful about being critical. I used to hate the House. They treated us as if we were mad, bad and sad, and they didn't care what they said about Māori people. It was called robust debate, but for me it was absolute racism! You weren't allowed to say they were racist with the things that they were saying because you weren't allowed to use that word. In other words you could say what you liked as long as you didn't use that word. It was really ridiculous.

I think that we've come to a place in politics that I believe has cemented the Māori future. The Māori Party can play a critical role in our future if the Māori people will only trust in ourselves. We have to restore that self-belief. We've brought in for so long to the negative way in which we portray ourselves. The Party can play a critical role because at the end of the day we will always stand up for the rights of tangata whenua. Hopefully, we won't compromise those rights to the degree where they're not recoverable. There are times when we're going to have to give way on things because it isn't the right moment at the time, but that right moment will always come. I know that while things mightn't change in my lifetime they will change even if it's in my grandchildren's time, I have great faith in that.

I think the wonderful thing for me is I've got my kids. I've got twenty six grand's and I've got eighteen greats, and in a way they're what keep me focused and they drive me. I want something better for them. I don't want them to grow up being denied the reo and being treated as if they are lesser, in terms of their rights, as any other person that lives in this country. I will not tolerate that. Everything I do is about their future and everything that I participated in even at home has been for their lives and with their future in mind. It's all been worth it. I am of Ngāwairiki, Ngāti Apa, Whanganui, Ngā Rauru and Ngāti Tuwharetoa that's who I am.



(Findlay, 2010)

Nā Rangitīnia Wilson tēnei kōrero



There are projects that still need to be completed, which is why my husband and I are still here at Awataha. Our role is to support my son, daughter in law and my daughter to bring to fruition the vision for Awataha. My main role now is to be a nanny and attend to home duties, which include the grocery shopping and cooking meals for the whānau.

I guess that's part of what I was born to do whether I like it or not. It was like being asked to go along to a meeting and before I knew what was happening I was the chair-person! I had no idea about chairing. It happened without me wanting to take it on and I ended up in roles like that until we came to Auckland.

My husband is a well-known artist and would get involved with other artists. There was a lot of socialising and meeting different people. I preferred to remain in the background and take care of my family and keep the home fires burning and run a cottage industry. However, that was not to be and I found myself thrown into the deep end without the necessary skills to take on a leadership role. I had to learn on the job! So that's the life story going back to the early 1960s and 1970s right up until now. I'm still the chair of the Awataha Marae Governing Board, but I'm waiting for the next AGM when I bow out. My son says, "No mum you need to complete what you started! Your place is still on the Board." I started to feel guilty about abandoning the Marae and letting everyone down including my family!

I have to say without the support of the wider community we wouldn't have been able to get support for the Marae in terms of fundraising. The Pākehā women and men were the ones who lobbied their own organisations and groups as it was very difficult for Māori to do it on their own. Once these women and men got to understand the kaupapa and the vision they came to the party and put their full support behind us. It was one of the things I really appreciated.

Before we became involved with the marae other Māori leaders tried their best to get a piece of land in Birkenhead, however there were always Pākehā who didn't support us, especially within Council. A break through happened when these women and men who saw the vision actually supported the idea that there should be a marae on the North Shore. They started looking for land in the early 1960s and this piece of land at Awataha didn't come around until 1986 that's how long it took! To top it off it was Māori land and it was an urupā! However, with the Public Works Act the land was given over to the Crown to store oil tanks during the

war while the Americans were here. There's a beautiful poem, which I think needs to be acknowledged. It was written by Hone Tuwhare and it's called the 'Burial' and it refers to this history.

The MPs had to get behind and support this project. It had to come from that level in terms of getting support for the fundraising. We also got a lot of support from the Church's in the wider North Shore community. We went to church twice on Sundays to help promote having a Marae and to get the funding. It became especially controversial when people saw the plans. They didn't like the idea that we were building the administration block. They wanted the wharenui up first. What we were saying was without an administration area to generate revenue it wouldn't work. It's different to the communities back home where you have a lot of people around.

Kawerau-a-Maki was the one that we chose to go under because they were the Tangata Whenua of this area. Their tikanga is you don't have tangihanga until you complete the wharenui, not like up North you can have it in the hall or anywhere. I'm glad that we don't have tangihanga. We don't have a wharekai and we don't have an ablution block! In the city if you don't have an ablution block you have to hire portaloos and that's a cost factor!

The way things are at the moment it would be very difficult for people to actually afford to use the marae. A good example is Hoani Waititi, they've had some pretty difficult times because some of the whānau weren't able to pay for the use of the marae therefore it was up to the marae to pay for the expenses incurred. It's the same here if we had to allow tangihanga without the necessary resources to back us up. We had to think seriously about how we could best accommodate the tangihanga. The new plans show there is a wharemate that is separate from the wharenui, which allows a tangi to take place without disrupting any business taking place. It is creative thinking. It is something that I never thought of because we are used to thinking in a certain way. Of course some would be very critical of what's going on, but building a marae and looking after it is not easy because a lot of the work on a marae is voluntary. My whānau know only too well about that!

There are kaumatua who live on the marae in the kaumatua flats and they come here every day. I would say they are the back bone of the place. They have to keep an eye on everything. They do the cooking, cleaning up and looking after the library. We are looking

at setting up a business that is self-sustaining and we have a few things in the pipeline. We are about to have an AUT writers retreat soon and we will have over twenty students staying over for a week. The whānau and kaumatua will be preparing and cooking their breakfast, morning tea, lunch, afternoon tea and dinners every day and cleaning toilets and showers. It's a lot of hard work!

Going back to the early 1980s we lived in Beach Haven and because my husband was teaching at Mount Albert Grammar School the idea of a kōhanga reo came up. Arnold was able to get a building from the Education Department and we decided that it wouldn't be a bad idea to have a kōhanga reo at Birkdale College. We set up a kōhanga reo and that's when I first became involved with the community. I don't know how, but I ended up being the chairperson! I found myself on the chair of the Work Development Programme and it sort of went from there. I also became a member of the Birkdale College Board of Governors.

I learnt that if you want to get some land you need to have a lawyer to be able to argue your case for you. When this land was vacant, and somehow or other I became the Chair I spoke to my little team and said, "We needed a lawyer!" Well of course there was a lawyer who wanted some support from the community because he was standing for MP in Northcote. He became our lawyer for three years providing his services free and that's how we got this land. Even though we wanted it handed to us, we got it as a lease instead.

I also thought we needed to have the support of the local community not just Māori. You needed support from MPs. The Member of Parliament in Birkenhead was supportive of the marae. I must say it was mainly the women in those particular roles that came to the party. Even the Mayor of North Shore City at the time supported the project. Without those supports we would not have the land or the marae or the financial support we needed. A lot of support also came from the area of education because they had particular skills that were required to get the project off the ground properly.

I don't consider myself as a leader to me it came about because of the group who came to together and saw the vision and they liked the vision. I was just the figure head that was my role. With Arnold being in the field of education and being an artist there was a lot of support from the department of education as well. It has to be noted that his skills and experience were a big plus.

Jerry Norman was in the Ministry of Education and he was a very important person right from the early days. He was part of this whole thing including George Parekowhai. They were all in education and teaching. When we looked at the marae we looked at it from an educational point of view and also providing social services for our young people. It was very important for us to provide a base for our youth to enable them to grow and develop their skills and knowledge in their culture and to be educated in whatever field that they chose.

With all of the differences now you have to go with the changes, which is a bit difficult for others to acknowledge and accept. There are changes in our own way of thinking and in our Māori way of thinking. You need to go with the flow or be creative about what is important for the future. For instance the day we opened this place I insisted that I speak as the Chair of this marae and they said, “Oh no you have to speak under the roof”. I told them that I wasn’t going to do that and that I was going to speak outside next to Hine-Ahu-One and her kaitiaki. Some of our kaumatua didn’t like the idea that some of the women were going to speak! We had the mayor of North Shore City and I said that it was important that she be given a place to speak after the men folk had spoken. It wasn’t while they were doing their whaikōrero, but a place would be given to us to speak afterwards. Well that created another controversy! I was rung up by different ones reporting and asking why I was speaking. I said that it was important to hear a woman’s point of view and to acknowledge their place in bringing this about. There were kaumatua who didn’t turn up. They chose not to be part of it and that was okay, but there were those that did support us that day. Sir Paul Reeves was the one who opened the marae. I didn’t do this to make a name for myself. I did it because I felt strongly for the women who were helping to promote the marae. It meant being out and about and away from their families and giving up their weekends! Even during the evenings we would take the model of the marae to show people and give talks. Sometimes you have to put yourself out there on the limb because you feel strongly about our people or our women. My aunties didn’t want me to stand and speak they said that is not how I should be. They were strongly against it and did not come to support me. I thought to myself if that’s the case then so be it!

The other thing that I am really strong on is the abuse of children. I was trying to put together a hui for our elders and our women to talk about how to deal with abuse, but our elders wouldn’t come to the party. I think that a lot of them couldn’t cope with that type of

talk. These men are our leaders sitting on the paepae speaking and yet they were not supporting their own whānau some of whom are abused. All I wanted was for them to hui so that it could be discussed. It was not to accuse anyone. We needed a means of preventing that sort of thing from happening in families.

I ended up in the Department of Social Welfare as a Social Worker. I was one of the three people that were put up from within the community. We were called Māori Advisors to the Director of the Department of Social Welfare. I ended up being a counsellor therapist with no credentials and I was asked to be part of the psychologists unit. I had to learn on the job working with our young Māori children who were being abused physically, emotionally and sexually. It was really sad because a lot of them would talk about what happened to them, but when you spoke to the mother or the parents they didn't want to know. It's probably because they didn't have the wherewithal and of course some of them were living in de facto relationships. That's the reason I was so strong on that issue and getting our own people to be mindful that they had to do something about it, especially our kaumatua and kuia, but mainly the kaumatua. The hui never got off the ground and this was in 1984-1985.

At that time my children were quite old and the youngest one Anthony would've been sixteen or seventeen. He became the assistant fundraiser for our professional fund raiser at the time. He had been working under the harbour bridge labouring. Two Pākehā women were looking for someone to put forward for an assistant fundraiser and they asked if Anthony would like to be interviewed for the position. I didn't think it was a good idea because he was a family member however these two ladies persisted and managed to talk the professional fundraiser into giving Anthony an interview. He agreed to take Anthony on provided he did a course on fundraising and that's how Anthony became the assistant fundraiser. My eldest son was involved and he was the lawyer when we got the land, but he became a Jehovah Witness and they cannot be involved in a marae and participate in tangi or culture. He gave up his position as a lawyer for the marae, which was a big disappointment. Now after many years he and his family are no longer members of the Jehovah Witness church. He is a consultant and does work for the Rūnanga o Ngāpuhi.

My daughter who is the oldest would participate now and again in a supportive role. The last five years has seen her being involved in assisting in administration, catering and maintenance. Our whole whānau was part of it from the beginning.

My name was put forward by one of the Councillors for a position as conciliator at Paremoremo prison. She advised them that she knew of someone who could do the job. I was still with the Department of Social Welfare so I was on the move again. I had to interview some of the prisoners in B Block as well as other areas and report back to the Department of Corrections about the issues that needed to be addressed. This position was meant to be for three months, but they asked me to stay on. I worked for another nine months and decided I no longer wanted to continue. A lot of the stories they told me were of abandonment and abuse by whānau when they were children physically, emotionally and sexually. It was quite a humbling experience especially when they trusted enough to open their hearts to you.

My cousin talked me into going along with her to a meeting of the Waiwharariki Māori Women's Welfare League. I really didn't want to go but my cousin is a very persuasive person so off I went. Before I knew it this woman was on her knees pleading for me to be the next president of Waiwharariki because she wanted to join Matua Whangai. Honestly! Now I was the president of the Waiwharariki Branch of the Māori Women's Welfare League. There were some very strong women in the League, Mira Szászy and Whina Cooper and of course Georgina Kirby to name a few. They were doing some really good work.

I have eight mokopuna and eight great mokos. The eldest one is thirty nine. He used to play professional rugby and was in the New Zealand's Māori's for ten years. He is now the coach for East Coast Bays Rugby Premier Team and the General Manager for North Harbour Sports Academy, which is located at Awataha Marae. His sister lives in France with her partner who plays professional rugby. She is a hair stylist and used to practise cutting my hair, which was a challenge for her. She did a very good job of styling my hair and was very creative.

I was born in Mangamuka. My mum and dad had a farm and they lived in a little shack made of Nikau. When my brother was born my aunty decided to have them stay with her. She didn't think it was right that they were living in this Nikau shack with a baby. We all lived with my aunty and she was of the old school. She was very Victorian in her ways and very proper and everything had to be just so. You had to mind your manners and sit up at the table and have your arms folded. Her home was just absolutely beautiful. The table clothes were all starched linen. She also had a beautiful garden. She was one of those amazing women and I believe a lot of others were the same during that period. Arnold would talk about his

grandmother and how she was the same you speak when you're spoken too. Children were seen and not heard. We didn't get a hiding, but we did get our ears pulled when we disobeyed her. We weren't allowed to answer her back or defend ourselves if we were accused for something we didn't do. I used to think why can't mum and dad stick up for me, but they were living in her house with her husband.

As children we were brought up eating vegetarian meals, soups and very little meat. She knew what type of food to give us. We had fruit, porridge, rice, sago and tapioca. She made our clothes and we were always well dressed whenever we went to church. She fostered other children too not just us. We lived with her for eight years before moving into our newly built home. Unfortunately, we weren't in there for a year when my dad died. It was traumatic for me being the daughter and being the princess. It almost felt like the darkness came over me when he died! My mother was pregnant with the sixth child. My dad died in June and my brother was born in July. My older brother was the one that was taken care of by my mother's whānau by her sisters because they didn't have any boys in their family.

Then my mother remarried again and my aunty looked after us. The thing I resented was being a girl. I had to be responsible for looking after the younger siblings. The boys were having a good time and here I was in the house cleaning up. I used to wish I was a boy because boys had a good time! I used to read adventure books and the books were boys' books like, Biggles and Marco Polo. They were all those adventurers I used to think I would like to be. I suppose that was one way of the ways of running away from mundane everyday responsibilities.

When we were living with my aunty and uncle we had to help out on the farm milking cows and cleaning the shed afterwards. This was done before we went to school. There was no school bus so we had to walk six miles there and six miles back. I remember saying to my son to get some wood for the fire. He wouldn't go so I said, "You know during my days we had to do this and we had to do that!" He laughed and he said, "Oh mum that was your day!" I thought to myself no point in bringing the past up.

When we lived in Karetu our daughter had to walk to school when she was five years old and it was quite a long way. It didn't occur to me at the time that here was this little girl walking to school by herself and returning home. I suppose it was because we did that ourselves. It

wasn't until later on I thought how the children now don't walk they get picked up. In our day we would walk to school and we were never afraid of anything nor did we get molested. Now days our children get dropped off and picked up that's what I had to do. I used to pick up the moko's and bring them home until the mother came home from work.

When I was eleven we moved from the farm because my mother came back to us. I didn't really want to go back to her because I felt she abandoned us. She had another husband so that was another traumatic time for me, but as I grew up and understood I thought well that's life that's how things happen. I see a lot of these things happening to our young people when their parents leave. Often I think to myself well that's pretty tough because we experienced that too. I made my peace with my mother when I understood that these things happen and you can't stop it.

I remember my mother being in her garden. She loved gardening and had an absolutely beautiful garden. I'd see her in the garden at night and wonder what the heck she was doing not realising that she planted by the moon. There's a story about her watermelons. She planted watermelons ready for a hui in Mangamuka and what did my brother and I do? We went in the garden to check to see if they were ripe. We cut triangles in the watermelon and we did it to all of them and then turned them upside down to hide the cut outs! Well my mother was devastated because they were all rotten. I was lucky not to be around because my brother suffered the consequences.

After our mother's second husband died our uncle offered us his boarding house so we left the farm and went to Okaihau. We lived and went to school there and then my mum met another guy and we ended up at Pokapu that's out of Otiria. I was about thirteen by that time and I went to Pokapu Primary School. I then we went to Kawakawa District High School. When I decided to leave school I had an aunty living in Auckland so I wrote her a letter asking if I could stay with her. Honestly, I was as free as a bird. It was a good feeling to be free from whānau from looking after kids and from doing everything. I thought my God this is a good life! I shouldn't have left school because they were putting me up in the A class. I was good at writing, math and commercial practise. I was really good at studying, but because of our circumstances I thought it best I leave school and find a job. I stayed with my aunty and got a job in a dress making factory. I learnt pattern making and I ended up tailoring in a Cambridge clothing factory. I also worked for this lady who was well known

for her dress designing. She taught me a few things about cutting and designing. I enjoyed that kind of work being creative and designing garments.

There was a Māori who set up Te Kopu Awards. I entered an outfit made from black moiré taffeta with red sequins and a gold painted koru design embossed on the bodice and cape. My daughter modelled the outfit and I won the overall fashion award. I had to do a little story and I wrote about the time I was in Kawakawa with some friends discussing what we were going to wear to the ball. I couldn't afford a dress so I was looking for material and there was a counterpane on my mother's bed. She got it from my brother who was in the SAS Squadron in Malaysia. It was a beautiful cerise coloured satin and the middle had full blown roses on a pale pink background. It was her pride and joy and I wanted to use it for my ball dress. It was fabric that frayed easily and my mother washed it often. I said to my mother I wanted to make my ball dress from the counterpane. She looked shocked and wasn't about to part with it that easily. I said I couldn't afford to buy some material and I wanted to go to the ball. She reluctantly gave in and let me make the dress. I sewed my dress on my toy sewing machine that did chain stitches. I wish I had kept that frock. It had a sweetheart neckline and puff sleeves and a low v in the back. It came down into the skirt which was gathered and down the front was a panel of the red roses. When my mother saw it she cried because she couldn't believe I could make such a dress and I looked like the belle of the ball! Ann Hercus had a big get together to celebrate women and she goes and reads my story to this gathering! If the floor could swallow me up I wouldn't have complained! I was so embarrassed! It was the way I wrote the story that appealed to her. Those are the little stories I laugh about now.

When I was about seventeen we used to go to dances at The Māori Community Centre. There was one night I decided to go to the Manchester dance hall because I had other friends who were going to be there so off I went on my own. I wasn't there long when a guy came up to me and asked me to dance, but he started to get a bit too friendly. His hands were all over the place and I was working out what I should do and before I knew it I slapped him across the face and I got a bit panicky. Then I spotted this guy across the room talking to someone. I ran over and threw my arms around him and said, "Dance with me!" Arnold loves telling that story to everyone. We got married when I was twenty.

Arnold got a job teaching at Okaihau and Kawakawa. I used to do a lot of dress designing for the rich and wealthy farmers in Kawakawa. They would look at a dress or something in the paper and then come to me and ask if I could make the same outfit. It was a little business opportunity I had in Kawakawa. I was always busy doing something.

I enjoyed my freedom when I was fifteen till I was twenty when I found out I was pregnant with Lyn. Arnold and I went to the registry office and we were told we had to have three days grace. We went back on Monday and signed the papers and my mum came to support us. To celebrate our golden wedding and fifty years of married life Arnold and I decided to spend a week on Waiheke Island. We managed to rent a house situated on a hillside with a lovely view. One morning we thought we would take a leisurely drive to do some sightseeing and to visit friends. We hopped into the car and Arnold began to reverse the car down the steep driveway as there was no room to turn the car around. Unfortunately for us he accidentally put his foot on the accelerator instead of the brake and it careered down the steep driveway and using the brake was of no use. We were both helpless to do anything but sit and await our fate. The car crashed into a tree missing two cars which were parked on the side of road. The tree saved the car from going over the bank into the inlet. We were both badly shaken, but unhurt physically. The car was a right off and it belonged to the owner of the house we rented. We both hugged and thanked the tree for saving us and we lived to tell the tale!

Nā Pani Waru tēnei kōrero



Kō Pani Henare Monika (Haua) Waru tōku ingoa

Kō Hikurangi tōku maunga

Kō Te moana nui ā kiwa toku moana

Kō Waiapu tōku awa

Kō Hourouta tōku waka

Kō Whakapaurangi tōku rohe

Kō Ngāti Porou tōku iwi

Kō Te Aitanga Māroa te hapū

Kō Te Puhunga te wahi

Kō Te Poho o Te Aowera tētahi o ngā marae

Kō Wikikanara Punehu Haua raua Kō Tangi Makere (Taylor) Punehu Haua ōku Kaumātua

Kō Tuhorouta Punehu Haua raua ko Te Rehutai o Wharekura (Parata) Haua ōku mātua

Ki te taha o tōku whaea;

Ko Hira Reweti raua kō Mere Parata ōku Kaumatua

Kō Tuhorouta Punehu Haua raua kō Te Rehutai o Wharekura Parata Haua ōku matua

Te pepeha o tōku hoa rangatira;

Kō Hunia Waru raua kō Te Raiha Tautau Waru ngā kaumatua

Kō Patric Campbell raua kō Mereana Greening ngā kaumatua.

Kō Te Aomārama Waru raua kō Julia (Campbell) Waru ngā mātua

Kō Wikepa Te Haeata Waru tōku hoa rangatira kō Pani Henare (Haua) Waru ahau

I mate ia i te 21 o Mei 2000

Moe mai ra i roto i o mātua tīpuna te urupā te Kopuni Puketawai Marae Tolaga Bay



ōku kuia mōrehu and I feel privileged that I am able to model this role for the next generation



Kō tōku kauae moko i tipu mai i ōku kuia mōrehu. I come from a long line of ‘kuia mōrehu’, which is an important rank among our women. As we age our knowledge becomes more precious and like my nannies I have earned the respect that comes with kuia status through my commitment to nurturing all things Māori in our young people. I am the fifth generation ō

of women who will follow after me like my youngest daughter Julia Te Rau Karaka Waru, my husband’s great niece Tricia Keelan and many other women who have started on this journey by taking up the challenge of wearing the kauae moko. In my mother’s day only the women who had finished their childbearing years took on the kauae moko and were brave enough to go through the painful process of acquiring their moko the old way. This signified how tūturu their mission was to participate in kaikaranga ki ngā hui marae, tangihanga, ahakoa he aha ngā huihuinga Māori. For Julia and Tricia he pai mō raua i te wā kei te ora tōnu au, hei tohutohu, hei awhina hoki kia kore ae e ngāro tēnei taonga. I believe in sharing my knowledge and teaching those women who are keen and willing to

learn. This is my responsibility as kuia mōrehu and my gift for this generation.

Kō au, kō ōku tamariki, ko ōku mokopuna, kō ōku mokopuna tuarua. I have six children, three daughters, and three sons. All my children have chosen careers in education, health, community social services and corrections. They are passionate about what they do and I am very proud of them. I have ten grandchildren. Three are working and living in Perth Australia while the others have made their lives here working, raising their children or getting a tertiary education. I also have thirteen great grandchildren who are either in kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori or a bilingual unit at primary school level and intermediate.

My great grandchildren are talented and so special to me as they love anything Māori. From the eldest to the youngest they make an effort to kōrero Māori. It is a beautiful thing to behold with these old eyes and ears, but this old heart is saddened by the thought of those living in Perth missing out on their hertiage. I go on Facebook every chance I get and I kōrero Māori just to remind them who they are and where they come from.

My eldest great granddaughter is eleven years old Nuwyne Tufuga Mason. She attends Monrad Intermediate School where she has joined the Kapa Haka Group. She has a commitment and a fierce passion to learn all she can about her culture and to give her best performance. Nuwyne's group came first in the Regional competitions held last month in Palmerston North and they will travel to Whangārei to compete in the Nationals this November. I have been asked to go with them, which is a great honour for me and I am looking forward to travelling with Nuwyne and to be part of her first experience. The piupiu she is wearing is very special to our whānau. Her great great grandfather Claude Keelan made it and he taught many students at Ngata College how to make puipui, carving, whaikōrero, marae protocol and whakapapa before he passed away. This puipui is his taonga for the next generations to come, and I am happy to see my great granddaughter wear it with pride.

Kō ōku tuakana, tuāhine, pōtiki ō tōku whānau. My parents had nine children, six girls and three boys. Of the nine children six have passed away and three are currently living. I am now the eldest of the three, I'm seventy five. My younger sister is seventy three and my brother is the youngest and he is sixty eight. My three older sisters were fostered with



grandparents and my eldest brother was fostered with a great grandfather who he was named after. Mātua Whangai was a way of life, fostering children with grandparents, uncles, aunties and members of whānau who may not have children of their own. Children always knew who their parents were and who their brothers and sisters were. Identity was important and knowing who we were and where we

came from. We knew our extended whānau, our cousins, aunties, uncles and grandparents.

My father was a shearer, scrub cutter, fencer and a keen gardener. He was also a returned soldier from the WWII during that time. I remember the home guard was made up of men from the WWI. They provided protection up and down the East Coast and this was very comforting as there were rumours about being invaded by the Japanese.

My mother will always be my role model. She was very talented and my sisters and I shared some of those same gifts. She was considered to be an excellent cook during her time. There was no electricity in many family homes. Open fire was the way of cooking for many whānau and baking paraoa, rewana, scones and cakes in a camp oven and preserving fruit, jam and pickles. We had an orchard with a wide variety of fruit white flesh peaches, golden queens, black boys, black doris plums, apples, pears, cherries, walnuts, grapes, and figs. We had a vegetable garden to see us through the winter months.

Ngā nohonga marae ō tērā wā. Te Poho ō te Aowera Marae was the centre of our universe like many marae they were lived in and used for all social events, tangihanga and sometimes they became a haven for those whānau in need. We never starved as our marae had its own orchard, a paddock of vegetables, free range chickens and sheep. There was plenty to share with all whānau especially at harvest time.

My whānau lived next door to the marae so we were the natural caretakers. It also meant that we kids lived in both places from time to time as there was always something happening at the marae. During the war many women got together to learn from each other how to sew



and knit garments for the war effort, and after the war the women continued to share their skills. As there was no television the women found a way of making good use of their time such as maintaining or making mattresses, pillows and other bedding as well as the kuia teaching the women how to weave whāriki, kete, hats and piupiu.

My first school was Hiruharama Native School Waitakaro Ruatoria, Te Kapua ō te Ariki Native Primary School. Hiruharama Waitakaro Ruatoria was my first school. I started at the

age of five and my first language was te reo. We spoke it at home and in the community. Our parents and grandparents were fluent speakers and held regular visits to the school to make sure that te reo was being maintained. It was never a problem for us and the school worked well with the local Māori community. I remember whenever there was a tangihanga at the local Hiruharama Marae the school allowed the children to attend the funeral. Many children identified themselves through whakapapa ki ngā mātua tīpuna o te Marae o Hiruharama.

I also remember when the District Nurse visited the school to check head lice, and at that time it was treated with kerosene. When I reflect and think back to those days there was no confidentiality and the smell of the kerosene showed other children who had kutu's. It was the same process with school sores or hakihiaki everyone knew who had hakihiaki by the smell and the brown colour of the ointment. Today children have rights and personally if it is for the benefit and wellbeing of any child I totally agree. Lining up for injections was very scary and I hated the thought of a needle pricked into my arm. I would try to sneak out of line to pretend that I needed to go to the toilet, but soon the nurse realised that children were scared that the needle would hurt. We also lined up to take a spoonful of cod liver oil I hated that as well. My mother had special days to clean head lice, which was on Sundays. We called it the kutu day. She made sure we had clean out medicine. I did not mind taking a spoon full of califig, but not taking a mouthful of castrol oil because it made me dry reach and vomit.

Flush toilets are a luxury today because long drops catered for many family homes and our marae. We did not have flush toilets in schools. We had special cans made with handles fitted on each side so that two people could carry it when being emptied. The cans were placed into the toilet seats. A strong camphorated cleaning detergent was used after each cleaning. Fridays after lunch was a cleaning up day where the senior boys emptied the cans in the special paddock where they dug holes and buried the sewerage. Boys wore handkerchiefs to cover their noses to protect themselves from the smell and it took two boys to carry each can.

Our school principal realised boys took days off particularly on Fridays so the boys had to have a good excuse with a written note to explain why they were home and not at school on Fridays. Each class room was responsible for cleaning, polishing and shining the floors. Each child scrubbed their desk. Others in the playground picked up rubbish or washing and cleaning windows. We were well prepared for when it was time to leave school and find

work. In my opinion, schools, teachers and children of today are so fortunate to have what they have.



I left school at the age of fifteen to be independent and get work experience, to show my mother that I was ready to go out in that big world. My first employment was as a farm house-keeper where I was taught by the lady boss, her name was Mrs Felicity Williams, to cook and do house work and wash clothes. There was no electricity; power was run through the power house, but only for the lights. She had a washing machine run by petrol like the lawn mowers. You had to shout to be heard when doing the washing. The homestead was a two-story building. It was a beautiful home and well furnished. It had six large bed rooms, a balcony, bath room and two toilets up stairs. Down stairs were a large dining and living room, phone room and a toilet and shower for the working men. The office was where Mr Williams held all his administration work. The kitchen had an Aga Stove and used coal as fuel and it had chip heater that heated the hot water system.

I had a live-in job and for me it was like living in the upstairs and down stairs programme that was on television. The Williams were rich people who leased Māori land and provided work for many Māori families. They certainly had a different life-style to ours, but they were good people. They appreciated hard work and would go the extra mile to support you. It was a stark contrast to my whānau. Whilst we were poor in material things, we were rich in our cultural identity. Our values were very important then because we had strong men and women who taught and practised the true understanding of manākitanga. Our marae were and still are a place where we demonstrate our skills and show respect to visitors. When I was a child we shared what little we had and even went without so that our visitors were well looked after. During that time koha was not about money it was about manākitanga. Farmers would give a whole beef, a couple of mutton or a cord of Mānuka firewood.

My second job was working in Harold Drakes Country Store as a shop assistant. I biked three miles each day there and back on a gravel road and it took twenty minutes to get to work. The Store was a twenty minute drive from Te Kaha Dairy Factory Store and Hotel. My job was to make sure all the stores orders were made up and packaged ready for the cream truck

to pick up and be delivered to farmers from Te Kaha Dairy Butter Factory back to Waihou Bay. The film *Boy* was very real and special for me for I knew the parents and grandparents of the director and writer of the film. The cream truck transport business was owned by the Waititi whānau. They provided transport to many passengers who travelled on the cream truck from Waihou Bay to the Te Kaha shop. It was the only transport available for many farmers. I worked there until I was old enough to start my nursing career at the age of eighteen.

Reaching eighteen was a special time for many young women. There was an appearance in the social society at a debutante ball. The other special event was reaching your twenty first birthdays. I was fortunate to become one of those women. Sadly, my mother passed away before my twenty first birthday, but my extended whānau made sure to support me at my twenty first birthday and at my wedding.

I was the only girl out of my sisters that had a big wedding and it was held at Hiruharama Marae. I was married at St Michaels Church on the 1st February 1957. I felt really privileged to have the whole community involved, and why not they were my whānau after all. My aunties and nannies acted on behalf of my mother who passed away two years before my special day. They chose the six flower girls and six bridesmaids from among the whānau. I chose the colour of their dresses, which were in pastel shades of blue, pink, apricot, lime green, lavender and turquoise with each bridesmaid and flower girl dressed in the same coloured dress.

I made all the bouquets and button sprays for the bridal party as well as my own bouquet. We had to be very creative with what resources we had back then, which meant I had to make my own curlers from wire netting. I didn't have the luxury of a hairdresser. Once I achieved the desired shape I had to squash newspaper like packing between the curlers and my scalp so that I could sleep comfortably. We had a noho marae for two weeks preparing all the decorations and the paper flowers and on the day we had fresh flowers and greenery for the dining hall.

We had five hundred people attend the wedding and still had enough food to include the road workers. They accepted the open invitation to share in our celebrations, which went on into the night with music, singing and dancing. My parents were great dancers, and my husband's

family were the same. I still love the opportunity today to take to the floor and dance my heart away.

When I trained as a nurse in the hospital it was situated on top of the hill outside the Opotiki Township. It had a children's ward with ten beds, a general Ward of fourteen beds, an operating theatre, a separate maternity ward of twelve beds and a separate building for the TB



patients. It was a small hospital with very experienced doctors and nurses. I was one of many nurses who were given the opportunity to work in the operating theatre. We were rostered on call for a period of three to four months, and in those days we lived in the nurse's home. I loved being a nurse and caring for the sick and the dying. It seemed to come natural to me especially when it came to the dead and comforting their families. My mother taught me to always respect the dead and remember that they were special to their

loved ones. So, with the benefit of my mother's wisdom I developed the ability to present the dead at their best throughout most of my life.

I was a nurse at the Greytown Hospital in the geriatric ward in the Wairarapa. There was a patient there, and she was a European lady, who always put on her make up every day before she received her visitors. She had been diagnosed with throat cancer and she and her husband both knew her prognosis was poor as there was no cure for her type of cancer at this time. As her health deteriorated she and her husband asked me to dress her in her wedding gown when



she died. Sadly, she passed away the next day and I was privileged that I was able to fulfil her wish. I prepared her as my mother had taught me. I washed her and dressed her in her wedding gown. I did her makeup and fixed her hair and she looked beautiful. The matron thanked me and said that the undertaker had told her that this lady would be the first and best groomed corpse he's ever seen in a casket.

I have had many opportunities to do the same for many others three older sisters, a younger sister, two young nieces and my late husband. He had the best

care from our children and ngā mokopuna in his last days. My mokopuna still talk about the many camps that their grandfather organised and turned into an adventure. They had the comforts of home from setting up a port a loo complete with a screen made from Mānuka brush and fly spray, to putting some plastic crates in the shaded part of the creek, which was our fridge. Rere wairua atu rā kī ō tātou mātua tīpuna, moe mai rā, moe mai rā. E kore koutou e warewarengia, arohanui nā mātou te whānau.

My grandmother hand sewed all her garments and she was another skilled knitter she was a great weaver as well. She had special kete for the garden and for the orchard. The kete were hung inside the shed and we were shown which ones to use for certain uses. She also had a beautiful flower garden. I remember that she had beautiful Gladiolus or Gladioli. It was a flower with spikes of flowers and sword shaped leaves. As the flowers started to come out to bloom she would wrap each bloom with newspaper until the whole stem was ready to bloom together. Gosh she was a clever little old lady and she shared many of her talents with my sister and me.

Drying fruit was another skill she had. She used to cut the apricots and peaches in half and pull out the stone before drying the fruit on top of a wire netting in the sun. She took the fruit inside the shed when the sun disappeared. The next day the same process would begin again until the fruit was properly dried. It was a long process, but she continued until she was satisfied with the results.

Fishing was another skill that granny Mere had she would take herself to the beach fishing off the rocks and come home with enough fish for breakfast. Ko ngā ika maomao he rite ki ngā flounders. I remember seeing her barbeque a large kina, scraping out the fluid and leaving the tongues inside the large shell. Ko te pōhā kina te kaupapa ō tērā momo tunu kai. I love eating kinas because that was part of our daily menu and I enjoy a good feed of fresh kinas. Dried shark was another main diet. Granny Mere would fillet the fish and hang the fish outside in the sun then take them inside the shed as the sun disappeared.

Corn was another main meal for many families. We had crops of sweet corn and I enjoyed boiled sweet corn with a little butter. Kānga waru, dry corn was stored in the shed ready to use when it was needed. My mother would grate each corn until she had enough flour to

make a scone mixture then she would place spoonfuls into the corn leaves and tie the ends before boiling until cooked. These were our favourites it tasted like corn flavoured steam puddings. My mother had a different recipe for kānga pungarehu, which was another pudding using dry corn shelled seeds cooked in a pot of cold pot ashes. The ashes soften the dry corn seeds and cause the seeds to puff up. The next process was to wash and pick out the corn seeds ready to be boiled again until they were soft and ready to eat with sugar, fruit and cream and that was yummy too. To make kānga kōpiro dry corn was placed into a bag and placed into a creek of running water until it was rotten. It sounds gross but it's good for people like myself who grew up eating tēnei tūmomo kai ō ngā rangatira ō tērā wā. I love it but my children were not brought up eating corn this way therefore there's more for me.

Momi tupeka o ngā kuia me ngā kaumatua. Granny Mere was a kuia momi tupeka. During the war tobacco was rationed among other things. Back then smokers didn't have matches or a lighter so they picked putawa off the stumps of trees found along the river side. Putawa looks like a puff mushroom and the old people had to dry putawa before using it. I watched granny Mere place a dry piece of putawa in an empty grammar phone tin case, which had a lid to stop it from burning. Granny had a certain way of holding the flint stone close to the tin case with the lid open in her left hand. With her right hand she would hold a file cut short to fit into the palm of her hand and chip into the flint stone. Sparks of light would burn into the putawa inside the tin case then she would blow into the putawa to light her tupeka. Our old people were very creative at making good use of the natural resources that were about during their time. They have a wealth of knowledge that can be tapped into. It is there for the asking from people who have lived it.

In 1975 I began my career as a relieving residential social worker at Arbor House a children's home in Greytown. In 1978 I was promoted to sub matron then in the following year I was promoted to senior residential social worker. However, when Arbor House closed in 1982 I was redeployed to the Social Services in the Masterton office as Mātua Whangai. I continued in that role until it was made defunct in 1986. During that time became a Generic Social Worker.

From 1989 to 1991 there was a two year secondment between the Department Social Welfare and Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou. In that role I worked with Ngāti Porou whānau living in the

Wairarapa identifying their social needs and directing them to the appropriate services. I was also networking with Ngāti Porou back on the coast and establishing with them a Ngata Lecture Wānanga.

The Ngāti Porou taurahere rūpū ki Wairarapa was the first rūpū established. From 1991 to 1996 my colleagues and I worked to implement the Children and Young Persons and Their Families Act 1989. We established the youth justice social work position of working with young people who had offended and their families and wider whānau, hapū and iwi. We worked with police, youth aid, youth advocates, community organisations, churches, marae committees, kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, primary schools, colleges, kaumatua councils, and Court staff. Networking within my community allows me to connect with all the key people from these organisations so I can build a professional relationship. This is an important part of my role as I work closely with Child, Youth and Family Services and their partnership with 'Child Matters'. I work building and maintaining professional relationships so that we can work together with our local community groups, Māori providers in health, education, social services, mental health, midwifery, plunket, kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, marae initiatives incorporating tapa wha practises and whānau ora initiatives.

Currently, I am the cultural advisor at the Residential Youth Justice Centre in Palmerston North. I have held this role since 1999 as kuia and Social Worker of forty plus years. I come into contact with some of New Zealand's most troubled adolescents who have committed serious crimes. While they are in this regiment environment we encouraged them to learn their whakapapa, develop their cultural identity and challenge them to achieve some personal goals so they have something of value to take with them when they leave. I also work closely with parents and whānau to achieve the best options for their children by assisting the whānau to establish a workable plan. I also introduce whānau members to the Principal Youth Court Judge so that he can hear their commitment to help their child and take full responsibility for the Court plan that has been put forward.

I was the first lay advocate appointed by the Youth Court in acknowledgement for all the work that I have done and commitment that I had always given to the young people at Lower North Youth Justice Court. I have stood with many young people before the judge and some have been more remorseful. For example, I've seen this in a young offender I have gone the extra mile with and while at a tangihanga one of the speakers was the father of one of these

young people. This father said, “Kui Pani tēnā koe mō tō tiaki e pā ana kī tōku tama. Nau i poipoi te taha wairua arā kua puawai ngā hua ō āna mahi peita.” He went on to say, “I would like to acknowledge your status as a kuia. My son has shown me his art work, which you encouraged him to pursue. You told him that you had faith in his art especially the Māori drawings further encouraging him to believe that he may have a bright future with art.” The father asked me to visit The Art Design School in The Square to have a look at his son’s art work and told me that he was blown away by his son’s talent. This is a success story that has all the right elements, a remorseful young person willing to change with the support of the parent, teacher, case worker and a determined kuia. Today this parent runs a community based program on his marae that supports other young people like his son. Ko te mahi ngātahi, manāki tangata, whai whakaaro ka puta mai ko ngā hua pai mō te tamaiti.

Nā Ngahuia Te Awekotuku tēnei kōrero



(Pitman, M, 1982)

Pukeroa

by Ngahuia Gordon

aged 16

Western Heights High School

Rotorua

So wild blows the wind—cold

And here I sit against

A tree, emblem of Life

Green, growing

Silent upon this hill

That was the realm, the fortress of Te Makawe

Feared and avoided

That road before me stretches

Far into the cool twilight—

Black tar which melts beneath the hot sun.

Cars—modern, streamlined, vintage how they move

Upon a road that once knew

Only the tread of tough brown feet

And heard the power of the haka

The plaintive wail of the tangi

A call, a challenge, echo

Across our warm marae.

Still, he has come, the white man

—Has come, and has conquered

Wiped from beneath us

That base we knew so well

So that it should exist no more

But be replaced, our glorious heritage

With muskets, fire and bricks

With industry, with progress. With 1966.

This is the way I was thinking in the sixth form, nearly fifty years ago, so how mad is that? Most mainstream and other Māori teachers don't use my work unless I put it in front of them. Their reason? They are homophobic and they are lesbophobic. My stuff is transgressive. I believe a lot of my work is seen as a risk, and I don't mind if this goes into your thesis. Much of my material and my analysis have been set aside because of my position as a lesbian scholar and because of the way that I have actively deconstructed and questioned and challenged the male hegemony and the heterosexual hegemony within the Māori world and the Christian as well. It has been a long struggle.

One of my earliest published works on women's issues would have been in 1971 in Craccum the Auckland University student newspaper. It was about being Māori and lesbian. I haven't shifted and the world hasn't changed that much and that was forty years ago. I've just realised there's another one here. It's really neat and really funny. It's the thing I did in 1972 in HIS the Magazine for the Modern Man about lesbian rights! I think people are threatened, even women, well particularly straight women don't like what I say. I know that's funny, but I think a lot of heterosexual women, particularly when I was younger, were made uncomfortable by my assertions about the nature of their relationships with men and their dependence. I often wonder how it must have been for Māori women before me those wāhine who were not emotionally or sexually dependent on or locked into men and who were thinkers and creative and probing. I actually suspect they probably died quite young, I really do, they ended up dead.

Something I was often called was a tamaiti wawahia tahā! The last person to call me this was an elder who came upon the launch of my book Ruahine Mythic Women at the Wellington City Art Gallery. He was there for something else that day. He's quite a well known Wellington kaumatua originally from Matātua. He accused me of being a tamaiti wawahia tahā! A child who smashes calabashes! I was nearly sixty when this happened. He condemned my writing about Wairaka, Muriwai and Hinemoa as inappropriate and that was only a few years ago, but I wear it quite proudly really. Tamaiti wawahia tahā! Someone who is not afraid to take that risk!

I look at our girls and the self hatred and doubt and their sexualisation through the media. The relationships entered with very little guidance or understanding of what they are getting into. The constant hammering on their consciousness of certain types of body image, certain

types of dress and certain types of fashion. I just think God I'm so glad that I am not a teenager now. I mean there are good things about being a young person or teenager today, particularly around technology and music and the opportunities for travel and adventure. But, it must be hard in the realm of intimacy and human relationships and in understanding yourself and in being Māori, apart from being female. You know, sexuality is a whole other world. There is real danger there and I just think oh God what can we do about our young girls? What can we do? How can we change it? How can we make it safer for them? And the most obvious way is by mentoring and listening to them, like really listening to what it is they're picking up. It's only by our understanding of what they are getting that we can help or in some way we can heal and sometimes intervene, it's huge.

I've got a mokopuna whose eleven next month another who's fourteen and one, my actual uri whakatipu Caitlin/Keita, is being raised very Pākehā far away from me. The other is absolutely Māori and I think what an incredible contrast their lives are. Yet for both of them I worry with exactly the same level of anxiety because I think they're both going out into a perilous world.

There's a story I wrote which describes my beginnings in a book called *My Father and Me*. It's quite a good collection with women like Moana Maniapoto and Joana Paul. A number of Māori women are in it and it describes our relationships with our fathers. My story concerns how I was adopted, a whangai, I never knew my father but I knew he was different so I often imagined him and what he was like. To my utter amazement two girls I knew at school who were really attractive and engaging really fascinating girls around my age were actually the daughters of my oldest sister and I never knew. I used to follow them around and just look at them, these two beautiful young Māori women, and think they were just extraordinary. I would have been about thirteen and their mother was my sister and I had no idea. Another similar thing happened when I was much younger with a woman who lived outside Ohinemutu. She used to go down to the shop with a baby in a push chair and I would follow them. It turned out that she was my sister as well. I had sensed something special about her when I was about ten.

Well, I guess I will start quite quickly at the beginning. My biological mother was unwell and had six children. I was the last, I was the pōtiki, and because of her ill health I was taken in by another whānau on the other side of the lake. I grew up in Ohinemutu in Rotorua. My

birth mother is from Tikitere and Rotoiti on the other side of the town. My father was quite old when I was born and he was an interesting mix of Maungapōhatu and Ohinemutu.

My whakapapa is a blend of Arawa and Tuhoe and on my mother's side also Waikato, which is my biological family, but I never knew them as a child. I never grew up with them as my nurturers, sad. It was decided that I wasn't going to have any contact with my biological parents. It's really mad this was in the '40s and to this day I regret that about the two people who adopted me. He was from Ngāti Raukawa, from Otaki, but moved to Rotorua with my mother my darling, beloved, amazing, mentor, role model, fantastic, amazing influence in my life. She was of course Ngāti Whakaue Ohinemutu, but also had strong Ngāpuhi lines, which was never really said out loud in the Rotorua area. Her father was Ruapotakataka, a Tawhai from Waima. Mummy was just amazing. Her mother, my kuia, was even more extraordinary. I think even in my writing the influence and wisdom of these two remain absolutely pervasive. They were both essential to my own values and to my sense of hope and in a huge way to my creativity.

My kuia Hera was a guide in Whakarewarewa Guide Sarah was sort of her trade name. My koro was Tiawhi Chuffy Rogers so I grew up with the Rogers whānau to a certain degree. Well, I did I grew up with the Rogers whānau and I have a cousin who lived across this little stream going through the pa it was like the boundary. Our house was on the Ohinemutu side and just across the stream was my cousin's house. I'd look out across the stream and looking back at me every morning until we were eight years old was my cousin. She was the youngest in her family. We were close mates until they moved to Auckland and that was Donna Awatere. Yep, people don't know that! I'm in her book. We grew up together until we were about seven to eight years old. Her grandfather and my grandfather Tiawhi are brothers. Yeah, isn't that a hoot! We were close except she was a big fat bully. She used to make me cry and bully all of us kids because her father was the colonel. I know that's really mad, but her father was the colonel in the army and our fathers all had to follow her father's orders. So Donna at age five became the colonel. We were all little soldiers for Donna and that sort of behaviour between us continued well into our thirties. I didn't actually stand up to her until I was about thirty two and when I did that changed our whole relationship. We're not so very close anymore because our circumstances have changed. They moved to Auckland and hardly ever came home. We got together again at University and became quite good mates through the women's movement. We were the only two brown girls and then into the drama

of Ngā Tama Toa. I was always proud of her I mean we still fall all over each other and cry when we see each other. She's still my whānau even if there's stuff she's done that I find inexcusable, but that's life.

I grew up in Ohinemutu. My koro died when I was ten, but I remember him so well. He was a singer with the Rogers voice like Donna. My kuia was a significant weaver and she made the kakahu for the first royal visit by Elizabeth II. I remember that so well because it was such a source of excitement, apprehension and activity in our family home. She made two because we weren't sure what size this person was and I now have the one that didn't fit her! Throughout my childhood and into my adolescence I grew up with the fragrance and the texture of flax of harakeke at home and around me. My mother Paparoa, daughter of Hera, was also an accomplished weaver. This is where whakapapa is really interesting because you've got my mother and my kuia and they were wāhine whāwhā harakeke, big time weavers! And then you've got me, useless! But my biological family are scholars, composers and whakapapa people. They were thinking people with a real value for and attraction to books and thinking and disputation and all of that stuff. So, genetically I suppose I was drawn to that and not to making art as such it just wasn't in my hands. Yet you could tell me story, you could recite whakapapa, you could look at a carving and explain the context and history in that whakairo panel and I would just have it. I would just know it instantly, but you give me flax and oh! It used to really frustrate my mummy and my kuia. I mean I did make some stuff, but it was such a struggle you know, and we had to make our own uniforms for our youth club concert party. Whereas thinking and remembering and arguing and putting together a case or a research essay were second nature, it was really easy for me. So I had these two amazing women in my life.

I'd also like to say that even though te kawa o Te Arawa asserts that women must remain waha ngū in the marae and ceremonial context. In the combat zone of the Māori Land Court and of the tribal politics they are something else again! Sitting around the table in the whare kai or at marae committee meetings there's no way that Arawa women are silent absolutely no way! It would appear that our power is limited in the community domain, but no absolutely no way, which is why for me all this focus on Arawa female voicelessness is actually quite skewed. You get the media and Pākehā feminists ranting on about it and they really don't know what they're talking about so I needed to say that.

I also had this aunty that used to come and look after me fresh out of teachers college. She had me reading by four years old. I was writing at four and reading at three or four. Her name was Aunty Toria as in Toria Tawhai. She was the dux of Saint Josephs of Hato Hohepa and she was a dynamic intellectual and a vivacious assertive, amazing woman. Alas, she has long since gone. She was a serious influence in my life as well. She was the original girls can do anything Māori woman apart from my kuia and my mother of course.

I went to a number of schools. I even spent a year in Wellington with my Aunty Nuki and that was an extraordinary time. She was a founding member of Ngāti Pōneke and married to a very senior doctor at the Wellington Hospital. So there was this peculiar disjuncture between Ohinemutu Pa with no hot water in the house, no stove, no fridge, steam box hangi, outside toilet and ngāwhā communal bathing in a very Māori environment. Suddenly I was living with my Aunty Nuki and my three boy cousins in their rambling eight bedroom villa on a cliff in Hataitai. I got sent off to this very posh Convent School, Mount Carmel. It was beautiful and other-worldly and my cousins went to Marist and Saint Pats. My uncle was really strange and foreign and medical. They would have soirees and the boys would dress up in their suits and play the piano and the violin for special guests. I would have to sing, which was just unspeakable! It was so bizarre spending that year with them, but in a way a taste of a life which was exciting, different and immensely appealing. Imagine a twelve year old Māori boy playing Chopin on a grand piano in the drawing room, and another grimacing cousin sawing away at Vivaldi on his violin. It was such a different cultural environment and even though I was only eight or nine it was one that was so exotic and alluring for me. It didn't last I ended up being sent back home again, which I was actually quite relieved about in many ways because I was finding Wellington hard and lonely. Apart from it being really cold and there was no ngāwhā bath and no girl cousins.

Aunty Nuki was also a significant influence in my life, but so were her sisters, my aunties back in Ohinemutu, which was an interesting environment too. There have always been outstanding, dynamic, risk-taking female leaders from Ohinemutu. Just think of the name itself! There's a little bay called the Ruapeka and a hundred years ago it would have been quite a distinctive shape. A couple of Pākehā launch operators wanted to bring their boats in so that the tourists would get a better view of the natives at home and a local female leader Rihi Karenga organised her female cousins to resist this intrusion. They were just so sick of waiting for the koroua to talk to the tour operators and this was over a century ago. Instead,

with her group, which called themselves the Ngāti Whakaue Māori Women's Parliament, they formed a human chain across the entrance of the Bay and they would not move. They said, "If you bring your boats in here you will have to run us over." Isn't that the most uplifting, amazing, fantastic story of mana wāhine? In a place in which the public perception is that this is a man's domain and that kuia Rihi Karenga and her cousins and sisters and gang went up there and they stopped the launches. So, as a kid hearing stories like that how could they not be strong! How could they not be motivated and courageous?

Another major role model and dazzling personage was Makareti, Maggie Papakura. I started writing her biography and then found out so many wounding truths that I stopped writing. I thought no I can't go there its too hard. Her story got picked up by Paul Diamond and published. She was truly extraordinary and her story did influence me. She was always put in front of us by people like my kuia, my grandmother, who travelled with her to England and by my mother and by all my aunties who were guides at Whakarewarewa. She was seen as someone we should admire and aspire to being like.

If I look around in the public domain now I see other strong Arawa women. The two Donnas, the other Donna being Donna Hall, Cathy Dewes who is as Arawa as she is Ngāti, Ria Earp and Merepeka Raukawa Tait are two more feisty lawyers. Prudence Kapua and Annette Sykes, Robyn Bargh, June Grant, Christina Wirihana in the arts. Wāhine tino toa! We have continued to be relatively prominent and to try and make a difference. This is something! I'll show you a photo. It's both historical and hysterical. Atareta Poananga, cousin Donna, me, other cousin Donna and Miriama Rauhihi matriarch of the twelve tribes of Israel, Rangitunoa Black the poet and composer, Hana Te Hemara and the photograph was taken by Mereana Pitman. It's good isn't it? A good line up of stropky Māori female leadership and that was at my PhD graduation in 1982. I got it a year later as I was very sick for months.

I believe I owe a lot of my own success to being around crazy women like that and also to leaders who touched my life in some rather unusual ways. As I mentioned earlier my kuia was a weaver, quite a well known weaver. When I was about eleven or twelve this beautiful woman visited the house to interview her about making a piupiu. She was so elegant and had a wonderful way of speaking i te reo Māori, i te reo Pākehā. She had this long, long, long, long hair in a plait and her name was Polly (Ngāpare) Hopa. Anyway, off she went and I was

hanging about really excited and poking my nose everywhere. One of my uncles described her as an intellectual. I wanted to be like her! To go overseas and read books and learn and ask questions. My whānau would tease me about wanting to be an intellectual and they'd say "That one wants to be an intellectual!" Then they'd all look at me and laugh!

After meeting Pare and reading about her in Te Ao Hou I became very interested in anthropology and writing stories about Māori and history. I actually won two Ngārimu essay prizes. For the second one I wrote that I wanted to be an anthropologist and they published my essay in Te Ao Hou a year later. I think I was about thirteen when I did it about growing up. The final paragraph was really embarrassing because it was all about being a New Zealander, which is why I don't tell anyone about it because I'm kind of embarrassed that last flourishing line is sooooo naive!!! But, I did have this child-like vision of helping the people and recording the knowledge. It's very funny:

THE WORK I HOPE TO DO WHEN I LEAVE SCHOOL

by Ngahuia Gordon aged 14 Western Heights High School Rotorua

'To be, or not to be?

That is the question.'

Since childhood I have wondered casually about life after school. Not life after the home-bell rings, but life after it dings through your mind for the very last time. A ballerina; a poet. A teacher; an author. Those are but a few of my dream-occupations. However, I have discovered a brand-new interest in life—in the field of the Māori, my own race. It lies, this new interest of mine, in the field of anthropology. How does it appeal to me? Well, that is indeed a simple question. I hate to say this, but to me our culture appears to be dying.

Of course, gone are the days when tapu reigned, when makutu was dreaded more than anything else, and when the Gods of the Forest, Land and Sea walked on our bush-clad hills. With them, must our literary culture—the art of te whai-kōrero—diminish also? Must the legends, histories and genealogies disappear into the murky mists of the forgotten and the unimportant? No, no, no! It must not!

IT WILL NOT!

I do not intend to drag back into our midst Tane-Mahuta, Tangaroa, or the others. I only want to be capable of saying to all my children, and my children's children, and my children's children's children, that they are the descendants of a proud and handsome race—the Māori. It is for the good of my own people that I am pursuing this ambition. At least, that is what I believe.

For who wants their great-grandchildren to approach an ancient whare rūnanga in a few decades' times and say to each other, 'My, what a picturesque building. I wonder who built and designed such an unusual hall?' Nobody! No self-respecting Māori would like that, I feel sure. So to prevent anything like that happening the vital knowledge must be recorded, and that is what I call anthropology, the arresting of a disappearing culture. Because I delight in writing, I feel pretty sure that this is the job for me. Because I love the old people, who are literally fountains of beautiful, sacred knowledge, I feel very well suited.

Nevertheless, the ability to write and to have in the heart tender feelings for the old are not the only qualifications necessary for this post. Years of intense study, plus an exceptional gift of speech, would also be compulsory. One must be well versed in the Māori tongue, both in archaic Māori and in modern Māori as we know it today. A university degree, to my knowledge, would be essential, and indeed well worth having. Also essential is the ability, for the European, to live among the Māori as a Māori, and to accept their customs as his own. To me, that is easy—but regarding it from a Pākehā point of view, I think it would be extremely difficult.

I would give anything to have this task—to be quite honest I have started gathering the knowledge already. As I live in a famous Māori pa, it is my life, and one can write one's life easily.

If I succeed in my pursuit of this interesting and very novel career, I hope that I will not only do myself considerable good, but amongst my people I will be preserving that which is difficult to preserve—the sacred knowledge that only a Māori can understand. I will be preserving the food of the brain, the histories of the past and present Māori, for the coming generation, in the dawn of a new era; for the race which will be neither European nor Māori—a race which will be classed as 'the New Zealanders'.

I mean I read it now and I had this idea that we were all going to be New Zealanders, the most perfect race in the whole world, special and blessed by God. The first thousand words are really really really good. Then the sort of last hundred words are deeply, profoundly, no just horribly embarrassing, but then I was thirteen and I really didn't know much and all the Pākehās we knew were nice tourists or from old Rotorua families who knew how to behave around Māori.

While all that was going on there was also another part of me that was looking for a sense of meaning and that was the part of me that lusted after girls. I really didn't quite know what the hell to do with it. So much confusion! I was small and fair and cute and I had long black hair, oh and sickly I had bad asthma, but definitely not a butch athlete! The crude way of describing that situation was I went looking for the lesbians who were like me and I couldn't find any because they were all big butch hockey players and mean drunks and fantastic musicians. There were not many if any that were sort of like me. This was me at you know ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen. Lots of us girls did stuff to each other, but we didn't call it sex because that's what you did with boys. In Ohinemutu we all went bathing together and some of us mucked around in the bath and like slept together because we were all whānau. Staying at each other's houses and getting into bed together. It really wasn't the same as real sex, no way! Some of my cousins would never own up to it now, but somehow I stayed there.

It never really worked for me like with men and that. It's just not really a very genuine interest, but it was expected and there was this whole thing about, "Oh what a waste!" You know because I was cute and I went through that period of being an objectified commercial tourist product on post cards, calendars, record covers. Draped against a carving or perched against a Punga with the long hair and the flashing white teeth as a tourist lure. I even travelled as a beauty product to Australia and wore my piupiu and pari and smiled and smiled for Rotorua tourism, which comes back to my kuia and my mother guiding tourists and being in concerts. Making poi souvenirs and weaving small kete and taniko belts and making piupiu. They were strong and proud and beautiful and I grew up with all that and I was really happy with it.

My kuia Hera the premier cloak weaver was also the star of Hinemoa the first full length New Zealand feature film produced in 1914. She was a really significant beauty. She did

lots of tourist modelling and was a favourite of Makereti's. There are many postcards of her still around and they are exquisite. This notion of making a successful career by just looking gorgeous was something else that got put in front of us. Miss NZ 1952 (Moana Manley) came from Ohinemutu and so did Miss NZ 1962 Maureen Kingi so there you go!

I was already feeling peculiar about being an intellectual and I went looking for dykes. I didn't find many, but there was one pivotal moment in my life. I was ten at the time and it was another woman leader! This was really strange. I was ten years old and this woman's appearance, charisma, majesty, dress style and voice I carried with me for years. The story about her is in my book Tahuri. It's called Mirimiri, which you might enjoy reading. The woman I'm referring to is Tuini Ngāwai. I describe her because I remember her so clearly even though I was this lonely mixed up young girl. I was just captured by her beauty. I was just completely blown away by her look. She was just so extraordinary!

[Ngahuia begins reading the story Mirimiri from her book Tahuri.] *The girl is watching the pōwhiri and seeing these women and this big ope coming on to the marae and this is true this happened. She concentrated on their faces, one and then the other. The first was a middle aged woman wearing what looked like men's clothes, they had to be. Yet she was so strong, so confident and so right. She looked great and at first Tahuri couldn't take her eyes off her. There, second row in the front just behind the chanting kuia doing the karanga. Compact and broad, the only mans hat amongst all the floppy ladies felts and sober scarves, on a snazzy angle her hat and dark greyish brown. It was almost like the koro's but more well up to date, set just right and though Tahuri couldn't be sure, her hair was really short too. Cut level with the turned down collar of the big belted over coat hairy like a camel like the koro's coats, but much softer buttoned on the left side too and the navy blue neck scarf turned neatly in. "I bet she's wearing a shirt and tie under that", Tahuri said out load to herself. "I bet there is and trousers too not sissy slacks and I bet they're lace up shoes." The young girl was fascinated. It was all so right, so neat to see and they proceed onto the marae and they eventually sit down, men in one place, women in the other. The big woman with the hat and coat there she was at the very end. Her knees were bent apart and she was leaning on them. Her elbows on her thighs, her head forward listening to the whaikōrero. She was absorbed and concentrating. Her back was massive pulling the heavy coat across. The scarf had loosened flopping casually over her collar. Once she adjusted her hat pulled at the rim lowered it in front the front. Tahuri gasped at the fine black gloves, old leather wrinkled to*

her hands shape and the big woman's got her lover with her. They do this thing, which I won't read, but it's kind of tender and intimate and very sweet. She is with a really beautiful, feminine woman, a lady. Later that night there is a concert it is the Hui Topu of the Anglican Church, a huge cultural festival. Tuini Ngāwai's group Te Hokowhitu a Tū performs. They came on what an entrance! The crowd went crazy! Yelling and stomping their feet and whistling enough to make your ears crack! It was fantastic...the big women was in the front row their whole line up was large and majestic, but she most of all. And her hair was very short, even mannish, and her teeth shone, and her hands quivered, and her eyes flashed, and she became the song. Her stance was upright and muscular, but like the others on either side of her there was a softness too. In her firm large arms, in the bulging shoulders and rounded hips there was laughter, there was grace. Piupiu superbly cut a fanning arc of black and white densely plaited each strand finger nail fine, swirling out to make its own music to reveal ankles finely chiselled and shapely swelling calves. Even dressed up like all the other women this one was exactly right.

That's Tuini and that's me at ten! That's what I captured at ten years old a transgendered male masculine woman in her big trench coat and hat and lace up shoes. Then on the stage she was the ultimate Māori warrior woman, raw female power. Not masculine, all female. To me that's mana wāhine and that fed my solitary soul as a girl looking for girls like me and they were there. I think I was really lucky that they were there and that I could see them. After that I began to notice ones closer to me including aunties who slept in the same bed together and aunties who never ever wore dresses even to work. I saw them. They were there in Ohinemutu, Koutu, Whaka, Ngāti Whakaue and sometimes they saw me, but that is another story.

I suppose now at sixty plus I watch out for girls like that and I write for them. Ruahine is very much for girls like that. Tahuri is very similar. This is where I get really morbid, but um, I don't want them to die and they are. They are dying not just by their own hands like you know by suiciding, but through P, through booze, through incredible risk taking because they can't understand and because this world still rejects them. We get right back to my original statement that the words I was writing forty years ago were not safe, or were not appropriate, or were not seemly and they're still not, but as long as they're not our kids are at risk and our little girls end up gone. I suppose that's where my sense of being a Māori woman leader really kicks in and these are the ones I worry about. They end up hapū when

they don't want to be and living with men they can never love its crazy. Apart from all the other stuff we could have sat here and talked about, I didn't want to get into all this stuff. I was going to talk to you about the arts. Yeah, about my great career as a cultural activist and major arts policy maker, which is a lot of life I've led. But, you know for me so much is about being out there and doing what you can so that our girls will make it you. You know the world needs more like Tuini Ngāwai, yet she died young and that's the horrible bit they all bloody die like Hana Te Hemara! You know, all the rest of this lot are still going fairly strong, but we lost Hana really young and she was fabulous!

This brings us back to the photo. I got my PhD in 1981 actually it was conferred in '82 because I had quite serious cancer, but I did end up with this Doctor of Philosophy degree. At that time I was the only Māori woman here with the degree. Pare Hopa my heroine had received hers in 1978 in Oxford and was the very very first and the first overseas. She lived in the USA. Mine was the first domestic one and was the first PhD awarded to a Māori woman by a New Zealand institution. For nearly ten years it was the only one. The next was Margaret Mutu she was the third and then she opened the doors. Then we got Linda Smith and a generation of others. The '90's was full of women getting their doctorates, but for a decade it was just me believe it or not.

This is where I get bitter and start sounding horrible. I couldn't get a job! Couldn't get a job! Couldn't get a job! No pot of gold at the end of that rainbow. Why couldn't I get a job? I applied to various government ministries, I applied to tertiary institutions and I even applied to libraries. I was constantly turned down. I saw people with piddling BAs put ahead of me. I asked my referees why this was happening. I won't name who they were because it would compromise them as they're still alive and they said, "As long as you live that lifestyle and continue with that gay/homosexual thing our people will despise you, our women will hate you and there will be no place for you here." These are my referees! "And the PhD, well you know that's not what they see". It was like ARGH! Oh I felt gutted! I talked with both of them because I couldn't understand it and both were senior men, I couldn't understand. Anyway, I wasn't going to change, I had to stay true to myself. We were just starting the homosexual law reform campaign to decriminalise the law for the boys.

Anyway, after graduation I worked at Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford University on a Post Doctoral Fellowship. I had also worked or studied in major museums around the world. I

had this proven experience in culture heritage stuff, but I still couldn't get a job. Then the curator position at Rotorua Museum came up and I thought these are my relations so I'll have a go here. By then I was living with my mother in Maketu doing seasonal kiwifruit jobs in Te Puke, diving for agar and scrub cutting and clearing sections with the cousins. Nobody believed I had a PhD at the Te Puke Labour Department offices where I collected my dole! Anyway, this job came up in Rotorua so off I go with all of my qualifications and then my uncle rang me up and said, "You better come up and see me." So I went and saw him and he said, "Niece, kaore mātou e whakāe ki te wāhine whāwhā taonga. He tapu wērā, so my dear don't bother us." So of course that was like, "No, you're not going to work in the Rotorua museum because the council of elders will not countenance a female contaminating these sacred objects". So again it was like I was gutted! I went back to Maketu and cried a lot.

About a month later a curatorial job came up here at the Waikato museum. I thought about Waikato/Tainui and was aware of my birth mother's whānau who had strong Waikato links. My auntie once mentioned that one of us needs to go back to Waikato and I said to myself they've got a Paramount Chief who's a woman, maybe I'll be alright! I'd also met Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu at Māori student events like Te Huinga Rangatahi in the early 1970s and she came to Hawaii in 1975 when I was doing my doctorate. She was a guest at the East West Centre where I was based so I knew her just a little and I admired her immensely and I'd go and talk to her. I wasn't scared of her like everybody else because I thought she was beautiful, warm and welcoming. So she knew who I was when I rang her up and said, "I'm going to apply for this job is that okay?" She told me to have a go so I did and I ended up working with her closely on the restoration of Te Winika an ancient war canoe at the museum. From that moment my life was transformed and I believe that was because of her I really really do because all it required was for someone like that to say, "Yes you can have a go. You can do it."

All my life I believed that I could. I had achieved all this academic success and done all these things, but when it came to getting a real job the PhD meant nothing. It meant nothing. All they saw as they looked at me was a queer, a troublemaker, a stirrer! You know a tamaiti wawahia tahā, an unmentionable, a pervert so to have someone like Te Arikinui the Māori Queen say, "You have a go!" It changed my life. I don't know what would have happened if I'd missed out on that job. I'd have probably migrated to somewhere like Cairns I don't know. I actually think I would probably have become a fulltime creative writer. All bitter

and twisted and said stuff the lot of you! I'll just keep picking kiwi fruit and I'll write the great New Zealand novel or something. It's also about coming up from under although that's a real cliché.

You end up asking what the right way ahead is. What should I do? You know throughout all of these dramas and strange adventures in my life, as much as I depend on and take counsel from the living, from the ones around me whom I can ring up or visit. There is also that gathering of special people that I carry with me. They always let me know if I'm doing the wrong thing. I do believe in the rightness and the safety of them and if they weren't there I couldn't do this and I could never ever have done the Mau Moko project. There are some realms of inquiry where you have to be fastidiously careful and Moko was one like that and tangihanga is another. I think I'm just you know really lucky. I've been blessed with an absolutely stunning kuia and an amazing mummy and fantastic aunt. Also, the memories and encounters of people like Tuini. Just seeing it was enough and of course the magic of Te Arikinui. She symbolised effective leadership that one woman absolutely represented everything for me that means mana wāhine, mana tangata, vision, courage, resilience and virtue that was her right out there even to the very end. We're very fortunate to have shared some years with women like her and others like Anne Delamere, Miria Simpson, Ina Manuera. To have been in the same place in the same time as women like that. I mean there are more out there I'm sure, but you know that one particularly, Te Arikinui, she was a unique gift to the Māori world. Her leadership was dazzling, visionary, magic, and illuminating, she did shed light. She lit up our world with her radiance. Who are the others now? I think immediately of artists, of Merata Mita, of Lisa Reihana, of Kura Te Waru Rewiri, of composers like Pimia Wehi and Whirimako Black they do it for me. The future is in what we create. It is in how we make it and what we make of it.

Pai marire.

Nā Caren Fox tēnei kōrero



(Waitangi Tribunal, 2012)

I was born in Auckland so I'm an urban Māori. I'm the product of a bicultural union. My father was of English ancestry, his mother came from England and his father came from New Zealand. My mother was Māori and she was from Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau o Takimoana, Ngāi Tane, Te Whānau o Hunāra and Te Whānau a Hinerupe ki Tikitiki hapū. She was also Rongowhakāta and she had whakapapa links to Te Whānau a Apanui. She was from the

Northern end of Ngāti Porou, which encompasses the Waiapu Valley. Her ancestry brought together two major themes, the theme of the Pai Marire Hauhau movement through my great grandmother. She was the daughter of people who fought for the Māori King in the civil war of Ngāti Porou. Her other side was the Kaa side, the Kaa whānau, quite a well known family of educators, ministers and now lawyers. This ancestry relates back to Henry Hide Kaa who was part of the colonial forces sent in to quell the civil war. Like all Ngāti Porou we have this dual ancestry and in all the people up home you have people who are from both camps in their ancestry.

My mother grew up in Rangitukia. She was brought up with my great grandparents, which is why we have a special link with my great grandparents Kāwini and Wī Ihikepa. Kāwini was a Huriwai and Wī was a Kaa. My mother was raised by them because her father was killed before she was born. She was one of two sisters from the first marriage of my grandmother. The oldest sister was Ngāwiki who was the mother of Charl, Carol and Linda Hirschfield. My mother and aunties' maiden name was Tākoko. My grandmother married a Tākoko and his name was Pakura Tākoko, as I said, he died before my mother was born and she was given the name Pakura. We always thought and she told us this during her lifetime that her name was Pakura Te Matekino Tākoko. You know, 'the bad death', but according to her birth certificate it was actually Pakura Te Mateora Tākoko meaning he lives on in her. We only found that out when she died and we got a copy of her birth certificate, which was interesting. My middle daughter Mere has changed her name to Tākoko so that name lives on in our family.

My sister and I were born in Auckland and then my family moved around the country a lot settling for awhile in the Central North Island in Rotorua and then moving on down to Wellington. Wellington was where I spent most of my childhood from approximately the age of eight through to adulthood. I'm very much an urban Māori, I grew up that way. Having said that we would go home to the East Coast about once every two years to visit my great grandmother Kāwini and she would come to visit with us in Wellington every so often.

Kāwini, who raised my mother, was an amazing figure. She would never speak English, she would only speak Māori and she had a bent back. See that photo you've got here of Whina and her moko and Whina has a bent back? Well that was what my great grandmother looked

like and that's how she would wear her scarf. She would always wear black like that and she had a bent back. It was a sign of hard work and leaning over her kumara patch, which went on for miles! That was a bit of an exaggeration, hectares. My mother used to have to weed it with her younger uncles. She never wanted to ever go back to Rangitukia once she had left it because there was too much hard work.

Mum's sister Ngāwiki was raised in Tolaga Bay with my grandmother and her second husband, a Karini. Yeah, so mum and Ngāwiki, or Auntie Vicky as we called her, were sent away to college. They went as parts of that group of Ngāti Porou children who were sent off to boarding school. They were sent to Hukarere Māori Girls Boarding School and while they were there my aunty had photos taken of her hair because it was the longest hair in the school. These photos were for the artist commissioned to sculpt Pania of the Reef in Napier and although she wasn't the main model for Pania we have this affinity to the statute because of the back of her head. We were raised to believe it was Auntie Vicky's hair. Mmm, so that's interesting, I can always remember as kids stopping at that statute and standing by it and getting photo's taken with it. At home in my house in Gisbourne I have this wonderful picture of Pania of the Reef.

It's funny how things come back because later in life, I worked as lawyer with my cousin Charl who is the eldest son of Ngāwiki, for the people of Te Whanganui-a-Orotu (Napier Inner Harbour) and Waiohiki in Taradale. The Tareha whānau of that area have a special affiliation with Pania of the Reef as she is their tīpuna and their guardian. They are in fact her uri and they descend directly from her. The whakapapa goes down from Pania to them and we ended up working for them. These things happen for a reason don't they.

Anyway, so my mother and my aunty left Hukarere quite young. They went off to Auckland to go nursing and within a year both of them were married to Europeans. My aunty married an Australian Jew and that's why her family have the name Hirschfield. My uncle's mother and father had escaped from Germany during the war. As I said my father was English, well, of English ancestry. On his father's side he was a third generation New Zealander. His father and mother met in London and he brought her back to NZ. So what does that make him, English? Anyway, he's a combo.

My mother and aunty were very close as sisters. When my great grandmother or grandmother would come that would be the only time they would speak Māori in front of us, or when they talked to each other and they did not want us to understand what they were saying. My grandmother spoke Māori as much as my great grandmother, but my grandmother could speak English. We always knew that when they were around and they were talking about things that they didn't want us to know about they'd speak Māori. I have no idea what they talked about to this day although I now speak some Māori I did not then. I'm still learning, but I know enough to understand Māori reasonably well. So my mother and aunty were very close and every summer we would spend Christmas with them or they would come down and spend Christmas with us. When I say them I mean my Aunty Vicky's family and mum's family.

My grandmother married a second time and had three children from that relationship. They are from Tolaga Bay on the East Coast and their hapū is Hauri. There is only one of them left now and they are from the Karini family. My Aunty Vicky was raised by my grandmother with the Karini family in Tolaga and would only go back to Rangitukia for holidays. It sounds like it was a pretty traumatic upbringing for her because she was the oldest and she was expected to do a lot of the work and there's stuff that happened to her that I don't want to publish. It's pretty horrific. As a result, she was the fiery one out of the two sisters and that was certainly reflected in the way she brought her children up. She was the one in charge of our family because my mother would give in to her all the time. She was really the matriarch and that's the way it should be. She was the oldest and she was the tuakana so it's all good. She was a good mother, but she was tough you know she was really tough on her kids. It was only later that we realised why. She must have had either an injury when she was young or something happened to her. She ended up dying of a massive aneurism at the age of thirty six. Her daughters Carol and Linda would have been seven or eight maybe. Her son Charl would have been twelve when she died. They basically spent most of their teenage years without a mum till my uncle married again. He married a woman from Indonesia, they are an interesting family. So that is the background and if you look at it very closely it was working class, but it was urban based and their men were tradesmen. My father was a printer and my uncle worked for a power company for many years and he was an engineer. If you look at it they were working class, but on the border of being middle class in their values.

My father moved around a lot and he was really unsettled. He never bought a house. He never established himself in the usual way so my mother was always working. She worked in many and varied occupations including being a cleaner at the Wellington Hospital and a store woman. In fact, she spent most of her working life as a store woman at Wellington Hospital until she got sick. She suffered major heart problems and a major stroke and had to give up work so she did a long time at the hospital in Wellington.

My Auntie Vicky was the total opposite and she didn't work until the last year or two of her life because my uncle didn't think she needed to and she didn't think she needed to either. It was a combined decision and she wanted to bring her children up so she spent her life looking after them and raising them. Once they grew up and went to school she did do some taxi driving, but that's all she did.

Anyway, we used to go home to the East Coast and when you went home with European fathers there was a huge fuss made by the local people just because their spouses were not Māori. I don't know why but people felt the need to accommodate them a lot more than perhaps they would do now. It's all part of that process of assimilation.

You see I think for example my great grandmother Kāwini, who was a rangatira in her own right, but everyone says that about their grandmothers of course. But, she did have some major taonga she had in her possession and I don't know where they have gone. Hopefully, they are still there amongst members of our whānau. I don't know for certain because we don't talk to each other enough to know for certain. I do know that my father was given at least two pieces that he was asked to sell when I was young and things like that happened and I don't understand why. I just vaguely remember my mother talking about him and my great grandmother asking him to sell the pieces. Now I look back with horror because I think it could have been the major family heirloom, which has gone out of our control. I didn't understand you know and one of them was a greenstone mere, which I think I can identify now and the other one was a korowai. It's very unfortunate and quite tragic and so anyway that's the background.

So how did that influence me? Well, it influenced me in this way. I can remember going to see my father's family and my mother would sit in the corner and everybody would be talking and my mother would be on her best behaviour. All of us had to be on our best

behaviour. When I say that I mean me and my sister, I only had one sister. So me and my sister were only allowed one biscuit and the tea was in China cups. My father's mother, my grandmother, was very English and she taught my sister things like embroidery. My sister would go and stay with her and she taught her how to do embroidery she was that sort of person. I think my sister was very influenced by that and she was very good with her hands. My father then sent my sister to the Rotorua Art School at Whakarewarewa where she learnt how to make piupiu and tāniko because she had an aptitude for it; she had a knack for it. It's funny how some people have a gift and other people are given other gifts, I didn't have any aptitude for it.

When I look back on that I think that it was formative because we were clear that my mother was different in that context. When we went back to the East Coast my father was different and you could see the difference between them. Their relationship was a tragic one really because of the circumstances of those times. It was the '50s and the '60s and assimilation was a key goal of government at the time.

The sisters, my mother and aunty, would never speak Māori any other time other than when they were together because they knew somehow that it wasn't welcome, but in a funny kind of way really identity has a way of coming through. So just through who she was my mother exerted a certain amount of influence. For example, when we were young we went to Ngāti Pōneke when we were growing up in Wellington, which was a kapa haka group. She made us go and we learnt kapa haka and we were taught the reo there. My sister was sent off to this arts and crafts school, but everything else about our life was very urban and very working to middle class. You know, working to middle class and that range of people who aren't quite middle class because the education level was not there, but certainly in the trades. The fathers were quite good tradesmen, both of them.

I want to talk about Uncle Charlie my Aunty Vicky's husband. He was a really important figure in our lives because he was such a good father figure you know. He was the ideal father. He would talk to everybody and he would explain things. Whereas my father was a bit of a cad and he was abusive to my mother. There was a sense that somehow he was superior because she was Māori and, you know, what would she know? It was something I resisted from quite a young age on her behalf and for her so I think those sorts of things influence your character, they set a path.

When I finished school I finished early because I ran away from home. The only reason why I came back the first time was because my aunty died and then I ran away again. The next time I came home I was pregnant with Tina so I had Tina when I was fifteen. I had her sister Mere when I was eighteen. I married the father when I was eighteen and I was pregnant with Mere at the time. Then we were divorced at twenty so Mere never knew her father. She would have been about twelve months when we separated. He's trying to make contact with them now because he's seen Tina on TV and he knows about Mere's magazine. They have a bit of a profile now but Mere has changed her name to Tākoko whereas Tina's still a Wickliffe, it's interesting. When we split up I went on the DPB as you do. I came off it as soon as possible as you also do.

My cousin Charl by that stage had become a lawyer. He came down to visit the place I was staying at. I was staying in a state advance home in Strathmore in Wellington and he said to me, "Is this what you're gonna do for the rest of your life?" I said, "Pardon?" He said, "Are you happy doing this?" I'd just left school and I didn't have any qualifications at all. I thought about what he said and it was quite a challenge. Then I decided yeah I'm gonna go for it so I enrolled Mere in Barnado's in Seatoun, which was just through the tunnel. It's still a forty minute walk everyday and forty minutes back. I took her there and I'd drop her off and then I started school.

When I went back to school I did School C and UE because I didn't have anything. Tina had started school by then, my oldest girl. I felt I had to start from base one while my kids were at primary school. Tina went to primary school and I had to walk Mere through to Barnado's everyday and leave her at Barnado's because there was no kōhanga in those days. Once Mere started school Tina looked after Mere and they would get the bus from Seatoun all the way into town to meet me after my classes. They knew where to get off, but one day there was so many people on the bus they couldn't get off so they went to the next stop. I can remember their faces looking at me as the bus took off. I had to go chasing after this bus through town. They were terrified poor kids! They went to boarding school I sent them both off to Turakina. Tina started at Turakina when I was finishing law school and when I was at the Māori Legal Service Mere went there.

I was an adult student at Wellington High School when the Spring Bok tour was on in 1981 and that's when I started to get political with the tour and from meeting some of those people

during the four years. I read for the first time one of the books that was to become one of the most influential books of my life and that was Malcolm X's biography from America. I started to think about race and the attitudes of race and prejudice.

Then I went on to university and in my first year at university I walked into Joe Williams who's now Justice Williams and he is now on the High Court. I also met Tony Waho. He's been one of the most influential figures in te reo Māori education from Palmerston North and Whanganui generally. They introduced me to Ani Mikaere. Actually, she's written quite a lot of stuff and she's written some great stuff on Māori women leaders. They were the only Māori law students beyond stage one at Victoria, but people had gone before them. I think there had been a number of people who had tried to do law but didn't move through. Then people like Annette had been before me and then she went up to Auckland, but certainly that was the legend at the time. She was already starting to become legend and that would have been about 1982 or 83.

When I was at university I was able to meet all these fabulous Māori people, which I'd never had access to before. I started doing my own reading and before you know it you can start situating your own position within a historical context. You understand it better. You understand why your mother and aunty were the way they were. Why your father and uncle were the way they were. Why your great grandparents were the way they were. It was all very liberating because context is everything when you're trying to understand how your family works really.

I also recognised that until I made an effort to know my Ngāti Porou heritage that it wasn't going to come to me. I had to do things to go and seek it out. I used to do things like pack Tina and Mere up and because we were on the DPB and we didn't have much money we'd catch the train from Wellington to Gisbourne. In those days the train was still going. Then I'd hitch from Gisbourne to Rangitukia. My uncles would get very annoyed because they would come and get me if I asked, but you know growing up urban I didn't want to bother anybody as you want to be independent and I didn't want to put anybody to any bother. I've still got that sort of approach, which is terrible. I know that I've got to get rid of it, but I don't really do it much. Um, having said that I've now learnt about reciprocity and how to give back as much as you take everything finds a balance, but you only learn that as you get older. You don't know it at twenty three or twenty!

During that period some amazing things happened. The pass rate through our Law School at that time was about one Māori graduate per every five years it was that bad. The first thing that Ani, Tony and Joe decided being the only Māori who had ever got past stage one for a long time was that they should set up a study group. So they set up a study group to get people through stage one and that has become the foundation stone for so much development. After that we got the contributions of various people over long periods of time and from then until now we still have Māori study groups. We have Māori Graduation ceremonies. We have a Māori Student Law Advisor. We have Māori law lecturers, Māori course content and for a long time we had a permanent Māori quota system. As a result, there is on average anything up to five to ten students graduating per annum from Victoria now. If you magnify that from every university that is a lot of Māori students graduating from law school now and that means we can safely say that we have more than enough lawyers. Now we should be starting to encourage people to look at the way they use law degrees for the future needs of Māoridom.

When we started and graduated we needed the support of senior lawyers. Most of them were Pākehā in those days because we didn't have many senior Māori lawyers except for Denise Henare who was doing her bit for Waikato, Ken Hingston, John Chadwick, Whai Dewes etc. We needed to be in a position where we could advocate for Māori rights against what were then a relatively uneducated New Zealand Crown and public. I can remember doing things as a student with one of these guys he was a pioneer in our law school at the time, a Pākehā man named Alex Frame. He organised the Māori law students to present a submission to the Māori Affairs Select Committee on the Fisheries Act when the Crown was going to move to repeal a provision in that Act which guaranteed Māori fishing rights. When we arrived at Parliament I was only in stage one at this stage, but I remember this vividly. When we arrived at Parliament you know all green and bushy tailed we started heading towards the Select Committee Room. Peter Tapsell who was an MP then saw us and asked us what we were doing and we explained and he said, "Hold on a minute." Next thing he was back with the whole of the New Zealand Māori Council trailing behind him including a person who is now Sir Graham Latimer. We all sat down in that Select Committee Room with our submission and what was previously just a little submission from a bunch of wayward kids and a law lecturer turned into this massive Māori position advocated for by the New Zealand Māori Council with Sir Graham Latimer supporting it. It was incredible. I remember him being asked during the process, "Just tell me please what a Māori in New Zealand is?" Sir

Graham just looked straight back at this MP at the time and said, “Well, it’s like this. If God says you’re a Māori, then you’re a Māori.” It was that submission which ensured that the section in the Fisheries Act that preserved Māori fishing rights remained the law. That provision would later be the basis for the Court action which led to the Sealord’s Settlement. I’ll never forget that and there were other little things that happened on the way like we worked with our senior lawyers to establish the Māori Law Society. We had a Māori students group called Ngāi Tauira. Ngāi Tauira was very functional then and we used to have annual student gatherings. I met people like Annette at those gatherings and I met people like Hone Harawira and Ben Dalton who would come in and talk to us and tell us how we all had to change or we’d become sell-outs. I remember Donna Awatere’s book being the main text that we all had to read for various meetings we had in those days.

I remember having to go off to marches to Waitangi when essays were due to demonstrate our commitment at a time when the Treaty wasn’t really recognised in New Zealand law. I mean, when I was at law school we only had a one hour lecture on the Treaty and aboriginal rights and it was given by a man now called Dr Paul McHugh. Back then he was a young man doing his Masters degree. Sir Ken Keith was our lecturer in Constitutional Law with Professor Quentin Baxter and they mentioned the Treaty now and again. Both these men have sat on the World Court, but in those days they did not raise the Treaty much in their lectures. Now, in every constitutional law course there can be anything up to almost six weeks of lectures on Treaty Law or Māori issues and that’s not including what other course content there may be dealing with other Māori issues in other fields of law. Now the Family Court for example recognises children as taonga, which leads to a full range of issues to be studied in Family Law.

There’s been a huge revolution in legal thought and as a result the Treaty has been catapulted from the margins to the core of the New Zealand legal system and that’s truly amazing. I’ve seen that happen and that has been the clear result. I have seen this change since I’ve been doing this work. Yeah, it was exciting to see grow it from a time when the Māori Law Society could meet around a table to now when anything up to five hundred members are listed with the Society. When I ask why this happened there really is only one answer. It is because of the work of a man called Taihakurei Durie, also known as Sir Edward Durie, he’s the person responsible. He became the Chief Judge of the Māori Land Court and Chairperson of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1982. When he became Chief Judge of the Māori Land Court

that was a time when I started Law School. His first major report was for the Te Āti Awa claimants Ada Taylor and Milton Hohaia. In that report the Treaty was for the first time taken seriously in a judgment of the modern era. Prior to that report and aside from some early colonial cases where the Treaty and aboriginal rights were considered. It would be fair to say that the Treaty was treated in the legal system as nothing more than a historical relic. This position was not advanced by a decision in the '40s called *Hoani Te Heuheu Tukino v Aotea District Māori Land Board*, which went all the way to the Privy Council where it was pronounced, "The Treaty is unenforceable unless or until it is incorporated into statute." So, for many years after 1941 you will find cases that are all about rejecting Māori rights. Well, the Waitangi Tribunal, The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 and Sir Edward's Te Āti Awa report followed closely by two or three other reports in the space of three years began the process of reversing that position of the Treaty in our legal system.

Then of course we had the movement to incorporate the principles of the Treaty into statute, which resulted in section nine being included in the State Owned Enterprises Act. It only came about because Sir Edward was sitting in the North listening to the Muriwhenua Claims. The Tribunal was informed by counsel present that the Crown was intending to corporatise the government ministries responsible for administering Crown land. That's when he wrote a short memorandum to the Minister of Māori Affairs and other relevant Ministers suggesting an amendment to the State Owned Enterprises Bill. He pointed out that the Muriwhenua land claims would be prejudicially affected by the Bill as it was drafted. That memorandum led to the incorporation of section nine into the State Owned Enterprises Act, which provides that nothing in that Act shall be done in the manner inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Later the lawyers for the New Zealand Māori Council were able to use that section when they filed proceedings in the High Court to try and stop the sale of certain lands and that case went on appeal to the Court of Appeal. It has become the seminal case now known as the *New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney General*. It was the first lands case where Māori had a stunning victory in the Court stopping the sale of Crown land until a new system had been put in place to preserve their interests. What I mean by that is that it led to the development of a system, which recognises their interests such that if their claims to land are proven to be well founded, the Waitangi Tribunal can recommend the return of that land. If that fails Māori can then return to the Waitangi Tribunal and it can order its return so anyone who purchases certain Crown lands buys it knowing Māori can go back to the

Tribunal and ask for the resumption order. If a resumption order is granted all that land has to be given back so it's not just a recommendation it's an order of the Tribunal which is binding. It's never been used that power of the Tribunal the resumption power because most parties have negotiated a settlement so it's never had to be used, but the fact that it exists is interesting. It has a coercive element to it because people know on both sides that if they can't negotiate a settlement there's the possibility that they could come to the Tribunal, but the Tribunal has never used that power. It's been very responsible about not using that power, but rather encouraging settlement, which is interesting. The one time where there has been a resumption hearing and report the parties were able to settle. Anyway, I lived through all of that. I mean, I worked with a team of lawyers who were instrumental in this field. During the 1987 lands case I just watched as an observer, but that case was quickly followed by the Fisheries Case under the Fisheries Act. Then that was followed by the Broadcasting Case and that was all about section nine.

There were other pieces of legislation that included Treaty principles in them. I worked on some of those with a man called Martin Dawson. He was the foremost committed lawyer in the country to Māori litigation at the time. The New Zealand Māori Council used him and Ngā Kaiwhakapumau i te Reo used him. They are the people who pursued the broadcasting claim and the te reo Māori claims and he as the solicitor on record had available to him the best brains in the country; they were then Sian Elias and David Baragwanath. As you know, Sian Elias QC became the Chief Justice of New Zealand and David Baragwanath QC became a judge of the Court of Appeal. They are truly incredible people and I was lucky enough to watch them work. I was the one that did their photo copying and discovery of documents. I ran around and acted like I knew what I was doing, but I knew nothing. I realised what I learnt from watching them was invaluable. I learnt how they presented cases and how they wanted me to craft affidavits. I read their submissions, but I couldn't say that I could ever replicate what they did. I ran around and filed documents and made sure that they all got filed. I photocopied till three in the morning you know that sort of stuff. It was in an era of our legal history when you knew who you were up against and that was the Crown. There were only shades of black and white.

Once we started achieving settlements including the Fisheries Settlement the nature of the litigation changed. It's been different since approximately 1995 in the sense that the Crown began to recognise that settlements meant that helping people move through their grievances

to a point of development can only be healthy for our people. It's really important to have our people looking to the horizon again just like our ancestors did rather than always looking backwards. Although, you have to look back in order to understand where you've come from, but you don't want to dwell there because you can never make the past better. So, litigation moved to settlement and it started as early as 1992 with the Fisheries settlement. Now litigation tends to be about overlapping disputes and overlapping interests. It's not only Crown v Māori necessarily it is often Māori v Māori litigation. The latter raises huge ethical issues for Māori lawyers and issues of tribal identity. If you're a tribal lawyer does that give you free reign to then try and demolish a case for another tribe and takahia te mana o ngā pakeke o tērā atu iwi? You know, it's very difficult for a lawyer these days. It was clear cut when I was a lawyer and a barrister working I knew what I was there to do. I was there to be an advocate for a certain group of people, Māori, who had this monolith called the Crown against them as we thought in those days. You know, when you're young and passionate that's how you see the world and the monolith was then the Crown. It was a very clear cut thing. I knew what I was doing it for. It's much harder when you get into the situation of trying to deal with overlapping interests. You know, recognising that the kōrero of that iwi is as valid as the kōrero of this iwi and their entitlement is to say what they have to say. I think the skill that lawyers have to bring into play is the one where they don't aggravate the potential to cause conflict in that setting, but rather try to facilitate and mediate a settlement based on common interests. How can each one of them achieve what they want and recognise at some point there might have to be a bit of compromise? Ultimately, both have more in common and more to gain in achieving a settlement that's a unified settlement rather than one that seeks to divide people. We're not teaching our lawyers that now and that's what we need to teach them.

The other thing that's happening now is we've got tribes who are well and truly beyond settlement. They've moved into development mode. They've become very wealthy. They are looking to the horizon. They are actively building their tribes. They are raising their standard of te reo Māori and their tikanga Māori in their tribes. They're not interested in grievance mode and why should they be? They're over it. They want to be self governing. They want to look after the assets they have and they want to continue having a relationship with local government and the Crown and they need lawyers who can help them do that.

They don't need Treaty lawyers anymore because soon the Waitangi Tribunal phase of litigation will be over. The Waitangi Tribunal has reported on or is now in active inquiry or report writing on eighty one percent of the country and while 2014 might not be achievable in line with the government policy. It's not going to be too much longer or thereafter before its finished hearing all claims leading to settlements. I'm talking about the historical claims. The question will then become, well I'll come back to the point. What I'm saying is very soon all the tribes will be in development mode. The nature of the relationship they have with the Crown will change. The nature of the relationship they have with local government will change. The local government partners will have to work closer with tribal authorities or the new post settlement governance models because you'll have a statutorily recognised entity that will be able to represent the interests of the tribe. They'll be powerful economic figures in their regions. They'll be economic players. They'll be working with business. They'll be creating wealth in their own areas. They'll be generating employment. They'll hopefully be able to increase their tikanga and te reo Māori standards as well as manage their assets properly. They need lawyers who can help them do that now. They need commercial lawyers. They need lawyers who are skilled in resource management and natural resource regulation. They need people who can work as negotiators and mediators with local and national government agencies. So, the average Māori lawyer these days has to have a different set of skills and although the basic skills of lawyering remain the same the emphasis is changing. These are big challenges ahead for our profession if we hope to remain relevant to tribal development.

In terms of the Waitangi Tribunal there are implications because once it's finished its role in hearing historical claims the next issue becomes what should happen after that? Should the Tribunal stay in its current form? Must the Tribunal or the dialogue between the Crown and Māori always be about breaches of the Treaty considering most of the historical claims will have been dealt with? Or can we now look forward to an ongoing relationship based on mutual cooperation and trust. If we look at it that way and this is just throwing it out there, maybe it is time to review the Tribunal and give it more mediatory functions. After all if something happens after all the historical claims are over or even now involving a tribe that is already settled. It usually signifies that there's been a relationship break down between the Crown and Māori or the Crown and say Ngāi Tahu or the Crown and Tainui. So, if they're thinking about coming to the Tribunal they're coming because their relationship has been upset. They are quite well cemented together now, but what should happen if this somehow

brakes down? It shouldn't have to get to that point and there should be somebody who can go in there and mediate the situation rather than adjudicate breaches of the Treaty because, I mean, what does that get you? It gets you a report which says the Crown is bad, bad, bad and is always bad. Whereas there might be some very good reasons why the Crown has to take a particular position on an issue affecting the tribe, but under the current system mediation has not been well used.

I think that it is probably time to start to think about what sort of relationship the tribes want with the Crown or local government after all the claims have settled. Then think about what the role of the Tribunal should be in the context of those relationships. It's an opportunity and we shouldn't see it as a threat. The Tribunal has served us well for what it was set up to do, but once the mopping up is done what next? Maybe the Act stays? Maybe we stay? Maybe we get a new body? It would be a shame to lose all the intellectual property of the current organisation because some of the most skilled people in the Treaty field are in this organisation. Maybe it just needs to be restructured? These are big issues coming up on the horizon and I want to be right there helping to think these issues through. My view will be one of many and it's going to be a big debate. It has to be one that involves Māori and the Crown and other New Zealanders, I think, in order for us to transcend some of the issues we've had in the past.

I also think that the bigger constitutional issues remain even post settlement. The biggest constitutional issue is to what extent is the Crown obliged to recognise Māori self government or rangatiratanga? Call it what you want but that issue is always going to be sitting there waiting for an answer. Especially now in light of first of all the Treaty, the Declaration of Independence 1835 and now the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People and the fact that the government has affirmed it.

If you look back during the '80s you had the coming together of the feminist and indigenous rights movements starting at a really kind of grass roots level with really emotive in the moment stuff. There was that really kind of awful situation at Auckland University with the engineering students and then the tour that created this huge explosion in the '80s. Now it feels like it's starting to settle a little and so we're getting into what we are going to do for the next twenty five years phase? This is some of the kōrero that's coming out and those are the challenges for your generation. Having got your settlement for every tribe where do you take

it next? What level do you take it to next? Then that begs the question what about urban Māori and to what extent can traditional tribal structures cater for that? If they can't cater for it traditionally to what extent are post settlement government models accommodating them? That's an interesting question.

You know in my own tribal area less than fifteen thousand live at home. I was going to say less than or only twelve thousand, but I haven't checked lately.² I'm pretty sure it is under fifteen thousand that live in Ngāti Porou territory and yet we're just under seventy five thousand in terms of overall numbers. It's huge as a tribe I mean it's second to Ngāpuhi and yet where are they all and can they realistically participate in this? Then that begs the questions are the settlements about preserving tribal culture or not and should they be only for ahi kā? If they are maybe that's a good thing because they're the ones charged with the responsibility of looking after the tribal base, which makes the person in the city different. But then there are still social issues that have to be addressed in the city.

So that's my life and that's what I've worked for. I've been lucky and I've made a point of working on kaupapa that I've been interested in. In 1986 I went to work at the Wellington Community Legal Centre to set up the Māori Legal Service. I would later work with Moana Jackson on this project. It was my job to get it up and running and then once we got some money he came across. We worked together until I left in 1991 to go to America.

I went to the Indian Law Resource Centre in Helena Montana and worked with a man called Robert Coulter a Potawatomi Indian who is in charge of that centre and still is. He was one of the pioneers of the group of indigenous people who set up the working group on indigenous populations and that group was the forerunner to and created the first draft of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. It was a pretty formative period of time being in the USA to see that pluralism in a legal system is possible. The idea that there must be one law for all is peculiar to certain countries. It is peculiar to New Zealand because most countries have pluralism in some form and it's nothing to be afraid of. He is probably the most important jurist of our time when it comes to explaining the philosophy underpinning the law.

² Ngāti Porou statistics are approximately 71 000 people registered to Ngāti Porou in 2006 with approximately 12 000 living in the Ngāti Porou tribal and Gisbourne area in 2009 (Piata, 2009)

We all went to the USA and my girls came with me. They both went to school in the states. Mere was such a good soccer player that she ended up getting into the school soccer team and then into the state soccer team. She played for Montana State. The scouts came to Montana after we left to come back to New Zealand because scouts would tour from all the major universities to watch people playing. The scouts from McAllister University in Minneapolis St Paul asked the people in Montana, “Who are your best players?” They said, “Well actually one of our best players has just gone back to New Zealand.” So they tracked her down to Turakina. Can you believe this? They invited her back on a scholarship to McAllister University. It’s not an Ivy League, but it’s just under so it’s one of the best colleges in the United States and people like Kofi Anan went there. It’s got a huge international school, which is highly regarded so she went and she did her liberal arts degree there. Yeah Mere did that just doing the koha thing.

Tina the other one did her degree here with Pou Hemara and them at Victoria University. She did a major in Māori studies and anthropology and then she focussed on te reo. Her Māori is just beautiful. She just graduated this year from Panekiretanga with Timoti Karetu and Wharehui Milroy and them. They have this elite school for people who aren’t just proficient, but who are highly regarded in their fields. They’ve got to be invited and then what they do is they move them on to the next level of understanding, you know, into the wānanga level and I’m talking ancient whare wānanga stuff. She just graduated this year and her expertise is publications and media in te reo Māori that’s where her heart lies whereas Mere does English publications.

They went to Turakina because it’s closest to Wellington and so I could get up and down there easily enough if I wanted to. Yeah, it’s hard case though Mere gave me grief. After we got back from the States I asked her, “Do you want to go to a normal school or do you want to go back to Turakina?” She hadn’t finished school when we got back. She decided that she wanted to go back to Turakina so she went back. She was in her sixth form year and at some point her and a mate ran away from the school. They went missing! They went AWOL for two whole days! The school rung me and I was beside myself! All I did was think about her lying in a ditch, raped and beaten shitless and in a ditch somewhere in Manawatū. Eventually she was picked up and they had been sitting there at her mates place watching videos for two days. Anyway, they got her on the phone and I said to her, “Are you alright?” She said, “Yes.” I said, “What the bloody hell do you think you’re doing?” You know and I said to

her, “I said to you do you want stay or do you want to go?” I said, “I don’t need to be bloody spending all this money for you sending you to this school if you don’t want to be there! I would rather you were here with me! You chose to go back there! When are you going to take responsibility?” Rah, rah, rah, you know on and on and on and on it went for about a good fifteen to twenty minutes. You know, just me ranting and raving on at her over the phone. I hadn’t realised that within about ten minutes after my speaking to her she’d hung up! She hung up on me!

Yeah, it was really hard too when she went to the States because I had to earn money to pay for it. You know I was doing all that work with the Māori Legal Service and then I went and did some teaching, but I had to carry on practising. So, I was fulltime teaching as well as practising and I used to organise my teaching around my practising so I could keep earning money. I also had another job, which was a very high powered job running the pie cart down at the railway station. I was down there till two to three in the morning in order to get the extra money through to her. They gave her a scholarship and that paid for two thirds of the fees, but that left another third and that was twenty three thousand per annum. Yeah, it was a lot of money. It wouldn’t be a lot of money for me now, but then it was. Now I hear what both my eldest daughters are earning and I think wow at their age and what they’re earning, I can’t believe it!

Oh and by the way I should mention my other daughter Te Aomihia who was conceived in the USA, she’s only seventeen now. Mere and Tina are thirty three and thirty five and she’s seventeen so there’s a big gap between them and Te Aomihia was born later in life. Her father and I had more time you know so she’s been a well nurtured child that one. The other two oh I feel such aroha for them. I mean I nurtured them, but boy when you’re young you do silly things. Yeah, so you must mention my baby or she’ll be very upset. She is at university now studying marine science so she can save dolphins and whales. She has wanted to do this since she was ten. I have three grandchildren. My oldest Tina has three children Te Atakura, Tawhai and Tiki. Tina is now a reporter on Māori Television.

To get back to what we are here for after I came back from the USA I walked straight into Sealord’s and my tribe opposed it at the time. I worked with Dr Api Mahuika as the person responsible for going into battle on it then. I worked with a QC who argued that our tribe had not signed the settlement. The Court of Appeal accepted that any tribe who did not sign were

not bound by the settlement, but there were several prominent Ngāti who had signed. Uncle Api being the chief negotiator eventually took a pragmatic approach to that settlement, but not before we filed a complaint in the Human Rights Committee under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and we did get it admitted. Our complaint was the first ever admitted, but we didn't prosecute it to its end because they managed a political settlement for the tribe. So that's where I learnt the value of international forums for taking indigenous disputes if the national system closed down. I learnt that technique through Robert Coulter at the Indian Law Resource Centre.

I guess my work has been layer upon layer and getting more experience in the area that I'm interested in. I never wanted to make lots of money, never wanted too. As long as the bills are paid and I can provide for the kids I am fine. It's never been about money. What I've done with my life has never ever been motivated out of a sense of materialism, but having said that when you're passionate about something and you get more and more skills in that field sometimes it follows you just because of the nature of the work you're doing.

I taught law when I got home. I was a lecturer, which I needed to do in order to complete my Masters. I did my Masters of law degree, which improved upon my undergraduate work, which was good because I was pretty tragic coming into it at that point. I graduated with a LLM First Class Honours Degree. I had too to restore my credibility.

Then I went into the Pacific and lived in the Pacific for two years and that was because I had seen what happened in the United States and it was all very important. I could see what you could do with tribal governments and how they could operate in a national legal system. I saw tribal sovereignty in action in that context and then I came back. Then I thought well what is it about being nationally sovereign that can assist development? So I went into the Pacific for two years and worked on a human rights programme for the Commonwealth Secretariat as a field expert. I also worked on a big civil society research project looking at the nature of a good society and what makes a good society. I partnered up with Pacific partners in every country involved with the Commonwealth and had to fly to many of them. I made some really good contacts in the Pacific and learnt so much about Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia. Very quickly I understood that it's not my role to tell people in any of those countries how to run their lives or what the best options are for them. Rather I learnt as I did when I was in America that they have really important models for us to look at. For example,

many of the constitutions of the Pacific recognise custom law and it is integrated into their legal system. So when people say you can't do it here well of course you can do it. You can have a constitution that recognises indigenous rights and can accommodate custom in the legal system. If you look it's right there on our back door in the Pacific and we can draw from those models.

I came home after two years of doing time in the Pacific where I learnt a lot but ultimately I understood despite all the travel I did for the Commonwealth project to the Pacific, to India, London, Spain, Madrid, the United States, the Philippines, Korea and Singapore that there is no answer anywhere to any of the problems confronting Māori other than here. All we have overseas are models. Models can help spark our own imagination about where we want to be, but ultimately all our models have to be ours. They have to be sourced in our own values and norms otherwise they won't last. There won't be any enduring feature of these models. They have to be our own. It was really good that I've travelled so much because now I'm over it. People say I'm going over to this conference and I'm going to have a holiday in so and so and I'm not interested. You've seen one castle you've seen them all. You've seen one city in the United States you've seen them all. It's all very interesting and it's all informative. Some of my most formative years have been observing cultures, but the greater truth that I know as a result is only we can find the solutions for what needs to happen here and we need to work with all New Zealanders to find them.

There are three approaches that we can adopt to finding an answer. There's the power based approach, which requires people to change e.g., "I am in charge and therefore all of you will do it!" Natural human behaviour tends to resist this form of authority in anything other than an emergency. Thus, this approach leads to the opposite reaction i.e., "You can't tell me what to do." So we could take that approach to how things will be done in this country or we could take the second approach, which is a rights based approach i.e., "These are my Treaty rights! This is what I was guaranteed and I have a right to this!" This is one way of getting what you need in the short term and we saw this approach was very successful in the 1980s and 1990s before the settlement of claims. The opposite of that reaction is that you can cause resentment from those who don't necessarily believe that your rights are greater than theirs and resentment leads to conflict.

Then there's the third approach, which is the interest based approach. This approach attempts to achieve and meet all interests and this is what Ken Cloke talks about. The interest based approach seeks to find out what you need as a process and what I need as a process and where we have common ground we can pursue those common directions. Where we differ we differ. But, if we really examine why we differ and understand what underpins that we can start identifying what our differences really mean and what hidden interests lie behind them. So, in the context of Māori I was thinking about this last week, in the context of any claim to self government, which is really just a form of local government. Why would anyone resist that? Well, one reason might be that Māori are just like other New Zealanders and we should all just be treated the same. But, given that we know that local government doesn't enjoy a very high participation rate from Māori it would appear that even at a superficial level local government isn't meeting the needs of Māori. The Waitangi Tribunal has found in several reports that this is so. So, when people say, "Oh we're all New Zealanders and we have to be treated the same." In fact we have a system of local government where only one partner to the Treaty is actually enjoying the full benefit of it. So, if that's the way it's going to be then it's a power based approach to our relationship between local government and Māori. What do we expect the Māori's response to be? Resistance of course! It has to be because Māori are human. So I think as a nation we have to mature and ask ourselves what's beneath this fear. The statement that, "We're all New Zealanders and we must be treated all the same" hides the fact that people are worried Māori may get something different, but what is the real fear underneath it all? I think the real fear must be that they don't trust Māori. What they are saying is that, "We're worried that they'll hurt us and because we're worried that they'll hurt us we're not going to give them anything." Well that can't be a rational way of making decisions can it? But, if you put in place an approach that can meet that fear then real progress can be made. Māori need to work with the Crown and with other people in New Zealand to look at how they can address that basic fear.

I think that a really good model where people are trying to make progress is the Tainui River Settlement. The Crown has in that case really tried to deliver up a form of co-management and local government that involves everybody. From major stakeholders to including all the other tribes down the river they've tried to accommodate all interests involved. All of the major stakeholders have responsibilities as well as rights associated with the river. So yes it is possible because if you identify the fear or the root cause of why people are saying or why

people take up a position on things and address that by involving them you start to alleviate their fears.

For example, why is a different form of local self-government a threat? Is it because of the fear that Māori are going to take something away from them? Or that they don't trust Māori? Or that Māori are going to somehow hurt them? Well then you have to sit down with people and say, "Well what will make you feel different. What do you need to create trust and make you feel that your interests will be accommodated in a new setting and in a new system?" Or at least start a new discussion and conversation to address those really fundamental issues because they're really fundamental human fears aren't they?

Conversely, Māori are not blameless when it comes to a lack of empathy for non-Māori. How often have you heard Māori say, "The Crown is a thief?" Yet when you dig down underneath that what they're really saying is, "We're really hurt that the Crown did this to us." But who is the Crown anyway? The Crown isn't an object. It doesn't really exist and there's no tangible form of it. So, it's essentially the representative of other New Zealanders. So are other New Zealanders really thieves? Now when you say it like that it doesn't sound very nice aye? Then what they're really expressing is that, "We're really hurt that you took our ancestors land. Or, "Your ancestors took our ancestors land and in order to get past that we need to have some acknowledgement of the deep pain and anguish that's been caused." That's why we need a settlement and an apology and Māori get at least that much, but we really need to change and move to that next level beyond control and power or rights based approaches and it's really hard.

You know I've been focussed, really obsessively focussed, on getting people from grievance mode to settlement. As you do when you're a lawyer you want to get people from A to B. If you transfer that to the Waitangi Tribunal we funnel people through that process and at the end of it they get a product, which is called a report and that's a great cathartic experience for the Māori people who go through it. Then they've got a report that records what happened to them so they've got acknowledgement and that brings its own sense of satisfaction. They take that Waitangi Tribunal report to the settlement process administered by the Office of Treaty Settlement and instead of starting with the Waitangi Report as the basis for negotiation. The Crown may start all over again looking at the historical context and analysing whether or not there was any validity to the claims. Otherwise it will consider to

what extent their research coincides with the report of the Tribunal. Or to what extent Crown policy requires that the Government negotiate a settlement. Or to what extent all of those factors combined indicate there's some imperative to settle the matter reasonably quickly and to what extent are claimants ready to settle? All of these issues are factored into this direct negotiation process and at the end of it out comes a final agreement with the Crown and an apology. So that's great because Māori people go through each of those stages in the negotiation process. You've got your terms of negotiation and your agreement in principle and then you've got your final settlement. Each one of those stages is celebrated at the tribal level and Māori and the Crown negotiators are all very active in this process.

We have a few officials reporting to one Minister and they've got milestones of achievement all along the way until out pops the settlement legislation. In government the Ministers, MPs officials and all the Māori's gather to have a big celebration in Wellington and everyone goes home back to their regions, but where are other New Zealanders in that? And yes most of us who have been working in this field for twenty years since the '80s or like Whata Winiata since the '50s. You know most of us would once say, "Well who needs anyone else there? It's between us and the Crown that's who the Treaty was with us and the Crown." But the Crown is in fact the representative of other New Zealanders and what have they got out of this process? Very little and what they see is a rights based approach to meeting the needs of Māori and they wonder about their rights and what they have had to give up to acknowledge those rights. This is because the system is seen without an adequate explanation of why it is important so other New Zealanders don't get a chance to have their needs recognised. Nor do they get a chance to celebrate a new relationship with Māori in those communities where settlements are occurring.

The rights based approach has been really successful at getting Māori to settlement, but it is also wearing thin with the average New Zealander. This all comes back to what I said before. It's actually been a process that's excluded other New Zealanders. It's excluded them because the only people who've been involved have been Māori, lawyers, historians and officials. The people who have been most intimately involved throughout the process can fit around a dinner table like this. You know, they're the ones who know most about how matters are going to be settled.

Recently I had one of those eureka moments when you're sitting around talking with others in this field. I realised that the only settlement legislation which has a statement of forgiveness in it is the Te Āti Awa settlement legislation. Actually no other tribe has felt it necessary to provide such a statement. They've expected an apology from the Crown and they've got it and the Crown sort of ticks them off. They've got an apology now in every settlement statute it's just par for the course so this is just a formula we've got here. In each of the settlement acts there's a full account of the historical background outlining why the settlement is needed and there is the standard apology, but these are in the statutes and how many New Zealanders read those?

Only one tribe has ever publicly stated that they forgive the Crown. So what does that say? We can't forgive? We don't forgive the Crown despite having a settlement? What are the implications of that for the future? Will our kids still pursue the grievance? At what point do we make it the responsibility of Māori people to forgive? And until you forgive can you move on? I don't know? Can you? Anyway, these are the things that have been challenging my brain lately because very soon we would have got everyone to settlement. Maybe there's no answer to it and it's just another new interesting facet of what we have to confront as we move to a new level of development.

You see, prima facie there's nothing that comes out of it all for the average New Zealander not even forgiveness and thus it is has the potential as a system to breed resentment. You know in terms of the agreement in principle usually that's celebrated. On the other side usually what goes out is the press release from the Minister to the New Zealand public just a two paragraph or more press releases. You get the final settlement and then what goes out from the Ministers office is another press release. Whereas the tribe, the Ministers and all the government officials involved get to have a nice hākari and a wonderful ceremony at some marae, which is all very wonderful for them. It helps them move and that has to be the focus for the historical claims, but are they going to come back if we haven't ourselves as Māori forgiven anyone? Will the average New Zealander lose patience before all settlements have been achieved? Yeah, it made me wonder about that. I don't know whether Cloke is right or wrong, but it is interesting. Do we want our kids to have to deal with this all again just because we have not taken the time to meet the needs of other New Zealanders, if only partially, by forgiving the Crown? If we've got a settlement don't we want all New

Zealanders that we interact with to move on? How do you get rid of the inter-generational trauma otherwise? You can only get rid of it and you can only transcend it if you forgive. You have to forgive before you can move on and someone has to stop that intergenerational stuff. It has to stop somewhere doesn't it? I don't want my moko's to keep going on and on like this it's a silly waste of time. Once people get what they need out of the process, which is the settlement, and so long as we have in place mechanisms or systems that we can use to resolve conflict before it gets to the point where it's polarizing. Then I think we're getting half way to where we need to be as a country we are more than halfway.

When I reflect I think at some point we must think that there are common themes coming through all the time. You can't stop other people from going forward just because you want to continue to be in grievance mode if your Māori or control mode if you are an official. I've been to so many meetings where rhetoric's heard and it goes, "Well I remember back in 1973 when I did this and what would any of you people know about that?" And, "How would you know trouble?" Well who needs to know? Why do our kids need to know? I mean yes it's like history you can tell people the history, but leave it at that and let's move on. It's time to move on otherwise you'll find a whole generation of people who've got no objective in life other than to keep looking backwards. In order to let it go you have to, as our ancestors did look to the horizon and forgive. There is no way around it and it sounds liberal and it sort of Californian, but it's the truth.

Anyway, did I finish? I think I was made Judge in 2000 and the rest is history. Now, I'm the Deputy Chief Judge. It's interesting in itself how I became deputy, which will be told one day in my memoirs.

The final issue I want to raise concerns women at my level and that is whether there is a gender barrier to being a leader of a major organisation such as mine? Is gender the problem or is there a cultural barrier because there are issues about how you can present an organisation in Māoridom if you're a woman. They can be overcome yet the only people they recognise are those who are sitting on the paepae and they're all men. So is there something structurally that needs to change there or maybe not in the traditional setting? Why are we replicating that with our contemporary settings all the time? That's one of the issues I'm going to confront in my organisation very soon. Why is it during a pōwhiri, for example, when we say that we're applying local tangata whenua kawa that we do that for a

national organisation, which is not iwi based even though it's on their whenua? Isn't it just a historical accident that it is on their whenua? You know what I mean? Otherwise, we have this ridiculous situation of people sitting second or third row down during a pōwhiri behind speakers who have half your experience and ranking within the legal profession. You know, who are at stage two or just out of law school and or they're not Māori, but they're the right gender. Oh that's got to be wrong. I've noticed now in Parliament they've changed that unless it's a tribal occasion.

Why do they have to do that when it's not on the paepae or on hallowed ground? I mean really? In the traditional settings it is what it is. I don't want to confront that at all. I'm not saying that it should change that will stay what it is. I'm talking about government agencies or non-government organisations where people just decide that they want a pōwhiri process. They engage in the pōwhiri in an ordinary office setting. They make people comply with what is essentially a form of tikanga that's been selected and modified to suit the circumstances, but only to the extent that it permits them to conduct this framework within a non-traditional setting, and the only thing that can't change is the gender issue! We've got to stop it! As women we have too and we're not very good at challenging our own men over it. I did that as a student with friends of mine in relation to the student marae we were associated with. We picketed the marae and yes that was interesting. You know now I'm older I would just get up. If I really felt strongly enough I'd just get up, but you know when you're young and you're impetuous and kuare you go and picket! Well, I thought then that it was only a student marae a university marae and so it's not a traditional marae. So inherently and structurally in our modus of doing things in the name of culture we create opportunities for oppression and we have to call it and say, "No! It's not right!" Either we're all the same or we're not.

Nā Naida Glavish tēnei kōrero



Kia Ora!

Kō Kaipara te moana
Kō Hoteo te awa
Kō Maunga Atua te maunga
Kō Puatahi te marae
Kō Ngāti Hine te hapū
Kō Ngāti Terino te hapū
Kō Ngāti Whātua te iwi
Ā tōku ingoa kō Rangimarie Naida Glavish

Okay, I hail from the Kaipara harbour. My father is of Croatian descent my grandmother on my father's side comes from a little place in Croatia called Dvrinik and my grandfather comes from a place in Croatia called Kociza. So, full Tarara on one side and Ngāti Whātua on the other Ngāti Hine and Ngāti Whātua. I guess the greatest gift that I have ever received was the gift of being raised by a grandmother.

I was born in the front seat of my father's Studebaker car. You know how long ago that was? There ain't any Studebakers on the road anymore and I suspect I was conceived in the back seat of it. My father will be ninety years old on March 24th 2011. He's lived a wholesome life. He has had nine children from four different mothers and from my mother there were two sons and a daughter that's the side to my father.

My grandmother's father was Panui Parata Mate and she married Tiki Nahi and had her children of which my mother was one. She raised me on the shores of the Kaipara Harbour. She was a young widow and she went to Pukekohe in search of work and livelihood and worked in the market gardens in Pukekohe. I lived with her until the age of twelve. I came back to live with my mother to help her with the twins that she had to my stepfather, Paniani Tapurau. They had twin daughters. So, there was the older brother than me who died aged six months and then there was the younger brother. I came home to help mum with the younger brother and the two sisters, the twins.

Now from that time I bounced between my mother and my grandmother really so the leadership role in me came as the eldest of my brother and two sisters. I took the role in which at the age of ten I could bake bread, I could clean house, I could do the washing, I could nurse the twins, I could do everything. So as the tuakana matāmua of our whānau my

leadership skills began with the ability to keep house and keep my brother and sisters safe. Yeah, I think that was the beginning of the leadership role and that's us as a people we know that there is a role. The role of the matāmua is to cast the shade of safety over all the tuakana, teina, tungane and tuahine. The role of the teina is to be creative in the knowledge that the tuakana are there to pick them up when they create havoc and they often do.

Yeah, so I guess I went through school and I had a very chequered career in school. The reason for that was because I was a fluent speaker of Māori when I went to school. Te reo was massaged into me by my grandmother who couldn't speak English very well. For the early part of my life she lived across the road from my other grandmother the Croatian one. They both spoke Croatian and Māori to me so I had to go to school to learn to speak English. School did not resonate with me at all and I guess my years of challenging began at school.

Then of course I went into the work force and I claim that because I had the experience of motherhood as a child I fell into marriage early. I was only young when I married. I was only seventeen and in actual fact when I married my eldest and I doubled our ages exactly when she was seventeen. So, I had four daughters and two sons and we, um, we lost one of my daughters tragically so I've got three daughters and two sons now. I went to work for the post office when my youngest went to school so I was a mother and I raised my own children. They didn't grow up in child care I raised them.

I have nineteen mokopuna, thirteen grandsons and six granddaughters, and I'm proud of the fact that they raised their own children. They were not raised in day care centres they were raised by their own mothers. I have five great grandchildren, four great grandsons and one great granddaughter. I know in the world of Māori our wealth is measured by the number of mokopuna we have and I am wealthy! Absolutely wealthy! And it's just begun in terms of the greats. So, if I could have nineteen mokopuna from four of my five children can you imagine how many greats I'm going to have from the nineteen? So I look forward to that and I've got one, two, three, four, five, I have five grandchildren over the age of twenty one. Next year I'll have another two together and then the year after that three of them will turn twenty one in that year.

The twenty first birthdays are something my grandmother always celebrated, my birthdays. So I've celebrated their birthdays and they're parents give them a key and I give them a hoe

waka. They get the key from their parents to open the door for their world. They get a hoe waka from me to hoe their waka wairua. They all look forward to their hoe waka because five of them are comparing their hoe waka at the moment, “Oh yeah I like yours!” “Oh yeah, but yours has got more carvings on it”. So, one, two, three, four of the hoe waka are in my house because everybody comes to my house and they want to show they’re hoe waka off in my house. I’ve got four and the other one is in Australia with him so that’s a leadership role in terms of those hoe waka. I have given strict instructions that should I not be on this planet for the last of the twenty firsts, which no doubt I won’t be the hoe waka must continue. The hoe waka must continue and my children are charged with the responsibility of ensuring the hoe waka continues in my absence.

Getting back to life experience for leadership roles I went to work for the post office and for thirteen years I used the kupu, “Kia ora tolls here.” I don’t know whether it was the thirteenth year, but we had a new supervisor who decided he was going to clean up the toll rooms and the appropriate salutation to him was good morning, good afternoon and good evening. I continued to say, “Kia ora tolls here” whether it was morning, noon, or night! So for nine months, which is almost the gestation period really, they harassed me and they took me off the boards. They placed me on off board positions and monitored me and they were really harsh about my use of the term, “Kia ora tolls here” and I continued.

Then when an aunt of mine died I went home to the tangi and the supervisor was absolutely supportive in those days when there wasn’t tangihanga leave. So I was going home to my aunt’s tangi and while I was there a cousin of mine flipped her car and got killed so I was gone for the whole week. He was very supportive the supervisor and I came back to work thinking to myself oh gosh this supervisor’s been pretty good. I should back up and give him a break on this, “Kia ora tolls here”. I was driving over the harbour bridge coming into Airedale Street to work at the toll rooms and thinking yeah when I go in I’ll come and see the supervisor and say thank you and back up on kia ora. I heard this voice as I was going over the harbour bridge and this voice said to me, “Nui ake tēnei take ia koe!” This is far greater than you! I thought it was the wind whistling in the window so I wound the window up! Then I got to the top of the bridge and I heard it again, “Nui ake tēnei take ia koe!” So with that I knew it was the voice of my grandmother and this was in 1984 she had actually died November 4th 1972.

Anyhow, so I went into the supervisor and I said to the supervisor, “I want to say thank you to you for the support you’ve given me that allowed me to go home to the tangi. With regards to the issue of ‘Kia ora’ I want you to know that I respect you as a supervisor and I respect what you need to do as my supervisor. Should it be to dismiss me I will respect that. However, I need to say to you that ‘Kia ora’ is a salutation indigenous to this country. It is a taonga of my reo that was massaged into me by my grandmother and I will continue to use it. So, I will do what I have to do respecting that you will do what you have to do.” I went back on the board, “Kia ora tolls here.”

It wasn’t long after that I spoke with Rangi Walker who was then the chair of the Auckland District Māori council. We reported it to the New Zealand Māori Council and it got picked up by the news media so for four days it was front line on the radios, the TV and in the news papers, “Kia ora tolls here.” The thing that left it there for four days was the fact that the post master general at the time was also the Minister of Tourism so it would be difficult for him to disallow ‘kia ora’, an indigenous salutation from this country from the post office tolls and not jeopardise his tourism port folio. He had to wait until the then Prime Minister Muldoon came back from overseas. Muldoon came back and says, “I’ve been overseas trying to decide the economics of this country and I come back here and some girl wants to say ‘kia ora’. Well as far as I’m concerned she can say ‘kia ora’ so long as she doesn’t say, ‘giddy blue he he he.” That’s how he laughed. So the ‘giddy blue’ was his come back to the Australians for under arm bowling.

I guess that was the beginning really of overt leadership publicly. I’d shown leadership in my whānau and I’d shown leadership on the marae. I was only a young girl with my grandmother when I was forced to do the karanga because there was no-one there at the time and she approved it and so I’d done all that leadership stuff. I’d done all that at home and on the marae and I was now out public with ‘kia ora’.

I stayed with tolls for a little while and after the outcome of that of course I was promoted to international tolls. You have to be there for a few years before you can qualify to go to international. Well, they wanted to get me off the inland toll lines because everybody was ringing in to speak with the ‘kia ora lady’. “Can we please speak to the kia ora lady?” The supervisors weren’t impressed so they recommended I get sent down to international. Anyway, so I got down to international and it was, “Kia ora Aotearoa.” So they put me

through a training programme. It didn't change me it was still, "Kia ora Aotearoa." And you know the interesting thing about saying kia ora was it spread right across the world with overseas operators. Rarotonga rang in, "Kia orana!" Italy rang in, "Chow!" Hawai'i rang in "Aloha!" All these international toll operators rang in and you know they were ringing in supporting the kia ora lady. The thing about that really is that while I was basically being placed in off board positions in tolls I knew that if I was going to be dismissed from the post office I'd also be evicted from their house. I was renting a post office house at that time. So that was the outcome of that leadership.

Then I went into international tolls and I was asked because I was a fluent speaker to go to training college because the education system had established this thing called Te Atakura. Te Atakura was there to train fluent speakers of Māori to become teachers and there were forty throughout the country. I was one of eighteen in Auckland that trained for one year in 1987 to become teacher. I started secondary teaching in Henderson High in '88. I got into education, which was the very thing that failed me. It was ironic that I who was expelled from one school and suspended from two schools should actually become a school teacher. I became a school teacher, but really I just wanted to know what the teachers talked about in the staff room and I got in there, boring!

The first thing I did was threw all the desks out of my class and put mattresses down. I sat at the same level as my students and for the first three periods of their day they were introduced first of all to having an appreciation of themselves and who they are. They were in a system who failed them. They came through primary school and I asked the principal, "Can I please have twelve maybe fifteen students? Twenty would be the ceiling and twenty five would be the roof." Well I got thirty six, which is the sky and they were thirty six students who volunteered to come into my class they volunteered to come in. They were the highest truants in the school. They came to school to light their fags on the Bunsen burners. They came to school to skip classes and they had a competition amongst themselves to see who can get out of the most classes in school.

Anyway, the first term of school this class had the highest attendance rate in the whole school. They came because they owned the class. It was theirs and it was Māori and they were brilliant. The change of attitude came when I said to them, "Look they call me a teacher and my salary is based on the fact that they call me a teacher, but in actual fact you're the

teachers and you're not going to get paid for it. I want you to teach me about what you want to learn and together we can do it."

I was a reo Māori teacher that's what I qualified as a reo Māori teacher. So for the first year I said to the school for the first three periods of the day they're mine and then they go to maths, English and science. There were third, fourth, fifth and sixth formers in my class and they became a whānau. I told the maths teacher, "They're coming over to you as a whānau in the tuakana/teina concept and the tuakana will teach the teina. The seventh formers will teach the sixth and the sixth will teach the fifth. The fifth will teach the fourth and the fourth will teach the thirds. The third formers are the teina and they will come to you as tuakana/teina. So, don't teach only the thirds and don't teach only the fourths. You're going to take the whole class and that will test your metal."

Maths was okay about it and in science I said to the science teacher, "Do you know that the humble kumara is science? I don't want them to come here to learn how to dissect a frog they're coming here to learn science." The tukutuku panels have several curricular in them and those panels have maths. Those panels have the science of the sea for the pīngao. They have the science of the bush for the Kea. They have art and they have comradeship with each other and so it is the art of science and the bush and the sea. So for the science teacher that tested that metal and everybody agreed except the PE teacher. The PE teacher complained about me to the Principal so the Principal called a meeting with us and I said to the PE teacher, "You are ignorant and incompetent to teach Māori students. They are tuakana/teina and you simply want to streamline Māori to suit your training on PE. Well let me tell you some of those third formers are stronger than the seventh formers and so you can't use that as an argument! So here's what I'll do. You do not qualify to teach my kids! You have failed! I will not let my kids come to you." So I said to the Principal, "You have to find something else for her to do because she ain't getting my class! She ain't getting them and she doesn't deserve them! She is incompetent!" I was left with a period with my class and I thought what am I going to do with them? I rang the Hillary Commission and they came with the Moving On Programme. They took them abseiling and they took them canoeing so that they could learn to work together. It was amazing.

Where there was a will there was a way and those students grew in self esteem and for their exams for the end of the year I said, “You are not going to sit any exams there will be no exams. What you are going to do because this is a reo class is at the end of the year you are going to karanga all of your parents, your school teachers, your buddies, anybody you like. You’re going to karanga a hui on to the marae. You are going to mihi them, and not only are you going to mihi them, you are going to take them into the whare kai and you are going to host them. You are going to feed them and you are going to do it all in the reo and that’s your exam.” They passed with flying colours. They were brilliant, but it was a lot of hard work!

For the second year I went into the staff room and I said, “Hey, anybody know anything about drama and plays?” One of the teachers Rosemary, we’re still very good friends, she said, “Would you like to borrow my husband?” I said, “Yeah alright I’ll borrow your husband.” He was a production manager. So we got the book and the story of Moremonui. I translated the story of Moremonui into English so that Chris could understand it and then he stage produced the play Moremonui and these kids acted the play out. They did the play all in Māori gosh it was a lot of work. Anyway, I burnt out in three years because I gave so much. I gave all of me plus more to the school and this class. Then I was told by my iwi the Auckland Area Health Board at the time wanted a Ngāti Whātua cultural advisor so I got taken out of school and brought into health and two hundred came to the pōwhiri to hand me over. Boy that was a challenge and a half that school and those kids of mine. They were beautiful those kids absolutely beautiful and I still see them. I still see them now with their children and that. We’re due for a reunion and some of them are sitting on the taumata.

One of them got into trouble he was such a mischief this little brute. We called him Maui and anyway Maui was walking along the road one day and I called out to him, “Where do you think you’re going?” He said, “Oh I’ve got to go up and report to the cop shop at two o’clock.” I said, “No you don’t you get over here!” I rang up to the police station and said, “What are you doing calling this boy to come up there? Are his parents up there? Have you informed them?” They said, “No.” I said, “Well let me tell you no student from here is coming up there!” They had named themselves Te Rito o te Reo, the core of the language. I said to the police “As a matter of fact I challenge you to come down here.” So these burly cops came and I said to my class, “Te Rito when you see those cops coming over by the quadrangle over there go outside and karanga.” So they did. These two burly cops came

walking along and they stopped. They continued to karanga them so they kept on coming and I said, “You will mihi and you will mihi and you Maui will be the last mihi because that’s not what they know of you. They’ve got their view of you, but they don’t really know of you.” So up gets Maui and it was beautiful. As a result of that the cops had to take their boots off at the door and they had to come in. Anyway, as a result of that they invited Te Rito o Te Reo to the Henderson Station. It was so good and that relationship was brilliant. So that’s Te Rito o Te Reo and then I came into health.

Coming into health I was at Auckland Area Health Board and then Helen Clarke sacked her husband Peter Davies and there was no longer an Area Health Board. Then it became a transition where the government brought David King over from England and Harold Titter. They did a hatchet job on the Area Health Board and then they created the RHA the Regional Health Authority and the Crown Health Enterprise. Then it went from that in 1990 when I started to Crown Health Enterprise to Hospital Health Service and it’s now a District Health Board. I don’t know what it’s going to become under National. It will probably change, but in all of that time I knew I had to develop a health service that was unique to being Māori. In 1993 I began the work on the proposal to develop a Māori Health Service.

In 1994 the RHA with the support of the then CEO and the head of the Māori section of the RHA, Rob Cooper, we developed He Kamaka Oranga. Kamaka is a spiritual foundation stone and the spiritual foundation stone of any wellness for any Māori in this country is of course Te Tiriti o Waitangi, but if we had of called it Te Tiriti o Waitangi it wouldn’t have got off the drawing board. So we called it He Kamaka Oranga and He Kamaka Oranga was contracted in 1994 on the 24th of December 1994 and we signed it in 1994 to today. In 1997 from the manager of it I became the Chief Advisor Tikanga for the Auckland District Health Board. It’s successful because when it was established it was established to be a fundamental part of the infrastructure of the then Crown Health Enterprise. It had to have leverage for Māori and that leverage for Māori was to be a direct report to the CEO and the infrastructure was a fundamental part of the organisation. It wasn’t to be nipped on or clipped on or to become a social service add on at all so that’s He Kamaka Oranga.

Then we come to my iwi Ngāti Whātua, I was one of its original trustee’s. I was overseas with the renewal and I didn’t actually renew my trusteeship. Then six years ago I decided that I will go back and work for my people again, albeit on a voluntary basis, but even when

you work voluntary for our people you still got to watch your back. Then I became a trustee and when the elections were over I was elected and became the chair of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whātua and as that chair we've progressed to now become the iwi leaders group. The iwi leaders group are all the iwi in the country. All the chairs of all the iwi in the country come together to discuss national business for Māori and to share so as to not reinvent the wheel within iwi on something that's already been done. For instance, with Waikato and the river and for when Ngāti Whātua enters into negotiations with the Kaipara Harbour. Then of course I left out one part, sorry, in 1993 I was rung by the Minister of Māori Affairs Doug Kidd and invited to become one of the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commissioners. As a Fisheries Commissioner for ten years we developed the model for allocation to the iwi fisheries model to iwi. Presently, I'm the deputy chair of the taumata which chooses the commissioners to the fisheries commission. I'm a police advisor to the police commissioner and that will do. I'm on a whole lot of other stuff, but that'll do.

Nā Helen Moewaka Barnes tēnei kōrero



(Health Research Council of New Zealand, 2010).

Well I've never really thought of myself as a leader I mean I suppose I do in a way although I wonder what kind of words we have that are more appropriate. I think often there are these Western models of leadership where somebody is out the front leading people and telling

people what to do and kind of having power and control and all those kinds of things. So, I don't think of myself like that so much. I think you know when I was younger I tended to be an outlier more than a leader, which meant that I didn't follow. It tended to be everyone else or I felt people would follow others so I was kind of like the outlier. You know like sometimes I would just come up with something in class, which would just get totally slammed. I remember a teacher slamming me for some of my opinions and stuff and then saying to the rest of the class, "Does everybody else agree with me? Put your hands up if you agree with me?" She'd say things like, "Oh see Helen nobody agrees with you." I would refuse to go along with what other people thought. What I thought was what I thought. I remember in sort of my teenage years for example I used to play soccer and people were really unhappy about stuff and they would talk and grumble. I remember at one of our meetings I said you know nicely what the issues were and everyone else just kept quiet and nobody would say a thing. So I often felt like I was more of an outlier than a leader. They didn't follow me they would go with the pack.

I mean I suppose in the role I'm in now people would see me in that way. How I came to this role was I came to the University of Auckland mostly because of Paul Stanley. So Paul and I were the only Māori people working within what was the Alcohol and Public Health Research Unit at that stage. Then we had Brendon and Megan and we decided that we didn't want to be Māori researchers working within a group. We actually wanted to have our own identity and our own kaupapa and philosophy so we formed Whāriki and Sally was supportive of that and we talked about a process of partnership. They elected me the Director of Whāriki and then Sally about a year later I think asked me to be the Associate Director of the Unit. I was never quite sure of what it meant and what I was supposed to do as the director and I'd been elected. As far as I could see it wasn't about power and control. I mean if people vote you in to that position it's about accountability and responsibility. It's not like we're going to let you in there so that you can lord it over us or anything like that. I didn't feel very comfortable for a long time about what my style was as the director and it took quite a few years for me to work through that. I mean you have to acknowledge when you're in a particular position there is certain power and privilege that comes with those things and it's different depending on who the people are and how people perceive that. I've always seen it as being about my responsibility and my accountability to people and you can't expect people to be loyal to you if you're not loyal to them. You can't expect people to go the extra mile if

you don't go the extra mile. You can't expect people to be accountable if you're not accountable you know all those kinds of things.

I kind of see my position here as being about really making sure that people have got what they need to do the job and sometimes I have to play the sort of boss role you know. But that's more about what you're responsible and accountable for and that needs to be done you know really carefully and respectfully. So I've kind of worked out how I want to be and how I want to work within that role and I see it as very much being about mutual responsibility, mutual accountability, looking after people and supporting people. It's making sure they've got what they need to do the job and also you have to walk the walk as well. I mean if we talk about health and wellbeing and respect and all those kinds of things, you have to treat people in that way and that's the people you work with and the people next to you and that has to be the way you take that role of leadership in inverted commas. To me my leadership is about trying to embody, and you know I don't always succeed, but I always try to embody those things. When you're talking to people about working hard and the tikanga and kaupapa and stuff you have to do that too if you expect other people to do it.

I've always been very determined. I've always had a determination. I've always had I think a kind of toughness the toughness to do what you think is right regardless of what other people think you know. There's the idea that you have to be a particular type of person to be a leader I've heard that. I know there are different perceptions of me, but you know if you're not aggressive and if you don't thump the table and if you don't behave in certain ways and sometimes if you don't trample people. People think that you don't have the aggression that you need to be a leader. I just see that as a particular type of domineering leader and I mean perhaps in some ways I developed who I am in terms of anti-role models of what I don't want to be because my father was very domineering. I mean he was very courageous and he would stand up and say what he thought, but he sometimes didn't do it in a very good way. He would sometimes trample over people to do that and I thought I never wanted to be like that. I'm sometimes told I'm kind of like my father in some ways, but I've always been determined not to be like him in that way you know.

My mother had very strong values and principles and she had wisdom and my father was clever, but he wasn't wise. So that's where his dominance was never tempered by wisdom I think and my mother didn't want us to be like her. She wanted us to be strong women

because he trod over her and he trod over all of us so we kind of had to learn that it actually wasn't our fault.

You know, there's this kind of idea that you learn things as you grow up, but sometimes I think there are things that we carry through and we don't even know where they come from sometimes. People talk about genetic memory and things like that, but you know I think of like the reo and often Māori who haven't been in contact with the reo seem to have a way of picking it up and understanding it that Pākehā don't. So I don't think it's just things that we learn as we grow up, I think that sometimes there are things that we carry from somewhere else.

There are a whole lot of things to our environment that we don't necessarily see or acknowledge as well and I suppose in some ways I got into this job because of a dream I had when I was up North. I was long term unemployed and I had this dream. I won't go into details about the dream, but basically it sent me off looking for a job, any job at this stage, which had a way that would lead into something. So Taskforce Green were the ones that were available at that time and I got a Taskforce Green job working at the Auckland Regional Authority. It was an interesting place to work in real middle management, real middle white bureaucracy, it was quite interesting. I didn't set out to stir things up I mean the thing is that if you just try to do things properly it stirs things up in places like that so it wasn't hard. I was in the transport department and there were no Māori in there.

There'd been some resistance to hiring someone from Taskforce Green because you know they were unemployed riff raff basically, but I was hired by a woman who wanted to employ a Māori person and had some politics. At that stage I didn't think that any of the skills I had were particularly employable, but when I sat in the interview with her I realised that being Māori and having some of the skills that I did have were actually things that some people look for and it was what she was looking for. So I did what she needed me to do in terms of filing and photocopying and all those sorts of things, but she also enabled me to go out and do a bit more of the things that I wanted to pursue, and that was how I hooked up with Paul Stanley who was working with drink driving programmes at that stage. I was working with the road safety coordinator and came under compulsory breath testing because that had come in at that stage. So I hooked up with Paul and I was going to see him at the University of Auckland and there was a Pākehā woman that worked at the Regional Council and she said,

“Oh we’re always going and talking to him and nothing ever comes of it.” I said, “Oh it might be a little different if I go and talk to him.” He’s very straight up and Paul said, “What are doing working for something that’s putting all of our people in prison?” You know meaning compulsory breath testing and I said, “Oh well that’s why I came to see you. If you don’t want me doing it then you get me out of there.” We just clicked me and Paul.

Paul organised all these meetings to go to Huakina and to go to Waipareira. The woman I worked with was organising a regional forum or something and I’d hooked up with Denny out at Huakina. They had the Lost Generations that had been developed in the Waikato about people who had been lost through drink driving. It was a taonga that carried people’s stories and stuff and they were going to bring it and so I said, “Well we have to have a pōwhiri and they’ll be coming on with the Māori Wardens and we have to organise that.” So I went and met all the Māori who were in the council about five of us altogether and some of them didn’t know each other. I used to go and say, “Oh shall we all meet for lunch?” Then we formed a group of Māori in the regional council. So we formed a group and then there were no kaumatua or anything. I had to go and find my own contacts to get kaikaranga and kaumatua and waiata and stuff like that. Pio Jacobs came and Bub Wehi came with his group and we had the Newton Central kura and the kids from there and stuff. Then I invited all the Māori people who were involved to come and I said, “We have to block off the entrance”. You know so the whole of the regional council knew that the foyer had to be blocked off between certain hours. I said, “Oh we have to have food and so there needs to be a budget.”

The guy who was the head of the transport department at one stage said to me, “So how long is it going to last for?” I said, “Oh I don’t know it could be half an hour or an hour.” He said, “So what happens?” I said, “Well there’ll be a speaker from our side and there’ll be a waiata, there’ll be a song. Then someone will speak from that side and there’ll be a song.” He asked, “Is there a time limit on how long they can talk for?” I said, “Ah no.” Then he said, “Well can you tell them how long they can?” I said, “No! That would not be appropriate.” Then he said, “What happens if you run out of songs?” I said, “Bub Wehi is there we’re not going to run out of songs.” He was like, “Oh okay.” And off he went. Lee was one of the councillors Mike Lee, Sandra Lee’s husband. So apparently he had supported it because apparently the council had had to talk about whether this pōwhiri was going to happen. You know this was the regional council and they had no kaumatua or anything like that but he had supported it so I think that made a difference in it happening. As I say I didn’t

try to stir anything up, but these were the things that had to happen and so just by virtue of working in a white organisation and just by doing what's right that stirs things up.

I remember someone saying to me because I was stressing about it, I remember someone saying to me, "But you're doing your best and if it doesn't turn out you know you've done your best." I said, "If it doesn't turn out I emigrate! I don't think you understand what it means if it doesn't turn out." It had to be done and it had to be done the right way. It turned out alright and it was because of the people at Waipareira and because of Paul that I ended up coming to work at the University of Auckland.

At that stage well I'd lived in various places. I lived in the north, lived in National Park, lived in Wellington and lived in Auckland. I was living in Auckland at that stage because they had an evaluator that had left who was evaluating the drink drive programmes and Paul was the formative evaluator. So the communities asked for me to be the evaluator. I spoke to Sally and I'd done like two papers in psychology stage two or something like that and I had done arts. So she said, "Oh well I think we could put that down and sell it to the university." So I was employed part time but within about three weeks I was working fulltime because all the stuff just kept building up and they kept saying, "Can you do this and can you do that?" There was a report that had to be written and somebody else had bailed out. So they said, "Can you write a report?" So I said, "Can you show me what a report looks like and I'll try and write it." So yeah it became a fulltime job very very quickly and then as I say they employed Megan and Brendon and we formed Whāriki.

In 2002 Sally Caswell got offered a job at Massey University and subsequently everyone in APHRU Alcohol and Public Health Research Unit and Whāriki were offered positions at Massey and so we all moved over. The name Whāriki came from a whakataukī. We couldn't take the APHRU name over that still belonged to Auckland University, but Whāriki had never kind of existed officially. So we took the whakataukī and the name and we came here and formed a new group also called Whāriki with all the same people.

I didn't even pursue research, but I think it was because I knew Leonie for a long time. I knew she was in research, but I kind of had this vision of her sitting in a library reading books somewhere I didn't have any idea what it was about. The evaluation was about going out and talking to people. It was about doing interviews and talking to people at Huakina and

Waipareira and I had done some stuff around video, which was working in the North and that was about interviewing people and putting together a short programme. So I thought okay that makes sense and things just sort of came along and I was determined. As I said I had this dream and I was determined that whatever fell my way I had to make the most of it and just work really hard with what I had. So things did come my way and I did work as hard as I could, till three in the morning some times, and I would do the best job that I could of what was in my path basically.

It all started with a dream really although I've done lots of stuff all my life, which well it makes you who you are really. It was kind of the career path I guess from Auckland Regional Authority to here. I was working with communities and we had made videos around health with alcohol and tobacco smoking. I also worked with Northland Health a bit and worked with the Human Rights Commission. We used to do drama and when I say we it was me and my sister. We'd done drama and music and that was like starvation time and it just wore us out really. I calculated it one day and fifty cents an hour was what we got and it's not sustainable. As I say we were on and off employed and long term unemployed and stuff like that, but you know it makes you who you are.

I didn't have children then and so to be struggling on a low income with children must be just absolutely heart breaking because it's hard enough when you're just responsible for yourself and struggling. I don't have that you should pull yourself up by your bootstraps attitude because I also think society makes it tough for Māori and for other groups as well. It's an inequitable society and I've had some glimpses of what it's like to not have money and to struggle. We didn't have a lot of money when I was growing up and we lived in Glen Innes and that was part of a housing scheme. The only reason my sister and I ever got a house was because of a housing scheme with Housing New Zealand so if you don't have those kinds of things to support and assist people it's even tougher.

You know I didn't have an expectation that I would go through tertiary training. I couldn't see why anybody ever would want to do a PhD or an MA. I thought you had to be a genius to do it and then I met some people when I came to university who had masters and I thought well maybe if they could do it then I could do it to. It's that kind of anti-hero thing again like people have said to me, "Oh you've got a PhD you could inspire people." And I think well actually what inspired me was realising that people who had these degrees weren't

necessarily these brilliant geniuses and maybe I could get one as well. So for me it's more about demystifying it and I think that institutions often build, particularly PhD's, up as the be all and end all.

My approach is that they are a particular piece of work. It's part of a journey, it's not the whole journey so make decisions about how much you want to give to it. I think as Māori often we want to give everything to it, but it's an academic exercise and it's a piece of work. Of course it's about you, but it's also decisions about how much you want to give to the academy and how much you want to put into that role as well. So for me it's more about demystifying those things rather than building them up and inspiring people. Yes, inspiring people to think yeah you can do it if you want to. There are certain things that you need to be able to do if you want to attain it, but it's not like this unattainable sort of Holy Grail of some sort. It's an academic exercise and it's a piece of work. So again I think it's about the sort of anti-hero thing and anti-role models and what you don't want to be. You know, I mean people talk about great leaders inspiring people, but women don't. I don't think of myself as a leader. I'm a leader in the sense that I'm the director of this group here, but I don't see myself as out the front of the group. I see myself as kind of the mother in a way and I often feel like the mother and I think that the skills of mothering are very useful. Not in terms of being patronizing, but in terms of being able to juggle lots of stuff and look after people. You know, have they got what they need and are they going to be on time? What do you need and all that kind of stuff and hopefully people can go out and fly. You know and to let them fly and to know what their skills and abilities and expertise is and to trust them to do that. So I think that kind of approach, not smothering, but being there for people and making sure that they've got what they need. Ultimately, you're accountable to them too.

I mean, if you see like great leaders who are inspirational who are they inspiring? I think sometimes people might think that's not me or that's unattainable, but you know mothers are leaders all sorts of people are leaders. As I say that word is a difficult word, but if a leader is somebody who works with groups of others, I suppose I think of leadership as having some kind of dream and vision.

As I say I was often the outlier, but what we've been able to achieve here is a group of people who have like minds. So if you come in here you need to have in some ways that shared vision so that we can be that group of outliers together and that's what Māori often are you

know. We're sort of outliers from mainstream society. But when we work collectively then we create our own way and our own space where hopefully our work is part of people's lives. It's not something separate and it's safe for people and it acknowledges that it's not the most important part of people's lives either. It's important that it's good and positive, but if your family's sick and your family needs you that's where you should be. Work isn't the number one because it's not. It's not number one for me, but it is really important for me.

I guess what I always wanted is a sense of purpose that's not about leadership that's just about feeling that you're working towards something with meaning or vision. You know that it's making a difference and so I guess that's the shared vision. So you kind of try to create things for people collectively that kind of embody that. I guess that's what I see as leadership is the role that I can play in creating and supporting and nurturing that. Spirituality is not scientific. It can't be proven and people look at it in terms of psychology as opposed to spirituality and it's the only way it can be sort of accepted in the academy.

I certainly don't think of myself as charismatic. I think of myself as fortunate that I have been found by and have found people who share that same vision so if you can gather together then you can get stuff done. As I say there certainly have been people who provided me with awahi and stuff like that. I mean Pio Jacobs would be one, Nau Epiha would be another and Naida. You know, the woman who employed me at the Regional Authority, and as I said I did the work that I needed to do in the scope of that project, but she also recognised that there was value in the other things that I wanted to do as well. She had wanted to employ a Māori person for those reasons and so she did and she wanted me to fly with some of the things that I wanted to go with. She certainly supported the pōwhiri and stuff it would never have gone through without her. Yeah, and meeting up with the other Māori at the regional authority and forming those friendships and stuff.

I was also very close to my grandmother. I used to spend a lot of time with her. We had some kind of bond or connection as well. I mean there's the sort of thing you get I think from having being around your elders a lot. I mean I never went through that period of being disrespectful and that teenage angst of wanting to disrespect elders and pretending that you haven't got parents and all that kind of thing. I really fought that one because I didn't think that was right. So yeah my grandmother was always important and you know I could see a lot of difficulties in her life. She had grown up in the North, but at a time when it was

believed that to survive you needed to be as Pākehā as possible and learn Pākehā ways. So she had all of those kinds of contradictions in her. She'd been brought up in native speaking families and she'd gone to boarding school when she was about twelve or something to learn to be Pākehā in Auckland. Her mother had died while she was in Auckland and she'd actually dreamt about that too. She'd had matakite my grandmother and she'd written the whole dream down in a letter and sent it home to her aunt who lived at home and described what had happened and everything. My aunt wrote back and said your mother's fine and everything's okay and about a month or so later it all happened as her dream had told so she went back home.

I'd grown up with the stories from our grandmother she always used tell us stories. Bedtime stories were always about the family and stuff like that. So we had that passing down of stories and histories and all that kind of thing, but she had those contradictions about being Māori and that we must be the good ones you know because Māori were bad. Society told you Māori was bad, but being Pākehā was good. She loved her family and who she was and all those sorts of things, but there was always that real contradiction. Then as my sister and I became stronger and more proud of being Māori she changed as well.

She'd taught us waiata and things when we were younger. I remember one day we were just sitting there and she started coming out with fluent reo and using idioms. I wish I'd written them down because they were kind of local idioms and words and she said, "Oh well that's what my mother used to call them." You know so it was all still there, but life had done certain things to her, but it was good that she became proud of who we were as Māori. She'd had some difficulties about being Māori because of what she'd been brought up being told.

I think supporting people to go forward is part of leadership and it's about people going out and flying. I mean you see people turn on each other and fight and I think it's so easy to do in this society. There are so many battles out there but sometimes we create our own internal battles. It's about trying not to buy into that and it's about keeping your eyes on where you want to go and not creating forms of leadership or creating organisations or nurturing organisations that aren't actually nurturing for people.

I think you see that in health where people are talking about health and it's some kind of inspirational goal, the wellbeing of Māori people. Yet they don't treat the people next to

them like that and I think that's all part of that colonisation. I mean one, nobody's ever going to agree on everything and that shouldn't be a problem, but we're told it's a problem. I mean part of that I think is it's easier to pick a fight with the person next to you when you're in battle mode, which is what happens often when you're colonised. But then the other thing is that we need to solve this idea that somehow we're supposed to be unanimous on things and that it's not okay to have different opinions. The government line will push that and you hear racist comments like, "Oh but Māori are fighting amongst themselves." So the whole society pitches that and conceptualises that as a problem, which further reinforces it. As opposed to well it doesn't matter if we disagree it's where we go and what we do with that that matters. We're allowed to disagree that's fine you know it can even be a real positive thing. Why should we all have the same ideas and opinions? It's how you deal with that and how you behave with that and how you move forward that's important, but we're told that it's a problem to have different opinions, and so you buy into battle mode and then you do have problems.

There are theories the spill over theory for example. When you experience violence, racism, or oppression that spills over into your life and it leads to that process of fighting horizontally as opposed to strategically and structurally. Some models of leadership actually find that acceptable. You know, the kind of aggressive dominant styles of leadership of people who are big, strong, and tough and who pull people along regardless of whether everybody's buying into or not and which promote that stuff. For me it's about recognising the leadership in everybody. Everybody's expert in some way and in some field and as I say mothers are leaders. You look at the marae and what people are doing on marae and they'd never think of themselves as leaders. You know it's like drawing people in and playing a role in that and having a vision of where you're going that hopefully keeps moving forward.

I was also struck with these issues over the tangi with Te Arikiniui. I was watching the news footage from the tangi and it was all framed like, "Oh that's just what you do." And that kind of thing and yet it was huge! I mean just the logistics of the tangi were amazing! They interviewed people in the kitchens and the people would talk the same way. They'd say, "Oh how many people?" And then they'd really downplay it and say, "Oh it's just what we do." All the discourse that people used was like this and I thought you know there were these amazing logistical things that are happening and yet the whole media bought into it as well. They never kind of played up what it meant to be hosting and holding something like that.

They presented it in the same way. It wasn't a skill it was just this kind of natural thing so they didn't see it as skill. They didn't see it as involving a whole lot of planning and strategy. It was just, "Oh you know this is what Māori's do." And that kind of thing you know they just go and feed people and it's a really basic kind of skill if a skill at all.

Yet if you take something like the commonwealth games they are forever talking about the logistics of it and how well they did or didn't do and how they measured up and all that kind of stuff. You know, but for the tangi the media really bought into that way of looking at it. They never mentioned how they did despite the fact that they catered for thousands. It was just sort of fairly pedestrian, just ordinary. It didn't really require any skill. It's just what you learn when you're three years old or something, so the media really promoted that view too. This was on the TVNZ news and most of its racist. Not Māori news, just TVNZ news.

I haven't talked much about my family really. I just have one sister and she's in health. She does some work here and she works on the Kupu Taea media project and she's with He Kamaka Oranga. For my daughter it's about being who I want her to see as well. I mean, it's like my mother wanting for us not be like her in some ways she wanted us to be stronger and stropier. I guess for my daughter I wanted her to see a positive role model. I'm a bit iffy about that sort of language, but you know I want to ensure that she sees the strength of women in her life as well because I mean my mother was a very strong person. You know she was trampled by my father, but she still withstood all of that and as I say she tried to give things to us like strength. So the core of her was never trampled down and my grandmother was a very stroppy woman. You could see how life had treated them, but they still had that inner strength and determination and that kind of toughness or something to stick to certain things I think. So I guess that's about carrying that on as well and carrying that on for my daughter, she's stroppy.

I te tūmatatanga



...In the beginning

Rangi and Papa

Children abundant

Embrace unending

Protection

and warmth

Confinement

and darkness

They spoke

They planned

“Separation!”

They cried

Space and light

In the beginning..

Te Wāhanga Tuatahi - He Tīmatatanga:

Chapter One - An Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a background for understanding how Māori women's roles in the Māori community have altered over time due to the impacts of societal, historical and environmental change. I review how their roles were viewed in a traditional context and how they changed as a result of colonisation. I highlight the diverse ways in which Māori women's roles as leaders have evolved over time and how Māori women have long held roles of power, authority and leadership regardless of colonisation. I acknowledge some of the many achievements and contributions Māori women have made to the Māori community, which often go unrecognised. To summarise, I discuss why this study focused on Māori women leaders and why it was necessary to share their stories and their experiences in relation to their roles as leaders in the Māori community.

We need to actively honour, to celebrate the contributions, and affirm the mana of Māori women: those tīpuna wāhine who have gone before us; those wāhine toa who give strength to our culture and people today; and those kōtiro and mokoopuna who are being born now, and who will be born in the future, to fulfill our dreams. These words restate a basic tenet of feminist theory: that as women we have a right to our herstories (Irwin, 1992, p. 1).

Ngā wāhine o neherā: traditional Māori women

Within a traditional Māori view of the world there was balance between the male and female roles...While it is evident in cosmologies that women had an essential part to play in the formation of humankind, the male element was just as important to complete the balance (Ruwhiu, 2009, p. 19).

Māori women's roles within traditional Māori communities are best understood by analysing the nature of the roles in the context of the traditional Māori narratives, which informed Māori ways of being. To this end, Jahnke (1997) stated that 'the cosmological narratives offer some insights into the nature of gender relations in customary Māori society and reveal how these

relations were embedded in cultural values, attitudes and practises' (p. 27). Therefore, in the process of analysing traditional narratives one can explore how Māori understood their social and physical relationships and interpreted their inherent spirituality. Jahnke (1997) further stated that Māori women were described in traditional narratives as 'powerful, autonomous, independent bearers of knowledge' (p. 28). Metge (1976) and Diamond (1999) highlighted creation stories exemplified the traditional balance between men and women in Māori communities. Consequently, as they have suggested by exploring the content and nature of these stories it is possible to gain an understanding of how Māori women were viewed within traditional Māori communities.

Māori women were central figures to Māori creation stories within traditional narratives. This was evident in the role of Papatūānuku as the earth mother, and the many female Gods prevalent within these stories. Māori women's roles within traditional creation stories provided the basis from which their roles within the Māori community were understood. For example, Māori women were likened to *te whare tangata* (*the house of mankind*) and to the nourishment and care provided by Papatūānuku in their roles as mothers and the primary care givers of *tamariki* (*children*) (Mikaere, 1994). This relationship between Papatūānuku and women was highlighted in the *whakataukī*, *ko te ūkaipō te whenua ko te whenua te ūkaipō* (*the land is our breast milk and that which gives us sustenance is the land*) (Harawira, 2007). These roles of Māori women as primal figures and central to the development, protection and growth of Māori communities were integral to traditional Māori communities. They were held in positions of honour as their roles as bearers for future generations and were recognized as powerful spiritual beings in traditional narratives. Mikaere (1994) suggested that Māori women's roles sustained the balance required in Māori communities to ensure harmony among the people.

Understanding Māori women's roles in traditional society can be also be done by reviewing the nature of the most important social structures in Māori communities, *whānau* (*family*), *hapū* (*sub-tribe*) and *iwi* (*tribe*). In the context of *whānau* traditions the balance between *kuia* (*female elder, grandmother, grandaunt*) and *koroua* (*male elder, grandfather, granduncle*) were complimentary and their roles were also essential to the maintenance of harmony in the context of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* structures. In addition, 'they were the storehouses of knowledge, the minders and mentors of children' (Walker, 2004, p. 64). Although Winiata

(1967) espoused that the process of primogeniture ³ in traditional Māori communities was passed down the lines of first born males, Binney and Chaplin (1990) contradicted these claims and highlighted that women inherited status and land regardless of gender.

...women of rank transferred their rank to their children...In Māori society lines of descent and birthrights acquired within the hapū may be traced through men or women, and there have been many women whose rank has outweighed that of their husbands. From them their children will derive their elevated status... If she lived with her husband's people, probably at least one of their children would be sent as a whāngai to be brought up by her parents. In this manner the 'hearth was kept warm and her lineage maintained...Rank was no more a prerogative of males than tapu, and for female chiefs and tohunga rank transcended gender (p. 25).

Pere (1988) also supported the notion that Māori families were founded on the basis of harmony and balance between men and women, which was maintained to ensure the protection of women and children from assault or trauma. The consequence of such incidences as assault or trauma committed on women or children could lead to severe punishment. Māori women were essential to traditional Māori communities in order to maintain a balance within whānau. They were well protected within their communities and were charged with the responsibility of ensuring the wellbeing, safety and survival of their own whakapapa (*genealogy*) and of the children in the wider hapū and iwi context.

Māori women's roles in traditional society can be further understood by analysing how Māori women were described using te reo Māori (*Māori language*). Mikaere (1994) acknowledged that the 'gender-neutral' use of personal and possessive pronouns in te reo Māori for both sexes and the use of gender-neutral language provided additional evidence of the traditional balance between Māori women and Māori men. Moreover, Jahnke (1997) emphasised the complimentary and reciprocal relationships in a traditional Māori context when she described the 'non-sexist nature of the Māori language' and the way that male and female partners are both referred to as '*tāku hoa rangatira* my executive partner' (p. 28). Mikaere (2003) goes on to discuss how Māori women were considered 'tapu' (*sacred*) because of their roles as 'bearers of future generations'. Therefore, the state of tapu maintained by Māori women due to their roles in childbirth and the continuation of future generations enabled them to move between the limitations and sacred space of tapu and back into the state of noa (*to be free*

³ Primogeniture was the practise in families in which first born children inherited land and title on the passing of their parents.

from the restrictions of tapu) because of their roles as child bearers. This was evident in the manner in which Māori women can move people into a state of tapu during pōwhiri (*formal welcome*) with the use of karanga (*welcoming call*) and then progress them into a state of noa in the role of kaikaranga (*callers*). This role was also highlighted in the manner in which wāhine (*women*) held titles in their roles as rangatira and tohunga (*skilled person, chosen expert, priest*) (Best, 1934; Binney and Chaplin, 1990).

By looking at the traditional practises of Māori society it is evident that the maintenance of gender balance and harmony between the sexes provided the optimal environment for childhood growth and development. Gender balance was evident in traditional Māori society and illustrated in traditional narratives, the structure of whānau, day to day functions and ceremonial and sacred events within Māori communities. This balance was seen in the complimentary roles within whānau of kuia and koroua and the sharing of responsibility on marae (*courtyard or space in traditional Māori houses where formal welcomes take place*) between wāhine and tāne (*men*) (Walker, 2004). Gender balance was further illustrated in how men and women play complimentary roles in pōwhiri in the kuia and koroua responsibilities in karanga (*welcoming call*) and whaikōrero (*oratory, oration, formal speech-making*). Gender balance was evident in the catering of kai and the way wāhine and tāne work together in wharekai (*food hall, dining room*) to host their manuhiri (*visitors*) with an aim to manāki manuhiri (*care for visitors*).

Māori women's roles in traditional Māori communities were held in high esteem, particularly in their roles as whaea (*aunties, mothers*), kuia, rangatira (*chiefs, leaders*) and as tohunga. Māori women were embedded in a tradition which saw their roles work in harmony with regard to raising younger generations and they were honoured in their roles as bearers for future generations. Most importantly, they were recognised as powerfully independent in the interpretations of traditional Māori narratives, and in all of their traditional roles they were viewed as essential to the development of Māori communities. In summary, Māori women have grown out of a traditional society, which regarded them as powerful, authoritative and independent.

Te awe o tauwi ki ngā wāhine Māori: European influence on Māori women

For Māori women and girls, the disestablishment of their own power-bases both historically and contemporarily, can be directly linked back to colonial rule. Pākehā men dealt with Māori men. The roles proffered for Māori women were mainly those of servitude, as either maidservants for Pākehā households or "good wives and mothers" for Māori men (Johnstone & Pihama, 1994, p. 12).

The most significant impact which led to change in the traditional roles of Māori women in Māori communities occurred with the arrival and contact of early European settlers in Aotearoa (Jenkins & Mathews, 1998; Johnstone & Pihama, 1994). It was the influence of the colonial view that women were inferior to men that severely damaged the tradition of balance and harmony between men and women in Māori communities. Reflecting on this history was equally important as understanding the tradition of balance in Māori communities. Colonisation not only affected the historical gender balance in Māori communities it also led to poor socio-economic and health disparities among Māori women (Mikaere, 2003; Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2008; Te Hoe Nuku Roa, 2006). This was primarily due to the loss of land during the New Zealand land wars, which led to low socio-economic lifestyles and an increase in health disparities. As a consequence, these disparities continue to grow and have impacted severely on the health and wellbeing of Māori women across many generations of Māori communities (Wilson, 2004).

The process of imbalance and disparity began with colonial contact in Aotearoa in the early 1800s. The primary objective during the early period of colonisation was to assimilate Māori people with their British culture (Belich, 2001; Jenkins & Mathews, 1998; Simons, 1998). This process of assimilation was based on the assumption that Māori were a 'savage' people in need of being 'civilised' (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1997, p. 33). Early colonial views that Māori were not human became a means for 'justifying colonisation' and the subsequent process of assimilation (Naylor, 2006, p. 13).

Assimilation was achieved in a number of ways by the British government. First, it began with missionaries who introduced Māori to Christianity with the aim of civilising the people. Māori engagement with Christianity led to the conversion of 'whole tribes', which significantly eroded Māori cultural practises (Naylor, 2006, p. 16). Second, subjugation of te

reo Māori me ōna tikanga during the early 1800s was followed by the introduction of a series of legislation including the 1867 Native Schools Act, which aimed at reducing the use of te reo Māori in schools and promoting English (Naylor, 2006; Simon & Tuhiwai-Smith, 2001). Third, the introduction of the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act was described by Durie (2005) as ‘the greatest blow to the organisation of Māori to knowledge and understanding’ (p. 51). This Act was developed to stop tohunga from practising traditional forms of healing. Fourth, loss of land and the warfare during the land wars increased poverty and disparity, and further subjugated Māori communities (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). As Walker (1990) stated this occurred when:

The critical steps in the subjection of the Māori and the expropriation of their resources were taken by Governor Grey. First he introduced aggressive land-buying policy to extinguish native title by fair purchase. His purchase of the whole of the South Island, by 1858, and substantive areas in the North Island, allowed settlers to flood in, outnumber the Māori, and dominate them politically when representative government was established in 1854. The exclusion of Māori from the General Assembly by a franchise based on individual property, when most Māori land was in tribal ownership, allowed Parliament to pass laws to the detriment of the Māori without a dissenting voice being raised. These measures included making war on Wiremu Kingi in Taranaki to settle civil dispute, extending the war to Waikato, and passing the New Zealand Settlements Act of 1863 to confiscate 3 million acres of Māori land for Pākehā settlers (p. 38).

Fifth, Jenkins and Mathews (1998) argued that the ‘political socialisation of Māori women in New Zealand’ was encouraged by the introduction of the Native Schools Act, which led to the assimilation of Māori women into European culture across generations (p. 85). Although assimilation, aided by legislation, brought about sustained change, the subjugation of women and children occurred earlier in the conversion of Māori to Christianity. In addition, the introduction of colonial beliefs regarding the roles of women as housewives reinforced the suppression of Māori women as ‘domestic servants’ (Johnstone & Pihama, 1994, p. 12). Moreover, early colonial portrayals of Māori and Polynesian women were highly sexualised and aimed to fuel the desire of colonial immigrants to journey out to the Pacific (O’Brien, 2006). Stereotypic images of Māori and Pacific women as ‘exotic’ began with early colonial contact and they persist today (O’Brien, p. 3). One of the most significant consequences of the sexualisation of Māori women was the high rise in prostitution in Māori communities in the port side areas of Aotearoa. This occurred predominantly in Northland area and when sailors came ashore they were able to fulfil their sexual desires by gaining access to Māori

women, young Māori boys and at times young Māori girls (Eldred-Grigg, 1984; Jordan, 2010; King, 2004).

The consequence of these assimilation processes was in the ‘institutional and individual racism’ described by Te Awekotuku (1991, p. 11). The loss of land for Māori has led not only to historical dispossession it has led to low socio-economic and health outcomes across generations of Māori communities (Wilson, 2004). Tuhiwai-Smith (1997) argued that a further consequence of colonisation was the omission of Māori women from ‘historical discourses’ (p. 34).

Māori women suffered severe consequences to their roles, health and general wellbeing during this period. Yet they were still able to maintain roles of leadership and authority within their whānau, hapū and iwi up until the late 1980s (Binney, 1989). During the period 1830-1980 some of the most brilliant and dynamic female leaders within the Māori community were evident. For example, two of the most influential women in the Māori community were Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikāhu, the Māori Queen, and her tīpuna (*ancestor*) Te Puea Herangi. Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikāhu has been longest serving Arikinui in the history of the Kīngitanga (*The Māori King Movement*). She was the essence of Māori leadership in the Māori community and was the ultimate example of how primogeniture continues in Māori communities regardless of gender.

Te Puea Herangi was another member of the Kīngitanga. She is widely known as Princess Te Puea. Te Puea was encouraged by her whānau, hapū and iwi leaders to utilise the leadership qualities she possessed to support the Kīngitanga movement. She aimed to restore Tainui (*Māori tribe in the Waikato region*) tikanga (*custom, lore*) and marae protocol. She nursed many of her people during the 1913 smallpox epidemic without medical support and with minimal supplies (King, 2003). She was a significant leader in the ongoing organisation of major hui in Waikato and maintained roles of leadership in Māori and Pākehā (*New Zealander of European descent*) forums. She re-inspired the Pai Marire faith (*a Māori/Christian faith developed by Te Ua Haumēne*) holding a spiritual leadership role within her community (King). Te Awekotuku (1991) discussed the combined aspects of Te Puea’s work in the community and described how she ‘set an astonishing example’ of mana (*prestige, authority, control, power, influence, spiritual power, status, charisma*) wāhine Māori (Māori women).

Another public figure and significant influential leader among Māori women was Dame Whina Cooper. Dame Whina was an important leader in movements such as the Māori Women's Welfare League. The Māori Women's Welfare League was developed primarily as a response to the need to develop gender-based interventions for Māori communities and remains one of the most dynamic Māori women's movements in Aotearoa (Dominy, 1990). Dame Whina was renowned for her instigation of the historical Māori land march in 1975. This peaceful protest created a powerful movement, which impacted on Aotearoa in two major aspects. First, it brought to the nations awareness the affects of Māori land loss on Māori communities. Second, it united Māori nationwide in a common cause to see the return and retention of Māori land (King, 1991).

Māori women in the Waimakariri area provide further examples of leadership. These women were responsible for maintaining te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (*Māori language and customs*) within their community (Wood, 1993). The most significant process in the early rejuvenation of te reo Māori was the inception of the kōhanga reo (*Māori language nests for preschool children*) movement during the early 1980s. This movement promoted the teaching of te reo Māori to children by locally based iwi kaumatua (*elders*). Tuhiwai-Smith (1990) noted that Māori women played a fundamental role in the development, maintenance and provision of kōhanga reo. The Kōhanga Reo Movement then led to the development of a formalised kaupapa Māori based educational environment and instigated the development of kura kaupapa Māori (*total immersion Māori language schools*). Te Awekotuku (1991) stated that the 'rejuvenation' of te reo Māori during the 1970s with such initiatives as the Kōhanga Reo Movement was a 'reassertion' of mana wāhine and the power and knowledge held by Māori women. Each of these examples demonstrates how Māori women have maintained influential and strong leadership roles in public forums and within their immediate whānau, hapū and iwi.

Māori women played important roles during times of war and committed heroic deeds for their people and for Pākehā living within their communities. Two notable figures were discussed by Cowan (1935), Ahumai Te Paerata and Julie Matenga. Ahumai Te Paerata was renowned for her involvement during the Māori land wars and her commitment to supporting Māori men throughout these wars and Julie Matenga was renowned for her bravery in helping to assist in the salvage of the ship wrecked Delaware in 1863.

Despite holding these strong leadership roles Māori women have been significantly disadvantaged by the process of colonisation and as Johnstone and Pihama (1994) noted they have been greatly marginalised as a result. Yet they have established powerful and highly influential leadership roles within their communities and their roles have continued to influence women's movements and the Māori community for many generations. Māori women hold roles as teachers, health professionals, lawyers, ministers and elders. They often work specifically with Māori, but at times are sought out by Māori in their communities because of their roles as community leaders (Johnstone, 2008). They work as community leaders in public roles or as political leaders and in private forums with whānau or as professional leaders. Many of these women unintentionally find themselves in leadership roles within their community and evidence suggests that Māori women were encouraged by whānau, hapū and iwi to uphold, pursue or ensure that strong leadership roles were maintained within their communities (Binney & Chaplin, 1990; King, 1991, 2003). For example, Whina Cooper and Te Puea Herangi were strongly encouraged by their whānau to enter roles of leadership in the Māori community (King). Te Puea was a clear example of someone who exhibited signs of leadership from an early age and was supported by her kaumatua and whānau to assume a leadership role within her hapū and iwi. Although the nature of colonisation on the role of Māori women was hugely destructive, Māori women were still able to provide leadership roles for Māori communities and these roles have been crucial to Māori growth and development. As a result, it was important within this study to highlight how their life experiences influenced their roles as leaders for Māori communities.

Ngā wāhine rangatira o tenei wā: contemporary Māori women leaders

Ki te kahore he whakakitenga ka ngāro te iwi (without foresight or vision the people will be lost).

Many contemporary Māori women have led Māori communities in diverse ways and have been involved with enhancing their wellbeing (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 1998). The most current prominent female leader is the co-leader of the Māori Party, Hon. Minister Tariana Turia. Minister Turia has worked in a public and private capacity primarily towards developing and enhancing Māori wellbeing within her own local community for

many years. She is now a representative for Māori nationally as the co-leader of the Māori Party. Minister Turia was recognised as a national leader for Māori and she is credited for her work on an international scale. This was evident by her involvement with the Healing Our Spirits Worldwide Conference in 2010 when she was publicly acknowledged by kaumatua as the most influential current leader for Māori in Aotearoa. Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith has long promoted kaupapa Māori research and ‘by Māori for Māori’ approaches to research and was heavily involved in increasing the numbers of Māori academics during the 1990s (B Woolford-Roa, personal communication, 12 September 2009).

Many Māori women have worked within Māori health services nationally with an aim to promote healthier lifestyles and culturally appropriate services for Māori. For example, Associate Professor Papārangi Reid has done this in her role as the Tumuaki of Māori health at the University of Auckland as has Naida Glavish as a senior tikanga advisor to the Auckland District Health Board and the acting general manager of Māori health services. Morrison-Ngātai (2004) noted that Māori women have been strong leaders within the nursing professions. Māori women have progressed as leaders within the Justice and Corrections systems. They have worked for a number of years as lawyers on behalf of Māori communities within the Justice system in Waitangi tribunal claims, judiciary positions and in criminal law (A Sykes, personal communication, 15 July 2010; C Fox, personal communication, 21st September 2010).

Contemporary leaders have worked largely on a voluntary basis to support the growth and development of Māori on a local community level. The Ministry of Women’s Affairs (2011) noted Māori women spend more time caring for others in their household and do more voluntary and community work than women from other ethnic groups. This work has served to promote te reo Māori and the Māori Women’s Welfare League for many years now. Contemporary leaders include such people as Dame Mira Szászy who was acknowledged as one of the ‘most outstanding Māori women leaders of the 20th Century’ for her work in promoting better outcomes for Māori (University of Auckland Business School, 2010). Eva Rickard worked voluntarily for many years promoting te reo Māori and fought for land retention within her rohe (*iwi boundary*). Eva was a well acknowledged, respected and admired leader within the Māori community and will continue to be for many generations to come (B Woolford-Roa, personal communication, 12 September, 2009).

Māori women have worked as advocates for the ongoing development of Māori performing arts, Māori contemporary and traditional art and Māori literature, woman such as Merata Mita a highly acclaimed film-maker (Millar, 2010). Ngahuia Te Awekotuku has been involved in the field of literature, art, and history for many years (Te Awekotuku, 2003; 2007). Robyn Kahukiwa has been a champion for Māori women through her inspiring artwork (Kahukiwa & Grace, 1984). Māori women have been strong representatives within the television and radio media with women, such as Tini Molyneux who was the long standing face of Te Karere the Māori news programme. In summary, Māori women have made major contributions in diverse forums, which have supported Māori community development in roles which they continue to uphold in Māori communities today.

Ngā wāhine Māori i roto i te ao hurihuri: Māori women in the changing world

The autonomy of Māori women can be traced as far back as the Māori creation stories. Papatuānuku, the Great Earth Mother, gifted to iwi the power of birth and rebirth, and her existence remains of great significance...Women and land are regarded as having a symbiotic relationship, both providing nourishment to mankind (Kupenga, Rata & Nepe, 1990, p. 8)

Māori women's roles in historical and contemporary society have long been debated. For example, Te Awekotuku (1991) stated that Māori women suffered from dual patriarchal systems prior to, and post, colonisation, evident by the lack of Māori women's rights to speak on a marae. Power (2002) also highlighted that indigenous women's voices have been historically 'silenced', which has helped to sustain their omission from public view. Johnstone's (2005) statement that 'whakapapa, not gender, was the most important factor in organizing Māori pre-colonial society, and that a person's value and role in Māori society were primarily determined by whakapapa and by his or her place in the whānau' (p. 37) highlighted the diverse nature and interpretations of Māori women's roles in Aotearoa. These discussions demonstrated the growing need for research, which explores how Māori women have continued to sustain roles of leadership regardless of a history that aimed to silence and oppress them. Furthermore, they reinforce why I aimed explore the experiences of Māori women leaders and why it became increasingly important to establish how their roles in Māori communities existed within such a contrasting and dynamic history.

As noted previously, Mikaere (2003) noted how traditional Māori societies were founded on a balance between male and female roles and that expectations continued to exist in conjunction with colonisation. Mikaere claimed this was evident in the oral histories in Māori communities, which were sustained within pūrākau (*ancient stories*), waiata (*song*), haka (*war dance*) and whakataukī. These narratives championed the strength and mana of wāhine Māori. The importance of these stories was acknowledged by Kahukiwa and Grace (1984) and Te Awekotuku (2003) who both illustrated and re-wrote many of the traditional Māori narratives of traditional female entities from a contemporary perspective.

The diverse nature of Māori communities' pre and post colonisation identified the importance of recognising the subjective interpretations of how Māori women view their world, which are steeped in the context of social, historical, cultural and political environments. Due to this history it is important to provide as many opportunities for Māori women to tell their own stories as possible. Māori women's stories are often untold, and I believe there are a number of reasons why this is the case.

First, while many Māori women want to engage in sharing and telling their stories they are often not given opportunities to do so in research, and as a result Māori women's experiences can be lost due to the 'focus on men and women simultaneously' (Palmer & Masters, 2010, p. 333). Many women also work fulltime within the Aotearoa workforce while maintaining their roles as primary caregivers for their children (Cunningham, Stevenson, Fitzgerald & Rolls, 2006). Alternatively, the Ministry of Women's Affairs (2012) noted that they are highly involved in community and voluntary work, and these demands on their time and energy limit their opportunities to engage in sharing their stories.

Second, when examples of Māori women and Māori culture have been shared in academic forums they have been compared to the themes of domestic violence popularised by the movie *Once Were Warriors* (K Maxwell Crawford, personal communication, 2009)⁴. Alternatively, their experiences have been condoned as feminist rhetoric or viewed as another outlet by which 'moaning Māori'⁵ can rave about the prejudice of colonisation and political

⁴Kirsty provided the example of when Māori culture was a topic in her class the video *Once Were Warriors* was played as the basis for these discussions, in her story in this study. I had a similar experience in which I was informed that this video was used internationally to teach cultural differences in the context of therapy.

⁵The first time I had ever heard this characterisation of Māori was by my lecturer during a psychology lecture. It was spoken so quickly I thought I had imagined it because no-one else jerked in response to the comment; everyone seemed to accept it as a truth. I knew I was the only Māori in the class, but never more so than at that time.

injustice. When placed in these positions of subjugation and judgment it is easy to engage in Cannon's renowned fight or flight stress response system (Dienstbier, 1989). Based on these experiences I decided to work toward developing opportunities, which allowed Māori women time and space to share their stories from their perspectives, using their voices and their words. There has been a need to celebrate the power and history of Māori women and develop opportunities to explore how Māori women's roles were viewed in traditional society and how they have continued to grow and develop within today's society.

This thesis gave me the opportunity to explore life experiences of some of the current leaders within Māori communities to enhance our understanding of how their life experiences influenced their growth as leaders. I believed that this research would provide a context for understanding how their physical, social and historical environments have contributed and shaped their development both personally and as leaders. This research was a way of acknowledging the potential and ability of Māori women to continue working toward ensuring the betterment and wellbeing of the Māori community, particularly as they appeared to do this regardless of difficulty, and often in environments and among people who sought to dissuade them.

More recently, Māori have begun sharing stories based on subjective experience in the process of research. For example, Pihama's (2001) doctoral research, *Tīhei Mauri Ora: Honouring Our Voices: Mana Wāhine as a Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Framework*, aimed to honour the voice of Māori women in the context of kaupapa Māori research. Mahuika (1973) provided a comprehensive view of the Māori women leaders within the Ngāti Porou iwi. Morrison-Ngatai (2004) conducted her master's thesis on the roles of Māori women in the field of nursing. Te Awekotuku has written prolifically on the constructs of mana wāhine Māori (1991). Mikaere (2003) provided a historical analysis of the balance between wāhine and tane, and discussed how this balance has been destroyed as a consequence of the colonisation process. Although these works investigated the historical and contemporary constructs of Māori women in leadership roles within families, tribes and the wider Māori community. This study was an opportunity to provide a space for diverse leaders in Māori communities to share their life stories and experiences in the context of research and in relation to their roles as leaders for Māori. It was an opportunity to highlight the importance of their roles in Māori communities particularly with regard to its growth and development. Research regarding Māori women's subjective interpretations of experience continues to

grow, yet this was the first study in which diverse leaders amongst women in Māori communities was conducted based on the sharing of their life experiences. Māori women's stories were inherently important to understanding the nature of their roles and their influence on Māori communities. Therefore, it was important to capture the stories of these women during a time when the Māori community was growing and was becoming increasingly more globalised.

Finally, this study was important because it identified ways to encourage *kōtiro* (*young Māori girls*) to aspire to leadership roles for Māori based on these examples of traditional and contemporary leadership. More specifically, it was important to identify ways in which these women's experiences can shape new leaders for the future based on their experiences. To this end, in the process of capturing these stories and highlighting the potential within Māori communities I aimed to utilise their stories to nurture this potential within future generations of young Māori and indigenous peoples.

He kupu whakamutunga: concluding summary

Traditionally Māori women were at the crux of Māori community wellbeing and development. They have continued to maintain powerful roles in Māori communities' as dynamic and public leaders and privately as mothers, aunties, sisters, cousins and grandmothers. They have survived the impacts of colonisation and regardless of these impacts many women have continued to lead Māori communities throughout Māori history. These leadership qualities have given strength to Māori communities during times of duress and sustained those who continue to lead today. This issue is important for younger Māori generations as it is essential that they have access to and can learn from the traditional leadership qualities, which have been carried by *tīpuna* and passed down through generations. The following chapter discusses the traditions of Māori leadership and how these traditions have evolved over time.

He teetee kura



Koo ngaa rangatira

maa e tu ake nei

Hei awhi

Hei manaaki

Hei oranga

moo taatou

Koo ngaa arikinui

Kaa whakamanawa e

Kauanuanu

Toitoi manawa

Te wana te ihi

Maaa tatou

Maa maatou

Maa koutou

katoa...

Te Wāhanga Tuarua – Rangatiratanga ki roto i te ao Māori: Chapter Two – Leadership in the Māori world

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an outline of traditional Māori leadership values and to identify how these values influenced contemporary leaders and theories of leadership. To achieve this, I discuss the beliefs upheld within Māori communities regarding arikitanga as a traditional form of leadership as based on birthright, as well as the process of acquired leadership. I examine how contemporary understandings of rangatiratanga influenced leadership within Māori society. Finally, this chapter summarises how the structures of leadership and Māori women's roles, as leaders in Māori communities have adapted and changed in the context of an ever evolving society.

The children participated in kaumatua (elders) councils. Both men and women were of chiefly status. Children were trained to do the varied roles of adulthood – warriors, judges, food producers, artists, builders and caregivers (Jenkins & Mountain Harte, 2011, pg, xiii)

Te Arikitanga: paramount authority

Arikitanga is the supreme power or status that can be achievable in the Māori world. There are three important aspects to this power: the power of the Gods; chiefly lineage; and territorial possession, advantage and control. A person who possesses these attributes is known as an ariki. The only greater power is that possessed by the Gods. An ariki is the paramount chief who has the respect and allegiance of his or her subjects as he or she leads and directs people (Barlow, 1996, p. 6).

A whakataukī often recited by Māori, *E kore au e ngāro he kākano ahau i ruia mai i Rangiātea (I will never be lost for I am a seed from Rangiātea)*, acknowledged how Māori recognised their descent from Rangiātea (*the uppermost heaven*). It depicted how Māori can 'trace our whakapapa back to the beginning of time' (Mahuika, 2008, p. 4). The whakataukī

recognised what Barlow (1996) described as a Māori authority, which has been maintained within the philosophies and practises of arikitanga (*paramount chief*). According to Barlow arikitanga is an authority held by both men and women, which illustrated the traditional notions of balance within Māori communities. Barlow suggested Māori communities should refrain from using the term rangatiratanga as it was invented by European settlers in the process of developing Te Tiriti o Waitangi, suggesting instead a return to the original definition. Ariki is also a gender neutral term that can refer to both men and women.

Using whakapapa as a means for determining leadership roles based on arikitanga was traditionally embedded in the societal structure of Māori communities and was based on the inheritance of ariki (*paramount chief*) status. Ariki were required to step into roles of leadership, which required them to practise as guardians of marae tikanga (Winiata, 1967; Ka'ai, 2005). They were expected to be available to the community during major whānau, hapū and iwi events, such as tangihanga, births, and celebrations, and were often called upon during times of difficulty and distress for whānau. Walker (2004) described how whānau grew into hapū as a consequence of the growth of individual male or female leaders within whānau, who were able to strategically develop land. These individuals could protect and manage their whānau with diplomacy and skill and their aptitudes for these skills often led to the naming of various hapū after such leaders. This process was highlighted in the naming of the iwi of Ngāpuhi (*a Northland based tribal group*) after three exemplary female ariki Puhikaiairiki, Puhimoanariki and Puhitaniwharau. Ngāpuhi received its name from these three puhi (*women of high rank*) and is now the largest iwi in Aotearoa (Tau, 2010). These elements of traditional leadership continued to influence the roles of leadership within the Māori community, although traditional forms of Māori leadership were affected by colonisation, particularly in relation to ariki status for Māori women. Māori women sustained strong roles of leadership in Māori communities regardless of colonisation (Te Awekotuku, 1991).

Winiata (1967) stated that leadership within Māori communities existed not only in direct relationship with whakapapa and genealogical connections, but could be acquired as a consequence of a person's individual ability to enter roles of leadership. Whakapapa was how Māori recognised their ancestral links to whānau, hapū and iwi and identified links which connected and bonded them to whenua (*land*). It was through these lines that inherited leadership was passed down from generation to generation. A further form of leadership

came from kuia and koroua within the whānau, hapū and iwi. Elders in the Māori community sustained immense responsibilities within their whānau, especially with regard to teaching and nurturing children. As a consequence, it was their responsibility to ensure that traditional knowledge was passed down from their generations and was transferred through to the younger generations.

Acquired leadership was received when one could demonstrate a talent for ensuring the betterment of whānau, hapū and iwi and were able meet the needs of the people on this basis (Winiata, 1967). These leaders were able to engage with their communities in a manner which inspired commitment, faith and following from within their respective whānau, hapū and iwi.

These principles of traditional leadership provided the basis from which leadership in the Māori community was developed. Essentially, leaders were identified based on ancestral ties and their roles were sustained by the inherited status passed down across generations. This status could either grow depending on the skill of individual ariki, but in some situations it could transfer as consequence of the process of acquired leadership. Acquired leadership existed when individuals without ariki status exhibited qualities that would enhance their communities and could ensure future growth, development and wellbeing for their respective whānau, hapū and iwi (Katene, 2010; Te Momo, 2011). Although arikitanga was the primary conduit for leadership in traditional Māori communities, if an ariki was unable to work in the best interest of whānau alternative leaders were identified to expand and grow their community. These acquired leaders received the same status and responsibility as those who inherited leadership.

The traditional methods for sustaining leadership structures within Māori communities continued in contemporary Māori society. This was evident in the way that ariki within iwi held roles as guardians of tikanga, and in the way these leadership roles were encouraged and sustained throughout successive generations. An example of this practise can be seen in the sustainment of an ariki within the Kīngitanga, within the Māori community, which has been sustained on the basis of traditional lines of arikitanga. Traditionally, the lines of arikitanga could descend down to both men and women with equal importance and significance within the community. This practice was evident within the Kīngitanga as noted by Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikāhu and in the work of Te Puea Herangi. Although these women both

inherited leadership as a consequence of the ancestry, early in her life Te Puea demonstrated strong leadership skills and was encouraged to assume strong leadership roles within the Kīngitanga from an early age.

Te pūtake o rangatiratanga: the essence of rangatiratanga

Mate atu he tētē kura, ka ara mai ano he tētē kura (One frond dies immediately another frond takes its place). When an elder is no longer fit to lead, a healthier leader will stand in his place.

Rangatiratanga (*sovereignty, chieftainship*) has been defined and described in many ways. For example, it is referred to by Ka'ai (2005) as the 'right to exercise authority in relation to sovereignty, leadership and identity' (p. 5). It has been noted by Durie (1998) as 'Māori self-determination, constitutional review' (p. 8). Patete (2007) defined it as 'a multi-faceted concept that encompasses important elements, as reflected in its many possible definitions in English: autonomy, independence, sovereignty, self-governance, self-determination, tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake [are] rooted in a pre-European tradition' (p. 16).

Rangatiratanga has been widely explored, defined, debated and discussed (Ballara, 1998; Durie, 1998; Harris, 2004; Ka'ai, 2005; Katene, 2006; Maaka & Fleras, 2005; Te Momo, 2011). Yet there are common themes of rangatiratanga, which were strongly grounded in traditional Māori practises of leadership and have been used in a contemporary context to reassert Māori self-determination (Durie, 1995). As a result, rangatiratanga was used as a means to 'recover and reassert tino rangatiratanga and tribal authority' and became steeped within the history of Māori political activism (Harris, 2004, p. 26). It became a conduit from which traditional Māori leadership evolved in response to colonisation. It steered the pathway for Māori from the traditional practises of leadership by responding to the changing needs of the Māori community within contemporary Aotearoa.

Rangatiratanga and its role in contemporary society began with the Treaty of Waitangi when ariki were identified for its signing (Barlow, 1991). It was defined in the Treaty in a manner which indicated the maintenance of Māori sovereignty. As a consequence, tino rangatiratanga (*self-determination*) became the focal point of the political movements of the Māori renaissance in the 1960s, which sought to reassert mana Māori, iwi authority and by

Māori for Māori responses to Māori disparity (Ballara, 1998; Patete, 2007). The renaissance movement and the reassertion of rangatiratanga highlighted how Māori adapted traditional knowledge to meet the changing needs of the community. In addition, these processes altered the nature of leadership, which traditionally relied on arikitanga and charismatic prophetic leadership to meet the growing need for political and intellectual in Māori communities (Walker, 1993). As these needs within the Māori community evolved through the process of colonisation new intellectual and political leaders such as Apirana Ngata and Maui Pomare arose. These leaders shared a goal to enhance Māori communities by encouraging access to education and improving Māori health gains. Their leadership epitomised rangatiratanga and became a definition for Māori leadership, which persisted in Māori communities regardless of societal change and development. ‘Although the Māori leaders today are still referred to as rangatira, the fundamental bases that underpinned the institutions of chieftainship changed towards recognition of leaders by achievement as much as ascription’ (Walker, p. 5)

Rangatiratanga can be celebrated in many ways, and is evident in waiata, whaikōrero and pūrākau. It was identified as a foundation for contemporary leadership in the Māori community and although its definition is strongly debated in Treaty of Waitangi negotiations due to disputes regarding indigenous and European translations. It was grounded in the mana and authority held by Māori leaders (Te Momo, 2011). Furthermore, it pertained to the right of Māori to determine their own processes of leadership and autonomy (Maaka & Fleras, 2000; Nikora, 2001).

Rangatiratanga is in a constant process of analysis within Māori communities and understanding its history is important for contextualising its meaning to Māori communities today (Te Momo, 2011). The ever changing nature of rangatiratanga has been widely explored because of its ongoing political connotations in relation to the process and realisation of self-governance within Māori communities (Awatere, 1984; Durie, 1995; 1998; Henry; 2001; Winiata, 1967). In addition, tino rangatiratanga was evident in relation to the Māori political movement, which aimed to address the issues of Māori self-determination in the governance structures in Aotearoa (Durie). As a result, Awatere indicated that Māori sovereignty and tino rangatiratanga became synonymous as a consequence of colonisation. It was integral to the definitions of sovereignty under the premises of the Treaty of Waitangi and although the social and political landscape had changed, Māori leadership continued to

serve as a means for advancing Māori communities. Māori leaders continued to work toward the ultimate goal of supporting the development of Māori communities.

The dynamic approach to Māori leadership in the context of dealing with colonisation and the effects of the urbanisation (the migration of Māori from rural tribal areas to urban or city areas for employment) was reviewed by Patete (2007). Patete identified that urbanisation disenfranchised Māori from their tribal and cultural bases and led to the ideals and practises of rangatiratanga being 'sought for many generations by Māori' (p. 5). To this end, Māori activism and protests for self-determination and iwi authority continued during WWII and the process of urbanisation, which led to heavy political activism during the 1970s through to the 1980s.

In summary, there have been many assertions by Māori to reclaim and reassert rangatiratanga and it remains a stronghold for the development and evolution of leadership. Although it differs slightly from the assertions of arikitanga, rangatiratanga has been referred to as the epitome of Māori authority and leadership (Ka'ai, 2005). Māori leadership has been described as constantly 'evolving' (Te Momo, 2011, p. 1). It has been described as 'dynamic and diverse' (Durie, 2011). Mead, Stevens, Third, Jackson and Pfeifer (2005) stated that rangatira translated to mean chief, which suggests it is a 'gender free' reference to chieftainship. When it was translated by the English during early colonial times it was presumed to refer to a 'male' leader, but it can mean either man or woman and is not a gender specific term (Mead, 2005, p. 1). The practise of both arikitanga and rangatiratanga leadership responsibilities have been passed down across generations regardless of age or gender (Ka'ai, 2005). Most importantly, Māori leaders were recognised traditionally for their ability to enhance Māori communities, which has been an aspect of Māori leadership that has been sustained within Aotearoa today (Katene, 2010).

Kō te mana ō ngā wāhine Māori: the power of Māori women

Te hā o te karanga ka rere te hā o te karanga. Ki runga koutou ngā wāhine Māori. Ngā wāhine tino taonga, ko te taonga whare tangata, ka rere te hā ō Papatuānuku. He karanga mā te wāhine te ha wāhine toa. (The call of sure, quiet strength goes out. Reaching every Māori woman, woman of priceless worth, the keepers of future generations, Mother Earth touches each one with her depths of self-determination. A token of strength for all women. Women of enduring spirit) (Anderson, 1994).

Māori women have played principal roles in many of the historical narratives which continue to be upheld in today's reiterations of pūrākau. These roles began in the stories of Papatuānuku (*mother earth*). Papatuānuku will eternally be paid homage to in whaikōrero, waiata, whakataukī and moteatea (*traditional chants*). Māori women were central, powerful and authoritative figures within the traditional creation stories and these stories continue to be used as mediums for sharing knowledge and teaching tikanga. They were stories that warned of danger and spoke of love, pain, sadness, joy, light, darkness, trust and betrayal. Lee (2009) stated that 'Pūrākau, a traditional form of Māori narrative, contains philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews that are fundamental to our identity as Māori' (p. 79). Women have been enamoured as sacred in the role as mother earth and te whare tangata since time immemorial (Ryan, 1995).

The traditional status of women as ariki descendants has been documented by Walker (1993) who noted that ariki status was passed down to subsequent generations regardless of gender. Walker (2004) further noted that elders worked to complement each other within the context of whānau to ensure the wellbeing of children physically, spiritually, emotionally and educationally. Ballara (1998) stated that Māori leaders needed to be dynamic and able to adapt to the environments that Māori live within. Within the context of arikitanga Māori women retained the rights and privileges associated to their whakapapa including the retention of land and status within whānau. As Māori women grew older their responsibility for the teaching, protection and nurturing of tamariki was a role held in high esteem and highlighted the necessary and important function of their responsibilities within the whānau structure. Within the context of whānau it became the responsibility of the tuakana (*oldest*

same sex sibling or cousin) to enter into such roles as kaikaranga in hapū particularly within the tangihanga (*funeral*) process.

It has been demonstrated in many Māori communities that the authority retained by wāhine and the balance between genders, although damaged by colonisation, continued to sustain strong roles of feminine leadership. For example, Hutchings (2004) maintained that ‘Mana wāhine is about intellect; it is about how we define ourselves and the space and parameters we place on that definition’ (p. 17). This statement reflected the recent call for Māori women to reassert mana wāhine (Te Awēkotuku, 1991). Suggestions have been made encouraging Māori women to reconnect with the ‘sacred’ gender balance, which existed among Māori men and women in traditional Māori society as based on the ‘cosmological and genealogical narratives’ (Mead, 1998, p. 22). These creation stories and the importance of Māori women within them were the basis of the traditional social structures in Māori communities (Irwin, 1992; Jahnke, 1997; 2007; Kahukiwa & Grace; 1984; Walker, 1978). As a result, the role Papatuānuku played in these stories was the foundation from which the roles of Māori women as nurturers, providers and caregivers were derived. Within these roles came the leadership and responsibility necessary to ensure the safety, care and wellbeing of subsequent generations.

As discussed previously, Māori women maintained roles as leaders as a result of arikitanga and in their roles as kuia. In addition, Māori women have acquired leadership roles with whānau, hapū, iwi and nationally in traditional and contemporary societies. Māori women leaders played significant roles in the continuation and development of Māori communities (King, 2003; Tau, 2010; Walker 2003). Irwin (2007) highlighted the nature and strength Māori women leaders possessed when she articulated examples of the courage, mana and strength of Māori women leaders who prospered despite an ‘oppressive history’ (Irwin, 2007, p. 181).

There have been many challenges to the nature and authority of Māori women leadership. Mana wāhine was a space from which Māori women could draw power and strength. The principles of mana wāhine, discussed by Te Awēkotuku (1991), Kahukiwa (1994) and Pihama (2001) provided a means for emphasising the importance of retaining the knowledge held by Māori women. Ultimately, the ideology and practises of mana wāhine were an

acknowledgement of the power of Māori women, which have been upheld and maintained throughout Māori communities in Aotearoa.

He kupu whakamutunga

Māori leadership was a vibrant and fluid process founded on ancient traditions and based on creation stories, cosmological narratives, whakapapa and descent from ariki. These traditional structures of leadership included such mechanisms as Winiata's (1967) notions of acquired leadership within Māori communities, which assisted in the ongoing development and best interests of whānau, hapū and iwi. As a consequence of an ever changing society and environment, the structure and nature of leadership evolved over time to assist in the continued development of the Māori community. Yet, many of the traditional leadership roles based on arikitanga continued to survive as demonstrated by the Kīngitanga movement.

Māori leadership and its ability to adapt to the changing nature of the political environment of Māori society means rangatiratanga and Māori sovereignty have become enmeshed in the political developments of the Māori nation. Durie stated (1995) that 'Māori society is too complex to have its total authority invested in a single institution' (p. 52). Thus, the nature of leadership in Māori communities functioned in diverse and dynamic ways, but consistently aimed to develop and enhance Māori communities. Many of the traditions which inspired leadership in Māori communities continued to exist in contemporary models of leadership, particularly in the retention of traditional customs and practises. Furthermore, Māori women have been at the forefront of Māori leadership traditionally and continue to remain so today. Most importantly, they provided the necessary balance required to ensure the ongoing growth and development of whānau, hapū and iwi.

Ngaa kete waananga



Ngaa kete e toru

Te kete tuauri

Te kete tuatea

Te kete aronui

A journey of worth

A gift of

Rangiaatea

To Tane bestowed

Of good

Of ritual

Of harm

To share

To protect

To value

Ngaa kete e toru

Te Wāhanga Tuatoru – Te Ara Ripeka o Te Rangahau: Chapter Three - The Crossroads of Research

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a background discussion regarding the research theory I drew from to develop a study that could explore the life experiences of Māori women leaders in Māori communities. First, I discuss how I drew from kaupapa Māori research and how kaupapa Māori theories encouraged Māori researchers to approach research in creative and holistic ways. Second, I explore how I drew from narrative research theories to inform the development of method and analyses within this study. The final section of this chapter illustrates how pūrākau was developed as a method for research analysis, which ensured that mātauranga Māori (*Māori knowledge*) would be instilled throughout this study.

Until the mid-nineteenth century, Māori society was an oral society. Oral forms do not immediately die with the introduction of literacy. The telling of tales, the singing of songs, the reciting of genealogy and proverb are still today the main forms of transmitting the people's history. New events become part of the tradition. New waiata are composed to tell history, and old ones adapted. Tradition is not static. There is a constant dialogue between past and the present, and the patterns of thought are still primarily those of an oral culture (Binney & Chaplin, 1990, p 28).

Ngā ara o te rangahau kaupapa Māori me te rangahau tauwiwi: the pathways of Māori and mainstream research

Western literary tradition often attacked the integrity of indigenous knowledge by nullifying. Māori 'myth' is relegated to the fiction section of the library and offered as 'quaint tradition'. In colonial discourse there is little time or space to consider that indigenous voices have anything to add to 'scientific exploration', 'empirical data', and 'hard evidence'. There are a number of instances...where Māori cosmology is used as a framework. Not only is Mātauranga Māori relevant in current society, it is entirely necessary (Valentine & Campbell, 2007, p. 12).

Māori have long been the subject of research, although research conducted by Māori for Māori is limited. This is largely due to limited numbers of Māori academics conducting research specifically on Māori. Cunningham (2000) identified the need to develop skilled researchers who can integrate Māori approaches and theories of research when conducting research with Māori. In essence, kaupapa Māori research theory provided a means for researchers to use Māori methods of understanding and indigenous knowledge in the context of research inquiry.

Kaupapa Māori research developed during the mid 1970s primarily as a challenge to the 'accepted norms and assumptions about knowledge and the way it is constructed and continues as a search for understanding within a Māori worldview' (Moewaka-Barnes, 2000, p. 13). Kaupapa Māori research grew out of a need to value indigenous knowledge and in the process it aimed to challenge Western paradigms of knowledge. Its purpose was to encourage the use of Māori knowledge, teaching and educational practises, which existed prior to colonisation (Cunningham, 2000; Naylor, 2006).

As Tuhiwai-Smith stated (2003):

A critical aspect of the struggle for self-determination has involved questions relating to our history as indigenous peoples and a critique of how we, as the Other, have been represented or excluded from various accounts. Every issue has been approached by indigenous peoples with a view to *rewriting* and *rerighting* our position in history. Indigenous peoples want to tell our own stories, write our own versions in our own ways, for our own purposes (p. 28).

Early theories of kaupapa Māori research arose as a result of the growth of indigenous self-determination, which began during the radical political movements of the 1970s (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). These kaupapa Māori research movements were examples of how Māori began to articulate Māori experience from a Māori worldview. This was demonstrated by Māori Marsdens (2003) accounts in *ngā whare wānanga (traditional Māori learning environments)*, the research work by The Māori Women's Welfare League in Rapuora (Murchie, 1984) and Winiata's seminal doctoral research in 1967, which was based on his own experience as a Māori leader. Kaupapa Māori research was further developed within the context of post-feminist research by theorists such as Kathy Irwin (1992) and Leonie Pihama (2001).

These movements sought to bring to the forefront the impacts of colonisation on indigenous peoples, and to highlight the need for indigenous peoples and indigenous women to define their own approaches to research. Indigenous peoples were moving worldwide to explore forms of research which could be articulated from within indigenous communities and were grounded in indigenous worldviews. Marez (2011) discussed the changing landscape of American research as a result of indigenous contributions since these early indigenous movements. Advances in indigenous scholarship allowed Māori researchers to engage in approaches to research which incorporated and honoured Māori processes, rituals, practises and Māori ways of being (Hayes, 2003; Pihama, 2010;). Thus, kaupapa Māori research developed in response to an environment in which international indigenous communities were engaged in the fight for indigenous rights (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). At the time these theories were developing, their purpose was highly influenced by the need for indigenous emancipation by placing indigenous subjectivity in a position of privilege in the context of research. These perspectives, for their time, were ground breaking and encouraged Māori academics to engage in research in a manner which enabled them to conduct research in their own communities, based on their own experience and expertise (Smith, 1997; Usher, 2011).

The goals of kaupapa Māori research have been widely discussed (Bishop, 1999; Milne, 2009; Pihama, Daniels & Wells, 2008; Tuhiwai-Smith, 2003). Moewaka-Barnes (2009) proposed a set of goals where she stated that kaupapa Māori research with Māori must encompass the following:

- The researcher's approach to research with Māori must be fully embracing of the context, ideas and practises of being Māori
- Research needs to be transformative and aim to further the wellbeing of Māori
- Research with Māori must aim to challenge the Western ideals of research
- Research must be collaborative in nature
- Research processes must allow Māori to engage with research in a manner which best fits their needs, wants and aspirations
- Research with Māori must be accountable to Māori and used in the best interests for Māori

In her discussion regarding the goals for research Moewaka-Barnes reinforced the need to challenge Western ideals of research. This position was developed during a period in Māori

society when challenges to Western hierarchical structures were necessary for the development of kaupapa Māori theory and research.

In contrast, kaupapa Māori research was described by Nepe (1991) as the “conceptualisation of Māori knowledge”, which has been developed through oral tradition...the process by which the Māori mind receives, internalises, differentiates, and formulates ideas and knowledge exclusively through te reo Māori’ (p. 15). Nepe supported the notion that Māori knowledge was transferred across generations by the use of ‘oral traditions’ which were grounded in the incantation of ancient song, proverbs, ‘cosmogonic genealogies’ and ‘written Māori manuscripts’ (p. 16).

Although kaupapa Māori research acknowledged how Māori knowledge was severely affected by colonisation, and developed avenues to include Māori worldviews in the context of academic research (Naylor, 2006). Nepe (1991) and Moewaka-Barnes (2011) approaches to kaupapa Māori research did not account for how traditional Māori knowledge can be integrated in the research context in a way which values both indigenous and Western bodies of knowledge and practise (Durie, 2004). Reflecting on these discussions allowed me to develop a pathway for integrating Māori knowledge, values, beliefs and practises in the context of this study. While I believed both Nepe (1991) and Moewaka-Barnes (2011) approaches to research with Māori were necessary to the development of kaupapa Māori methods of research, I wanted to explore new ways to integrate mātauranga Māori into the context of academic study. I wanted to find a way to analyse life story experience, which drew from kaupapa Māori methods and that instilled mātauranga Māori. I also understood that kaupapa Māori research must ensure that research is engaged in a respectful, transparent, collaborative and reciprocal manner (Bishop, 1999). As Māori knowledge in Aotearoa is vast and comprehensive research using kaupapa Māori approaches must take into account Māori worldviews, practises and customs (Cunningham, 2000). It has been suggested that research with Māori is best approached by analysing the ‘lived reality of Māori’ (Durie, 2001, p. i). Durie (2004) claimed that indigenous knowledge can ‘sit in parallel with other knowledge systems’ (p. 5), and that the research interface between scientific knowledge and indigenous knowledge can be used to benefit all communities:

Essentially ‘research at the interface’ aims to utilise the energy that comes from two systems of understanding in order to create new knowledge that can then be used to further development. Development involves harnessing the new knowledge and may require different ways of conceptualising situations or even novel technologies that can transform research findings into practical applications. For all research, ultimately the outcomes of new knowledge are measured by gains in economic growth, environmental sustainability, social wellbeing, and cultural integrity (p. 9).

Kaupapa Māori research aimed to encourage holistic models of research practise, which incorporated spirituality in the context of research and knowledge. Kaupapa Māori research has as a consequence informed Māori health contributions and Māori research ethics (Powick, 2002; Wenn, 2006). This study aimed to honour both Māori and Western knowledge. I sought to bring both systems of knowledge together to enhance the analyses of the experiences of Māori women who were leaders in Māori communities using Durie’s (2004) research at the interface approach. I did this in the context of an academic environment by incorporating Māori ways of being and understanding knowledge into this study. I aimed to value all forms of knowledge by highlighting how Māori have been able to sustain traditional knowledge over time regardless of the negative influences of colonisation, which was a process which was evident in the development of powerful and influential leaders across generations.

The development of theory and method in this study undertook a pathway which wove together Māori and non-Māori knowledge. In the following sections of this chapter I will describe how I formulated my research approach and why I chose pūrākau as the framework for analysis. Moreover, in the process of developing this framework I drew from literature based on narrative, life story and storytelling methods, which included both Māori and non-Māori methods of research. I emphasised how scientific and indigenous knowledge influenced the development of pūrākau as a framework for analysis and how the research interface described by Durie (2004), was met within the context of this study. This was demonstrated in my desire to find a methodological approach to research, which enabled me to work with Māori women collaboratively and, which encouraged the use of Māori knowledge as a means for analysing their stories. Furthermore, because this study was completed for a university based doctoral thesis this allowed the opportunity to explore how Māori experience and knowledge can be integrated within the research process.

In the early stages of this thesis I looked to draw from narrative theory and method as a way to develop a study which explored Māori women's life experiences and how these influenced their leadership roles in Māori communities. Narrative research has a complex history and is theoretically diverse in nature and practise (Bertaux & Kohli, 1984; Kenny, 2006; Pinnegar, 2007). It is multifaceted and crosses a broad range of theoretically diverse fields, which include but are not limited to psychology, sociology, anthropology and history (Chase, 2005; Ferrarrotti, 2007; McKendy, 2006; Robertson, 2005; Roesler, 2006; Vambe & Chenells, 2009). Each of these academic fields interprets and understands narrative research in relation to their own academic disciplines and scopes of research and practice. They also approach narrative research and practice from very specific frames of reference, which are deeply entrenched in the nature and practise of their respective disciplines. While disciplinary approaches to narrative research may vary, its focus is on supporting the people involved in research to tell their story (Baron, 2004; Susion, 2007). Narrative researchers can approach their method of storytelling using a range of techniques and a variety of methods. For example, Atkinson (2004) used narrative research to encourage people with learning disabilities to share their stories orally as co-researchers in her study. She stated 'The research enabled participants not only to tell their stories but also to reflect on them, to develop new insights into their meaning and to see them in a wider social and political context' (p. 691).

Some discussions regarding narrative research methods explore how the voice of the people sharing their story is constructed and shared in the process of research analysis and reporting. For example, Susion (2007) used narrative research to give voice to young people's experiences of social exclusion by using their own words. Hayes (2003) used narrative methods to explore women's experiences from within her iwi. Narrative researchers can work collaboratively with the people involved in research to analyse and interpret their data (Bishop, 1999). Alternatively, they can assert a more authoritative approach to research analysis (Chase, 2005). In the process of data analysis researchers can tend to develop their own narrative voice, which often reflects their individual social, academic, cultural and historical environments. These discussions were important to this study as my aim was to give voice to the experience of Māori women leaders in Aotearoa. I wanted to find a method which would ensure that their experiences were prominent and authoritative in the context of this study. Narrative methods of exploring experience gave me an opportunity to do this.

Narrative research can be oral, written, historical, ethnographic, auto ethnographic, biographic and autobiographical (Cooper, 2004; Gohrashi, 2008; Munro, 1993; Schiff, 2005; Stephan, 2009; Vambe, 2009). As a consequence, the framework a researcher chooses to work with very much depends on the aim of their research, the people with whom they are working and the academic discipline from which the researcher stems. McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance (2001) noted that by using life story methods researchers can explore how people define themselves in the context of their interactions with their environments and suggest that people's identities are founded on these experiences.

Due to the focus on analysing experience in the context of sharing stories narrative research has often been used as a research method for working within indigenous communities (Bishop, 1996, 1999; Connor, 2007; Kenny, 2006). Researchers using narrative research are able to utilise their research in a manner which contextualises the experiences of indigenous peoples (Barton, 2004). It was because of the nature and subject of this study that I initially endeavoured to source a narrative approach to research which would examine life stories. I originally sought to use life story methods in this study as they allowed for in-depth interviews regarding the development of leadership roles in the lives of Māori women leaders within Māori communities. I found that life history could be used as a comprehensive autobiographical text of an individual's life history as told using their own voice recorded either orally or in writing. In addition, life story research can be used in a similar context as life history to describe specific events or accounts of a specific life experience. Life story research was described by Chase (2005) as 'personal narrative', and can often be used to differentiate the use of a personal narrative from 'literary narratives or folklore' in research (p. 652). As I aimed to use a research approach which could explore how Māori women's life experiences have influenced their leadership roles within Māori communities, life story narrative research allowed me to develop a research method and theory which best fit the goals of my study.

Language is central to the cultural identity of both the individual and the community to which people belong. Not only does a language express the realities of a particular group it also marks membership of a group both from within (as the language is shared) and without (as it highlights one's difference). If a language has been lost the cultural identity of the group is considerably weakened, which in turn alters social and cultural nature of that group (Karetu, 1990; Harris, 2004). In light of these issues, in Aotearoa it is considered fundamentally

important to retain and promote te reo Māori in order to develop a diverse and harmonious society (Māori Language Commission, 2010). In the context of this study I used te reo Māori as much as I could. I included it in my titles and throughout the body of my thesis. I have attempted to bring te reo Māori to the foreground by using Māori words and translating them to English rather than using English first and translating to Māori and it was often used in the interviews by the women in this study.

Retaining te reo Māori has been important for Māori as they were great orators by nature and tradition, and regularly exhibited this ability for oration on marae. Oration was used informally in the retelling of stories of childhood, adolescence, love, life and death (Moorfield, 2004). Māori used narratives to engage audiences and children ensuring the passing of mātauranga Māori across generations. They use narrative to maintain tribal lore and ensure the survival of whakapapa, waiata, haka, oriori and karanga (*welcoming call*) from generation to generation. These practices sustained traditional Māori knowledge over the course of history (Moorfield, 2004). Bishop (1996) discussed how the use of narrative storytelling is a method for retaining and sharing knowledge that has existed among Māori people for centuries. Furthermore, narrative storytelling was an important process by which Māori analysed and understood their historical, social and environmental context. This was exhibited in the many forms of narrative used by Māori to explain their roles and relationships with their tīpuna (*ancestors*), Ariki (*The Gods*), whenua (*land*) and each other. In addition, Bishop stated that some forms of narrative passed on accurate accounts of history by Māori over generations such as the recitation and retention of whakapapa.

In this study I aimed to explore how these traditions of Māori oration could be included in the development of this research. By utilising this process I discovered how examples of life story methods were used to explore life experience and could embody these oratory traditions. An example of this method was provided by Hendry (2007) who demonstrated a way of working with people in the context of life story narrative, which was respectful and sought to honour subjective experience. In this example, Hendry suggested that the telling of life stories was a sacred and spiritual process, and provides marginalised people a method to explore their culture, society, history and identity using their own words. Hendry went further to state that life story research provided a more in-depth review of communities and examined how cultures were interchangeably affected by the people who exist within them. Life story research also allowed a more detailed study of ‘intersubjective modes of knowledge

production' (Hendry, p. 489). Therefore, by basing narrative research on life story data analysis one can investigate the effects of social, cultural, and historical environments and how people interact with these environments. Hendry provided cautions for researchers to maintain the voice of the people in the study without 'imposing' the researchers' narratives due to the need to maintain 'validity' and scientific 'rigor' (p. 494). To avoid this outcome Hendry stated that one must approach research in a manner of faith, and that maintaining a position of doubt in the ability of people to share and interpret their own stories effectively reinforced 'colonisation' and 'violence' within the research context (p. 494).

Hendry's (2007) example of life story research highlighted how using life story narratives can provide a comprehensive means for exploring life experience in the research context, and emphasised the need to honour the voice of the participants. Due to the nature of this study and my aim to interview Māori women leaders, I believed that life story narrative would be a powerful means for ensuring that the women in this study would be honoured and that their voice's would be well represented. It would also be an empowering process that could bring their stories to the forefront of this research, which was an initial goal in this study. Life story acknowledges spirituality and holistic models of engagement. In addition, it offered a method of working with Māori which acknowledged the need to find alternative methods of engaging Māori and discouraged the negative impacts of research. However, although I felt that life story narrative would be an effective method in this study, I wanted to explore ways to integrate Māori knowledge and methods of storytelling into the theory, method and analytic process of this study.

Conducting a study using these methods in the context of the history of Māori oration seemed like a natural process when working with Māori. Furthermore, narrative and biographical research methods aligned practically and theoretically with kaupapa Māori based research. I believed that engaging in personal life story narratives with Māori and utilising these as a research method would be an optimum method for working with the women in this study. Connor (2007) stated that narrative research can create a fusion of biographical, kaupapa Māori and Māori feminist approaches to research, which allow Māori researchers to enhance their research process and engagement with Māori women. Although this study aimed to create a similar fusion I was committed to ensuring that mātauranga Māori and the traditions of oral knowledge would be included in the development of the research method and analysis of this study.

Recently, biographical research methods in indigenous communities have re-emerged and continue to grow due to the need for better alignment of social policy and systems (Blodgett, Schinke, Smith, Peltier, & Pheasant, 2011). They have grown as a direct response to a growing intolerance for 'positivistic' and 'top down' approaches to understanding behaviour (Chamberlayne, 2004, p. 19). Biographical research aligned well with research with Māori, which aimed to better understand subjective experiences (Edwards, 2009; Lee, 2009; Ware, 2009). This is important to kaupapa Māori research because a primary aim in its approach is to develop insider research and interpret subjective experience by engaging in reflexivity (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2003). Reflexivity is the process of reflexive writing in which researchers are constantly considering and analysing their experiences of the research process. Tuhiwai-Smith espoused the need to decolonise methodologies for the purpose of working with Māori by using the subjective analysis of individual and collective experiences, necessary to understand and describe Māori experiences. Narrative techniques also aim to examine the diverse and intricate nature of life experiences in today's globalised society by appreciating the context of people's social, cultural, and historical environments. Researchers can encourage and allow people time, space and opportunity to articulate and interpret their own individual and collective experiences in interviews. Hence, understanding the knowledge and language of a person's life story was essential for developing a study design that would enable the life stories of Māori women in Māori communities to be interpreted.

Te reo o ngā pūrākau he taonga tuku iho mo tātou: the language of pūrākau a sacred treasure for all people

I react when people say Māori literature should be called folklore, and when they suggest that near enough labels in English are good enough for indigenous categories of Māori literature. Why not use the Māori terms with notes to explain their significance? Take for example recent publications such as Margaret Orbell's *Māori Folktales* or Dr Mervyn McLean's *The Music of the Māori Chant*.²³ 'Folktales' smacks of survivals of cultural items and of the *primitive* Māori (Dewes, 1975, p. 69).

The term pūrākau has been widely used in popular literature as a translation for Māori 'myths and legends', but was identified by Lee (2009) as an inadequate assumption of the use, meaning, and the implications of pūrākau for Māori (p.79). This argument was supported by

Bell (2006) who maintained that pūrākau has been used by Māori mai i te ao tawhiti (*from the traditional world*) as a basis for Māori pedagogy. Historically, Māori used pūrākau as a process for constructing, sharing, and interpreting mātauranga Māori and Benavides (2009) noted they were the ‘vehicles for the transmission of knowledge’ (p. 118).

Lee (2009) argued that using pūrākau can enable researchers to engage in kaupapa Māori research. In the context of developing a methodology for this study I reviewed narrative and life story theory. However, the more I read and consulted the more I felt that traditional forms of oral narrative would be more appropriate, as I aimed to use a Māori framework to interpret the life stories given to me by the women in this study. Pūrākau as a form of narrative knowledge and as a method of research became ideal to the development and conceptualisation of this study. More specifically, using pūrākau became a way to ensure that mātauranga Māori was instilled throughout this thesis.

Irwin (1999) noted that narratives are central to a people’s ‘religious interpretation of the cosmos and humankind’s relation to it’ and that the use and interpretation of legend and story was ‘how people come to ‘terms with the natural world’ (p. 8). The traditions of storytelling in the Māori community led to pūrākau being used to encourage many different processes of learning in Aotearoa. They are used in many health settings, within research and in Aotearoa’s education system. Pūrākau have been shown to be beneficial for promoting mātauranga Māori and for enhancing the education, growth and development of Māori (Cherrington, 2003; Lee, 2008).

Pūrākau can be ‘constructed in various forms, contexts and media to better understand the experiences of our lives as Māori – including the research context’ (Lee, 2009, p. 79). They have been used to encompass many mediums of learning within te ao Māori and Marsden (2003) maintained pūrākau were central to the traditional training which occurred in ngā whare wānanga. Lee (2009) discussed the utility of pūrākau and provided a context for using it as a methodological tool for research. More importantly, in the process of reviewing the literature and developing a method for this study I found there were many examples of methods and theories, which could support my process of research (Daniels, Pihama & Wells, 2008; Ritchie, 2008; Tuhiwai-Smith, 2003; Winiata 1967). These methods allowed me to work in way that aligned with my own value base as well as recognising the cultural, social, environmental and political climates the women in this study were living in. As I aimed for

an approach which could ensure that mātauranga Māori would be embedded within this study and could enhance my own knowledge pūrākau became a means for exploring this process.

During the time I was conducting this study I was working as a cultural supervisor for group facilitators of criminogenic rehabilitation programmes for offenders. Prior to this role I worked mostly with Māori in a variety of health services. Through these experiences I was encouraged to develop pūrākau as a framework for research analysis by my colleagues, my peers and my supervisors. Due to the work I was doing during this time I had an opportunity to wānanga with a kaumatua about his understanding and interpretation of pūrākau. He is one of the many Māori leaders in Aotearoa working within Māori communities to support Māori growth and development⁶. The knowledge he gifted to me came in an open and honest manner and was a poignant encounter, and although I fear I may not be able to replicate this dialogue, I will endeavour to share some of the exchange we had. A brief explanation of my question about the genesis of the word pūrākau is required at this stage.

Te reo Māori can be translated into English, yet most Māori words have a depth of meaning which can be difficult to capture in the process of translation. Māori words can be used to mean different things and can be broken into smaller components to represent a wider definition of its initial concept. For example, if the word pūrākau is actually broken down a composition of smaller Māori words are used to elaborate on its meaning. Each small word carries an inherent meaning in te reo Māori. Therefore, if the word pūrākau is then broken down it becomes pū-rā-ka-ū. When I asked this kaumatua what his understanding of pū-rā-ka-ū was the explanation he provided defined the meaning of pūrākau based on the following concepts; pū (*source*), rā (*light, day, sun*), ka (*past, present and future*) and ū (*from within*). Framing pūrākau in this way provided an extended meaning beyond the more commonly utilised meaning or translation such as myth, legend, stories and it was based on this translation that I developed pūrākau as a framework for my research analysis process.

In the context of this study pū (*source*) was used to interpret the women's narrative life stories by exploring their life experiences, which provided the *source* of their leadership roles throughout their lives. Second, rā (*light*) was used based on its references to light and

⁶ In discussion with this kaumatua regarding the work I have done with the information he shared he advised me that when giving kōrero to others he viewed kōrero as a taonga to be interpreted by those in receipt of it. He also felt that people can take kōrero away and do with it as they choose in meaningful and relevant ways for them. Additionally, he stated that if kōrero is given to someone and can be used for positive benefit then it has been given with the right intent and purpose. Tēnei te mihi mahana hoki kia koe ē te rangatira mō tō taonga atāhua hoki.

enlightenment and became a means for examining the experiences in the women's lives which led to enlightenment. In the context of this study enlightenment was used to identify periods in which the women had moments of higher learning or enhanced insight and understanding based on their life experiences. These experiences influenced their roles as leaders for Māori by leading to periods of enlightenment or māramatanga (*enlightenment, insight, understanding, light, meaning, significance, brainwave*). These periods of enlightenment were then analysed to highlight how they have influenced, directed or defined their roles or their development as leaders within Māori communities.

Ka was used to refer to the past, present and future. Based on my learning of te reo Māori I have been taught that ka can be used to speak about the past, present or future tense. For Māori the past, present and future are intertwined and they are constantly referred to in this manner. Within this study the concepts of past, present and future provided a foundation for exploring how the women's past experiences have influenced their current or future aspirations in the roles they hold in Māori communities. It was further utilised as a method for identifying how their early life experiences informed the goals they had set for themselves throughout their lives.

The meaning of ū as the final composite of the word pūrākau has been used in te reo Māori to mean a wealth of different things. It was commonly used to identify women's breasts as a source of nourishment for children and it highlighted the integral role that women have in maintaining the health and wellbeing of children due to its relationship with ū and ūkaipō (*mother, origin, source of sustenance, real home*). In the context of this study, and due to its relationship with nourishment provided from within, ū was used to identify the individual strengths from within these women bring to their roles as leaders. Māori women in leadership roles are faced with a number of challenges both within and outside of their roles in their communities and their own whānau, hapū and iwi. As a result, using ū in this manner was essential for identifying the qualities these women possessed, which enabled them to continue their work and fuelled their desire to encourage development and progress of Māori people within today's society.

Pūrākau as a framework aligns with the expectations of both kaupapa Māori and narrative research and does this in several ways (Bishop, 1999; Chase, 2005; Hendry, 2007; Marsden, 1992; Moewaka-Barnes, 2007; Tuhiwai-Smith, 2003). First, by using an oratory method of

collecting life stories I am honouring traditional Māori oratory methods for sharing knowledge. Second, I honoured the voices of the women by aiming to include their stories in their words as the first part of this thesis. Third, the use of pūrākau values the subjective interpretations of experiences conducive to both narrative and kaupapa Māori research methods. Fourth, this study aimed to work in the best interests of Māori by exploring the nature and development of leadership in the Māori community. Finally, the analytic framework I have developed based on pūrākau promoted mātauranga Māori and provided a foundation for the exploration of future research by and for Māori.

He kupu whakamutunga

Narrative research and kaupapa Māori research are both vast and rich in nature. In the context of this study I drew from these two theories of research practice to allow me to explore the life experiences of Māori women who are leaders within Māori communities. I also sought to ensure mātauranga Māori was woven into the context of academic research in a university setting. As a result, I searched for a theoretical framework which could promote a kaupapa Māori approach to research and integrate Māori understandings of knowledge and learning. I believed that achieving these goals would be beneficial for this study in two ways. First, I could enhance current theoretical perspectives and approaches to research by and for Māori by developing a research method which promoted oratory knowledge. Second, and most importantly, I wanted to ensure that the voices of the woman I interviewed were foremost in the writing of this thesis. Meeting these goals led me to look at a way to bring together life story narrative methods and the tradition of Māori oration and storytelling in the context of this study. Exploring these theories led me on a journey through both Māori and non-Māori knowledge, which culminated with the development of an analytic framework that integrated mātauranga Māori in a powerful and meaningful way within the context of this study. Finally, by drawing from these theories and engaging in opportunities to wānanga I was able to find a way to use pūrākau as a framework for the analysis of the women's life stories in this study.

Rangiaatea



*I ruia mai
i Rangiaatea*

*Naa Rangiaatea
e whaangaí*

*Naa Rangiaatea
Ka tupu*

*Na Rangiaatea
ka hoki*

*Motuhake
Ahurei
Mana*

*I ruia mai
i Rangiaatea*

Te Wāhanga Tuawha - Mai i te Ariā ki te Ritenga: Chapter Four - From Theory to Practise

The research question in this study was focussed on identifying how Māori women's life experiences influenced their roles as leaders. It aimed to do this by analysing their life stories. This chapter discusses the methods used in the study's data collection and analysis process. First, I summarise the ethical considerations for the study and I explain the process of choosing the women to participate, which includes a discussion regarding some of the issues raised when conducting the interviews. Second, I discuss the post-interview methods used to manage the project collaboratively to ensure each woman was fully aware of my research processes during the final writing stages. Third, I include a summary of how and why the women's stories were included in the final format of the thesis, and the data analysis framework. Finally, this chapter aims to provide a bridge from the methods section to the research analysis stage of the thesis. To do this, I identified how traditional methods of learning in Māori communities informed the development of pūrākau as framework for the in-depth analysis of these women's stories.

Being a Maori research, I had to ensure I had a cultural process around and within the research (Ruwhiu, 2009, p. 56).

Ngā tikanga matatika: ethical considerations

If a researcher is to be truly respectful of their participants, then they need to consider how their behaviour in an interview or other interaction is affecting and impacting on the participant. In this instance some basic knowledge about culturally appropriate behaviour is very valuable (Hudson, 2004, p. 57).

Recently work completed by Hudson, Milne, Reynolds, Russell, and Smith (2010), provided a framework for conducting ethical with Māori. The presence of works referring to ethical conduct in the practise of research with Māori demonstrates the need for researchers to work in a way which best suits Māori needs. Hudson et al. (2010) explained how working with

Māori can be beneficial for both Māori communities and researchers, and explored how researchers can conduct research in a manner which honours tangata whenua (*indigenous people of the land*) and Māori ways of being. They outlined four necessary components of ethical research when working with Māori including whakapapa (*relationships*), manākitanga (*cultural and social responsibility*), tika (*research design*) and mana (*justice and equity*). In the context of this study the following discussions highlights how I worked within these guidelines while simultaneously meeting the university's human research ethics process.

During the process of conducting the literature review relative to my project, I finally came to the point where I had to decide on a pathway forward and a plan of action. My first thought was this would be a relatively straight forward process because my research goals were simple, my research plans had been thoroughly outlined, and my theoretical foundations were beginning to take shape in my mind and on paper. As a new and somewhat anxious researcher I had to make some clear decisions and move into the practical phase of my research process. The planning, and preparation and data collection stages of this study were some of the most amazing and challenging learning experiences I have ever had.

The first stage in conducting this research started with identifying who I would interview, how I would interview them and when I would meet them. This meant deciding who to include in the study and making decisions regarding why they would be included. To begin with I developed a list of the women I felt were leaders and pioneers within our community. These were women who were working in powerful and dynamic ways to advance Māori communities locally, regionally and nationally. I considered women in politics, health, sport, art and research as well as women who act as kaitiaki (*guardians*) on marae or in schools and of those women who were raising children. The crucial feature for any of the women I hoped to include in my project was that they either were or had in same way worked as leaders within Māori communities. Their roles as leaders could be in any capacity and in any field, but they needed to be recognised as leaders by their communities based on the mahi (*work*) they were doing or had done.

Initially I aimed to interview Māori women who provided strong leadership roles in our communities and who did so largely in the face of difficulty and challenge. As a result, my primary aim was to focus on resilience. However, my focus on resilience was challenged because the most important goal of this study was to focus on what Māori women were doing

well. In contrast, resilience models were problem focused because they identified how people coped when faced with adversity rather than focussing on their potential regardless of adversity (Kirmayer, Dandeneau, Marshall, Phillips & Williamson, 2011; Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000). This study aimed to highlight the potential for success and leadership in Māori communities whereas resilience was problem and deficit focused.

Statistics consistently quote how Māori are over represented in prisons and hospitals and how Māori have poor educational, social and economic outcomes (Cunningham, Stevenson, Fitzgerald, Rolls, 2006; Statistics New Zealand, 2010; Webb & Jones, 2008). There are frequent headlines regarding child abuse and how Māori children are dying as a result of it (Collins, 2012; Media Works, 2011). In general, we hear little about how Māori communities are achieving, if at all. We do not hear about the Māori leadership programmes being coordinated across the nation. We do not hear about the tamariki (*children*) and rangatahi (*youth*) in Māori communities who are successful. We do not hear about the wāhine in our communities who have been the back bone for their whānau and many Māori within their wider communities. This study became an opportunity to share some of the successful stories within Māori communities and to celebrate stories of achievement, leadership, development, mana and rangatiratanga.

As the focus of this study was on leadership I engaged with multiple feedback processes to ensure my aims, intent and practises were in the best interests of the women in the study and of the wider Māori community. I aimed to ensure that my research was tika and I spent time thinking about how this study could benefit the Māori community (Hudson et al., 2010). By exploring these ethical considerations I engaged in numerous discussions with my peers, my whānau, my colleagues, kaumatua and other Māori and non-Māori research students. When researching with Māori pertaining to ethical processes Hudson, et al. highlighted the need to proceed with caution and doing so could be achieved by researchers engaging in this process of robust dialogue with Māori. During the discussions I held throughout this study I found I was regularly questioned about ethical considerations and many of these questions came from within the Māori community itself. Based on these discussions and the subsequent questions that arose several ethical issues were raised about this study and are discussed below.

First, I aimed to interview 10 to 15 women from Māori communities who would be willing to share their life stories and experiences to identify how their life experiences influenced their

roles as leaders in the Māori community. Immediately it became obvious that the women in this study would be easily identified using life story narrative as a method as many Māori women leaders are well known to the public. As a consequence, it was decided that all the women who entered the study would need to agree to being named. I felt this would be the most significant concern arising from my ethics submission, but was surprised to find the major question at my ethics meeting concerned the possibility of financial gain. The ethics committee highlighted concerns that this study had the potential to lead to substantial financial gain because the women I intended to interview were public figures and publishing their stories was seen as potentially very profitable. Financial gain was not an issue when planning the study and was never considered until this point therefore from my perspective it was essentially a non-issue. However, the idea of publishing these stories to the wider public became an ongoing issue, which was raised on numerous occasions. Publishing Māori their life stories was raised by many people in the Māori community because they felt they needed to be celebrated and shared within the wider public forum. Many were opposed to the thesis only being available only to the academic community. Many people I spoke to about my study or who had seen my presentations believed these women's stories would be inspirational for Māori communities and felt they needed to be made more widely available on its completion. Any future decisions to publish will not be made in isolation as it will be the women I have interviewed who will decide whether their stories can be published. These stories belong to the women who participated and if they chose to make them available to the public in addition to this study, then I will consider their publication.

Second, informed consent was obtained orally from each woman during their interviews. Each woman had an opportunity to read the information sheets developed for this study and discussions were held to ensure that they understood the parameters and nature of this research project and could ask any questions about this process. They were advised during these discussions that they would be named as participants within this study due to the preconceived difficulties sustaining anonymity. Each woman provided oral informed consent and agreed to being named in the thesis prior to sharing their life stories during their interviews. This consent process ensured that each woman was agreeable to their stories being used to analyse how their life experiences influenced their roles as leaders.

Third, as my interviews with each wāhine progressed I became increasingly aware of the powerful nature of their stories. One of the primary motivators for this project was to give

voice to Māori women's experiences, therefore, this awareness led to the decision to print their transcripts as a part of the final thesis draft. As discussed in the thesis outline, eleven of the transcripts were included in the final thesis. I initially aimed to include each story in the thesis prior to final submission. All of the women had consented to sharing their life story narratives within the study and to being named as a result of their participation. However, as I aimed to sustain an approach which was *tika*, I engaged in a further process of informed consent following their approval of their transcripts to ensure they were agreeable to their edited narratives being included within the first volume of the thesis. Despite receiving informed consent from each woman, due to time constraints I was unable to engage in final discussions with Annette Sykes and Sharon Rickard to include their narratives in the first volume of the thesis prior to examination. Moreover, as they had both agreed to the initial consenting process, I believed they would consent to their narratives being included. As a result, I aimed to include their narratives within the thesis following my examination and prior to final submission. However, during the examination process it was required that I remove all verbatim quotes made by Annette and Sharon from the thesis and paraphrase any reference to their stories. Their transcripts were subsequently removed based on this decision, which was made during the examination process.

The decision to use life story narrative and transcripts raised a number of discussions at my ethics meeting as there were concerns from the ethics committee about my decision to allow the women editing rights of their transcripts. It was eventually decided that the woman would have the choice to edit or delete information they provided and they could do so at their discretion. This decision placed me in a vulnerable position as it potentially meant the loss of important data if any of the women chose to withdraw from the study or substantively edit their stories. Furthermore, by choosing to include the transcripts in the final version of my thesis I had to consider a number of issues such as readability. I had to ensure that they made sense to the reader and flowed in a coherent and meaningful way. A secondary issue arose in the editing process with regard to how much I edited and whether or not this detracted too much from the original story. As a result, the editing process was negotiated with each woman and I ensured they each had opportunities to read the final transcripts and could thoroughly reflect on the nature and content of their transcripts before they were finalised.

Fourth, one of the most important ethical considerations was managing the tension between mātauranga Māori and the academy. This was a process my supervisor referred to as ‘walking between two worlds’ (D. Wilson, personal communication, 02 May, 2011). As many Māori students and academics have found ethical research practice with Māori requires meeting the university and human ethical requirements. However, in addition to this process we need to adhere to an equally complex system of ethical conduct, which applies to the Māori communities we are a part of. Adhering to these processes meant I often found the most honest and transparent feedback I received was from my whānau and my supervisors especially when I was struggling with matters of ethical conduct. Engaging in robust discussion enabled me to hear their reflections, opinions and judgments regarding questions of ethics and conflict. These discussions were extremely valuable while I was planning my data collection process and when maintaining continuity and engagement with the women in this study. My whānau and supervisors were very critical and forthright in their feedback regarding how best to manage these situations. For example, when I was introduced to women in this study by my whānau or my personal and professional associations these people would often direct my methods of engagement in the data collection process. They offered ideas about how to organise my meetings and on some occasions would suggest what I should serve for kai during our interviews.

Utilising these methods of engagement within the context of this study meant that although my ethics application with Massey University was completed in the early phases of this study. Matters of ethical conduct were an ongoing consideration, which required regular debate and discussion throughout the duration of this research. I found engaging in open and honest discussions were the best ways to manage ethical concerns as they arose. These discussions were broad and robust and largely involved my supervisors, peers, colleagues and my whānau. During each of these discussions as ethical concerns arose managing these concerns transparently often led to the best outcome and ensured that my conduct was tika. Once interviews were complete, each transcript was stored in a locked office and on password secure computers. In one case a request was made to destroy the audio record of an interview once the written record was finalised and agreed. This situation highlighted how although informed consent was gained when the women entered the study it was negotiated as it was required throughout. These processes illustrate having to use many methods alongside the Massey University Human Ethics process to sustain ethical conduct and appropriate practice when working with Māori. In addition, the concepts of manākitanga,

whakapapa, tika and mana were embodied and applied throughout this study. This was evident in how I engaged with the Māori community when identifying people they felt were appropriate participants for this study based on their views of various women's leadership roles within their communities. It was noted in my engagement with whānau members of the women in this study and the manner in which I attempted to ensure that they were regularly consulted throughout the duration of this study. It was demonstrated in the manner in which I sought peer and whānau review, and was noted in the way I included the women's stories as the first part of this thesis. The following section describes how the process of consultation was critical to identifying the women who would participate in this study. It further discusses how consultation and collaboration was required with the women throughout the study to ensure they agreed to the methods being used, and that they were thoroughly engaged in the process of including their stories in this thesis.

Kō wai ngā wāhine rangatira mo mātou? Who are the women leading our people?

You deserved the mana of the people because you've worked for it or you've done something in your lifetime that absolutely has them believe *there's mana in what she says*. Now until the people give you that, you don't have mana. It's not something you own or you give yourself (Hinewirangi & Hibbs, 2006).

Fortified with my plans and rationale for whom to approach for interviews, I went out into the community to find out who people thought their leaders were. I spoke to whānau, friends, work colleagues, student peers, peer supports and of course to my supervisors. Increasingly, I found that people consistently came back with the same women I had identified as leaders. Many of the women we identified were high profile public leaders and some were less well known, but equally important leaders within whānau, hapū and iwi. People identified women who were leading their fields academically, politically, socially, professionally and creatively. They spoke of human rights workers, sporting figures, artists, politicians, ministers, mothers, aunties, grandmothers, cousins and sisters. Women were identified who worked tirelessly in marae, social services, court systems, tangihanga, hospitals, kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, schools, where wānanga and universities. Due to the diversity in Māori women leadership I decided I would interview a range of women from a variety of different fields. The main

criterion for participation in this study was that they each needed to be leaders who worked primarily for the Māori community.

My next stage in this study was to make contact with these women. As my research was based on life stories I aimed to interview between 10 to 15 women over an approximate 12 month period. I decided on this number as it would allow for a range of women who were leading Māori in a variety of fields, and it would enable enough stories to provide a comprehensive, yet still manageable amount of data to analyse within the time constraints. Overall, I interviewed 13 women and ended my interviews at this stage because of time constraints. The interviews began in September 2009 and the last interview was completed in October 2010.

Once the list of leaders was collaboratively developed with the Māori community I had to decide which women to approach, how best to approach them and when to approach them. This process was heavily dependent on the women's availability and my ability to establish connections with them. This stage relied on contacts I made through connections within my own whānau, social, professional and educational networks. These people would advise me on how best to make contact with some of their leaders. I established contact with many of the women through their professional channels because many of them tended to work in public forums. When the women were already known to me, I made phone or email contact with them and sent them copies of my information sheets. In situations where I had no personal connection with these women I made contact with them personally by formal letter, by telephone and email. On at least two occasions I coordinated meetings in liaison with their personal assistants.

When organising interviews and establishing connections with these women I decided the women I intended to interview locally towards the end of my data collection phase as travel would be less of an issue. I aimed to focus my early interviews on women living outside of Auckland, and regardless of attempts to plan and prepare interviews in advance they were often rescheduled due to the busy lifestyles of the women. Many of them were in high demand because of their leadership roles and attempting to make a convenient time became an ongoing endeavour. This meant I would have periods when some interviews were conducted within a short time period, or I could go for months without meeting with anyone.

During the meetings with the women, as discussed earlier, I gained oral informed consent. In addition to sending detailed information sheets to the women prior to each interview, during each interview I advised them of the methods I was using in the study. I would discuss how I was conducting my interviews and I would update them on my plans for the study as they occurred. When changes were made or issues of consent and the information they shared arose discussions were held individually regarding their concerns or queries.

Nine of the thirteen interviews were conducted in Auckland as seven of the women interviewed lived in Auckland and two travelled to Auckland frequently. One was held at Waikato University, two were held in Wellington and one was held at Massey University in Palmerston North. During the interviews I organised kai and offered to open and close each meeting with karakia. While this was my standard interview process it varied greatly in terms of how the wāhine preferred to conduct their hui (*meetings*). Some chose not to engage in karakia and for others karakia was a necessary part of the interview. Some of the women were pleased to have kai to share during our hui while others chose to provide kai for me. Although each meeting was unique and varied, the need to make a connection with each other and engage in a process of whakawhanaungatanga (*process or method for establishing relationships, relating well to others*) was consistent across all interviews. The hui would often start with a quick review of my information sheets and discussions regarding consent and they would continue into in-depth discussions about whakapapa. They would ask where I was from and would talk about where they were from, and we would establish whether we could connect as a result. As noted by Berryman, Bateman and Cavanagh (2008)

For Māori the process of whanaungatanga (building and maintaining relationships) practised during pōwhiri is also kept alive in Māori stories and cultural rituals that are operationalised in interactions occurring in many everyday Māori contexts such as greeting and parting, the sharing of food, caring for one another's children and the sharing and ownership of possessions (p. 131).

Thus, engaging in this process of whanaungatanga was essential to developing relationships with each woman within the context of this study.

Some of the wāhine had conducted background checks on me and this was due to the public nature of their leadership roles and the work they do with Māori. Their need to run checks on me came as a result of the sometimes poor ways they had been previously misrepresented

within these forums - many of them were weary of researchers and the media alike. This meant that in each contact I made I had to build a relationship based on open and transparent processes. I needed to inspire trust in my research methods and in my own manner of conduct. Inevitably, the ethical considerations in my processes of engagement with these women continued well after interviews as the nature of this project was collaborative and relied on regular contact and feedback. Although the interviews themselves were the crux of the study, establishing and maintaining a relationship with each woman was an important and necessary method, which was sustained throughout the entire research process. My research methods at this stage further demonstrated the need noted by Hudson et al. (2010), to ensure that whakapapa relationships were central to the development of this study.

Identifying the women who would participate in the study was the primary issue. The second was making a connection with them, and particularly with those whom I had no previous relationship with. Developing relationships with each woman began in a variety of ways. In instances when I was introduced to one of them by someone I knew these people would discuss my research with them first and if they were in agreement I would then contact them to organise a hui. I found that discussing my research with these women's personal assistants when establishing contact with them was as helpful as engaging in written correspondence. When establishing contact with these women it was always important for me to make connections with the women through whakapapa, professionally or through social connections.

The interviews were held in a variety of different places including work-based offices, a marae, universities and an airport cafe. Some of the interviews occurred in the women's homes in different whānau member's homes and one was completed at my home.

I felt privileged to have opportunities to meet with them and to be able to listen to their stories. Moreover, I was humbled by their commitment to maintaining contact throughout the entire project. It was easy to see the dedication which maintains them in the work they do with for Māori, and the work these women have done in their lifetimes is vast. Many of the wāhine in this project held titles I have been unable to capture within this study. For example, some have Queen Service Medals and Orders of Merit and some hold doctorates and significant positions within the government or within their chosen professions. In

addition to what they do in their wider communities all of these women were important within their own whānau, hapū and iwi and these roles keep many wāhine Māori very busy.

Te tuhinga o ngā pūrākau: writing the stories

Stories are a fundamental way of understanding and communicating. When people converse, write, sing, chat on the phone and e-mail, they often tell stories about themselves and the people they know. The stories we hear and tell impose order and meaning on our lives, weaving the natural disorderliness of our experiences into a fabric of personalities and events which we arrange into time sequences (Lapsley, Nikora & Black, 2011, p. 3).

As previously mentioned the writing of the women's stories in this project entered into two phases, the first phase included transcribing their interviews and the second phase focused on how they would be included in thesis for academic review. These issues will be considered separately within this section.

In writing these stories I had several goals. The first was to share and celebrate their stories with the wider Māori community. The second was to make their interviews available in the hope that they might encourage young Māori and indigenous peoples with stories of inspiration and leadership. The third was to find a way to portray their stories using their words in a way which would honour their voice and experience without academic interpretation. Fourth, they were powerful and moving stories and sharing them was viewed a positive outcome from this study. As discussed by Hudson et al. (2010) positive outcomes of research in Māori communities are necessary when conducting research with Māori.

I considered the use of the different mediums I could use to portray the women's stories such as visual, audio and written. For example, during my literature search I contemplated the use of photo elicitation and photo-voice as a method of research because I believed images could capture a mood or an essence, which words often struggle to articulate. However, in consultation with my supervisors we agreed the stories would be told verbatim due to the skill in oration shown by each woman. We felt that because their stories had a consistent flow during the interviews it would be reasonable to assume they would flow well within written exemplars.

Choosing to write the interviews in this way then raised the issue of readability. Reading the transcripts can be difficult when faced with the inclusion of pause, laughter, silence and the ums and ahs of natural conversation. Essentially, these features have been coined by McKendy (2006) as ‘narrative debris’ (p. 473). McKendy stated that these moments of pause and silence are the most essential components of conversation reflective of a person’s own internal narrative and the struggle to verbalise experience. Consequently, they are the most important sources of information in narrative script. I have to agree with this proposal, although some of the interviews in this study were almost four hours long. When written in full the early drafts of the transcripts totalled approximately 250,000 words and in that verbatim state, at times, the transcripts were difficult to follow. This led to editing each transcript for the purpose of readability, sequential flow and to remove a large amount of narrative debris.

To achieve the goal of sharing the essence of the women’s interviews in their voices the narratives have been through a collaborative process of editing. This included returning each version to the women to read and edit as they saw fit. Although the analytic data used in the study was based on the full interviews with each woman and the transcripts they approved following their initial interviews.

The second phase of writing these stories included how to attain the academic requirements of producing a thesis while ensuring that the women’s stories would be foremost in the final report. This led to the development of two volumes to the thesis. The first volume was dedicated to 11 of the women’s edited life story narratives ensuring that their stories were at the forefront of the thesis. The second volume was focused on the full academic thesis report. This included the background discussions, theory development, methods, analysis and findings. Essentially, this volume of the thesis was written by me using my voice and based on how I interpreted their interviews. It was agreed the stories be placed in the first section so that the women’s stories were the first voices to be heard in the thesis. Additionally, it was decided that these narratives would be included as a means for ensuring Māori women’s voices were recognised as foremost within this study.

Hei akonga i raro i te tikanga o ngā tīpuna: learning under the ethos of our ancestors

Indigenous knowledge reflects the dynamic way in which the residents of an area have come to understand themselves in relationship to their natural environment and how they organize that folk knowledge of flora, fauna, cultural beliefs, and history to enhance their lives (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999, p 3).

Pūrākau were the primary method used in formal and informal traditional Māori learning environments to sustain knowledge across generations. Informal learning in Māori communities was based on the transmission of intergenerational knowledge whereby mātauranga (*education, knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill*) of children was nurtured within multi-generational environments. These methods were described by Pere (1994) who credits her learning to growing up in the context of a whānau environment, which included four generations. Pere (1994) further stated that as a child she actively participated in and observed all levels of community activity and orally transmitted narratives were a means for protecting ‘proverb, legends, stories, history and particular knowledge’ (p 18). As a consequence of her experiences, Pere demonstrated how the maintenance of pūrākau and storytelling were methods for orally transmitting intergenerational knowledge and central to the education she received within an informal and intergenerational learning environment.

In contrast to this type of learning formal methods of traditional learning occurred for Māori in ngā whare wānanga (*university, place of higher learning*). Children were specifically chosen to enter wānanga and trained in designated specialty areas with tohunga. Marsden (2003) noted the philosophy of learning in whare wānanga as based on the pūrākau of Tāne-nui-a-rangi (*the God of forests, birds and the creator of the first women*) and his success in scaling the heavens to attain ngā kete wānanga (*The Three Baskets of Knowledge*). In this pūrākau Tāne’s journey to the heavens was compounded by difficulty and these difficulties were used as a metaphor for demonstrating the hardships of extending oneself in the process of learning. Tāne’s journey depicts how the pathway of learning required the need for commitment, ‘strict discipline’ and ‘diligence’ especially when taura (*students*) were trained in the ‘highest forms of learning’ (Pere, 1994, p 47).

These methods of knowledge transmission influenced my approach to this study in a number of ways. First, I liken the journey I have taken to complete a doctoral study to Tāne's journey to attain ngā kete wānanga. For example, the commitment, discipline and industry required for learning in traditional whare wānanga were similar to the approaches required to complete doctoral research within any university setting.

Second, Marsden (2003) identified that learning in ngā whare wānanga was based on tauira having access to tohunga. Tohunga were seen as adept and skilled possessors of knowledge and wisdom. When tauira entered wānanga listening skills were developed as their training relied on the ability to retain massive amounts of orally transmitted knowledge. In the context of my study I used this method of listening to collect the women's life stories. I did this by listening in my interviews using minimal questions and by encouraging the women to speak of their experiences in an open undirected manner. I also used the tauira/tohunga approach by recognising these women were identified by their community as knowledgeable and highly skilled within their roles as community leaders. As such they were all examples of how tohunga were seen in a traditional wānanga context, and as I listened to their stories I became their tauira.

Third, pūrākau were central to the principles of learning across a variety of Māori learning environments. This was evident in how the pūrākau of ngā kete wānanga inspired the philosophy of learning as discussed earlier. Pūrākau were used to sustain tribal knowledge in the intergenerational knowledge transmission (Ka'ai, 2005; Kahukiwa and Pōtiki, 1999; Jahnke, 1997; Pere, 1982; Royal, 2002). They were used in the provision of Māori education in primary and secondary schools, tertiary institutions, kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa (Mahuta 1990; Pere, 1982; Royal, 2002). Pūrākau continue to be relevant to environments of learning as evident in the way they were applied to the analytic approach taken in this study. Lee (2009) strongly advocated for their use in the research context:

Pūrākau, a traditional form of Māori narrative, contains philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews that are fundamental to our identity as Māori. Pūrākau are a collection of traditional oral narratives that should not only be protected, but also understood as a pedagogical-based anthology of literature that are still relevant today. Furthermore, pūrākau can continue to be constructed in various forms, contexts and media to better understand the experiences of our lives as Māori - including the research context (p 1).

Pūrākau have consistently been adapted to different teaching environments to instil learning in diverse ways within the Māori community, and it was based on this art of learning through telling stories that pūrākau became valuable to interpreting life stories of the women in this study. Pūrākau were a central method from which Māori learn, understand and integrate knowledge and became the basis for how I wanted to interpret the story shared by the women in this study. Using this study I believed that the ‘interface between indigenous knowledge and science’ was met in the context of academic research (Durie, 2004, p, 2). This was done by using pūrākau as an analytic method to complete a doctoral study within a university setting. I provided an overview of how indigenous and scientific knowledge can meet at this interface to ensure that these two schools of thought were valued within this study. A brief outline is provided in Figure 1 illustrating how pūrākau was used based on the four meanings which encompass its whole. This model further demonstrates how pū (*source*), ra (*enlightenment*), kā (*past, present and future*) and ū (*from within*) have been used to analyse the life stories of the women in this study, which led to these women entering significant roles of leadership within the Māori community.

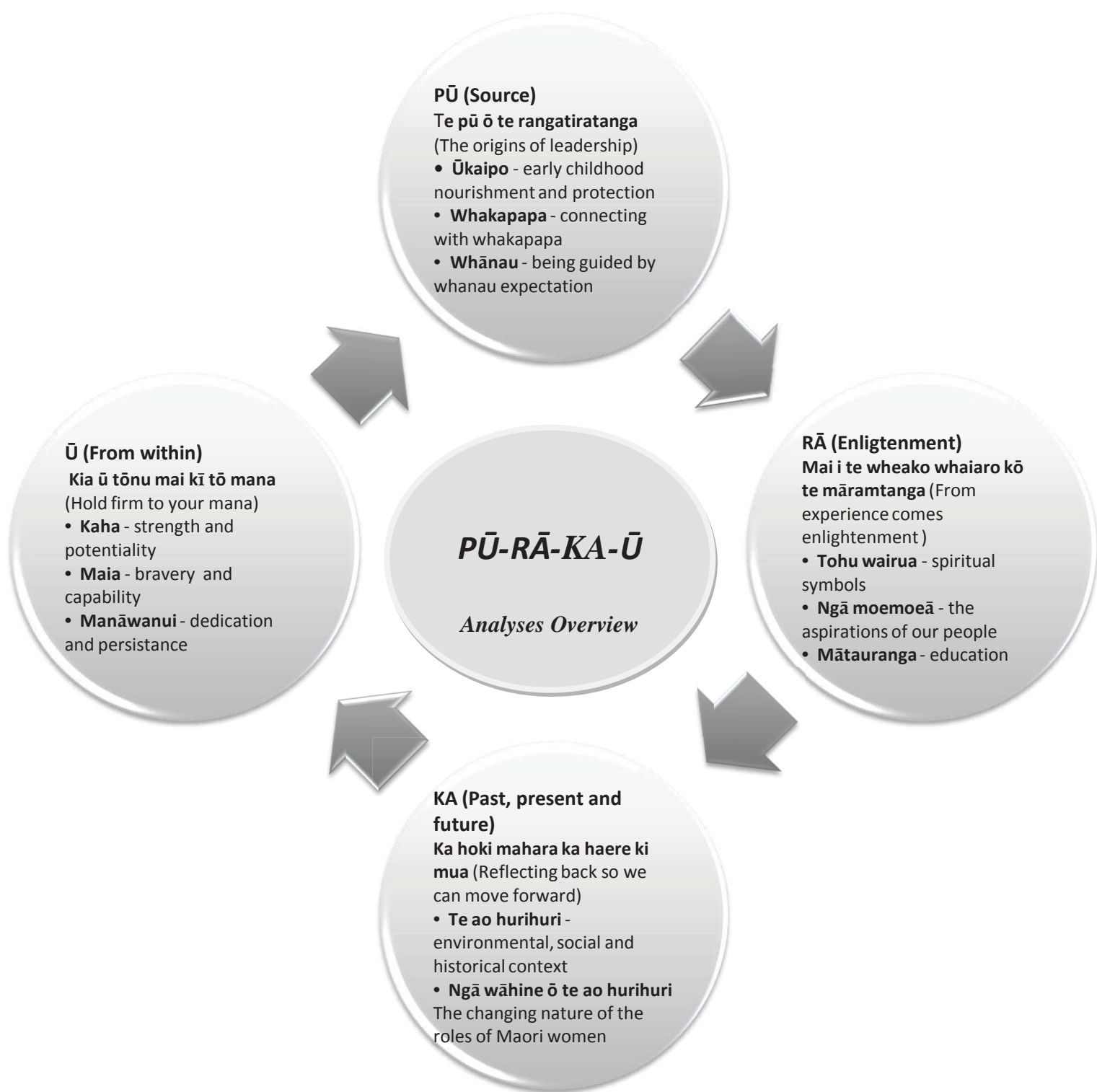


Figure 1: The pūrākau model of analyses including wāhanga titles and sections.

Walker discussed how creation stories provided the basis for understanding human behaviour and become methods for informing social behaviours (1978):

Embedded in the stories are themes and myth-messages that provide precedents, models and social prescriptions for human behaviour. In some cases the myth-messages are so close to the existing reality of human behaviour that it is difficult to resolve whether myth is the prototype or the mirror image of reality (p 32).

As already mentioned, pūrākau have been used to interpret the life story narratives of the women in this study using the underlying meanings of the four words which comprise its whole. Pūrākau as an analytic method has been structured using the meanings which derive from pū (*source*), rā (*enlightenment*), ka (*past, present and future*) and ū (*from within*) (see Figure 1). This section briefly describes how the four meanings have been developed to interpret the life experiences of these women.

Chapter five offers an analyses of the narrative stories based on the meanings derived from pū, which can mean ‘source, cause, origin, root and foundation’ (Te Ipu Karea, 2012). Pū has also been described as meaning the ‘absolute intention’, hence when people refer to the essence or absolute intent of one’s dialogue it is referred to as ‘te pūtake o te kōrero’ (N Glavish, personal communication, 6 September, 2010). In the context of this study it was used to explore the source of these women’s inspiration for entering leadership roles for Māori (see Figure 1). Three main sources of inspiration were identified using pū in this manner.

First, a clear relationship between the intergenerational transmissions of knowledge from their ūkaipō was established as a source of leadership development. Ūkaipō can be translated to mean ‘mother, origin, source of sustenance’ and ‘real home’ (Te Ipu Karea, 2012). In the context of this study it described the early childhood of these women’s lives during which they received nourishment, protection and care from their whānau. Within this context their ūkaipō became the source of inspiration from which these women were able to aspire to roles of leadership for Māori. In addition, ūkaipō became the source of leadership by recognising their early childhood potential as leaders and providing an environment in which these roles were identified, encouraged and nurtured. As a result, the learning and manāki (*support, care*

and protection) they received from their ūkaipō became a constant source of aspiration as they continued to work in their roles as leaders for Māori.

Second, whakapapa (*genealogy*) was identified as a source of inspiration for the leadership roles these women have assumed during their lives. Sustaining connections with their whakapapa and the physical environments in which their tīpuna descended was crucial to maintaining their roles as leaders in their community. Moreover, examining their whakapapa histories by reconnecting with the stories espoused within the whānau, hapū and iwi allowed opportunities to identify the specific expertise within their whakapapa. This process of connecting with whakapapa and identifying the genealogical expertise acknowledged and celebrated within their whānau largely directed and inspired the kinds of work they have done for Māori. As a result, whakapapa was a constant source of inspiration when engaging in and maintaining their roles as leaders for Māori.

The third source of leadership development was based on their roles within their whānau. Whānau were a key source of inspiration which enhanced the women's development as leaders. This was demonstrated in how they were constantly encouraged by whānau to enter roles, which assisted towards developing Māori communities. Moreover, these women were consistently guided by whānau expectations to participate in significant roles for whānau, hapū and iwi based on these expectations. These expectations arose during the early stages of their childhood and it was from these early expectations that they grew into important roles for whānau, hapū and iwi. Hence, whānau expectations became the source from which these women were launched into massive leadership roles in Māori communities.

Chapter six uses the meaning of *rā* (see Figure 1), which can be translated in many ways, but most often as the sun or day. In this study it has been used in reference to its relationship with light and extended to encompass periods of enlightenment similar to that gained when one reaches a stage of *māramatanga* (*enlightenment, insight, understanding, light, meaning, significance, brainwave*). These periods of enlightenment were used to interpret experiences that led to insight and understanding that informed or channelled their leadership pathways. Three primary experiences were identified which led to enlightenment and *māramatanga*. The first have been described as *tohu wairua*, which were fundamentally spiritual experiences. These spiritual experiences led to a process of enlightenment and enhanced understanding, which either initiated or sustained the women in their roles as leaders in the

Māori community. The second experience when enlightenment was achieved was based on experiences of racism and discrimination towards Māori in their community. These experiences led to enlightenment as a result of *moemoeā* (*dreams, visions*), which came about due to their desire to develop communities which accept, embrace and nurture Māori development. The third experience which led to enlightenment was gained as a result of their education in both Māori and non-Māori *mātauranga*. Enlightenment received from education encouraged the realisation of their *moemoeā* (*dreams, aspirations, visions*) by enabling pathways for development in Māori communities. Consequently, education increased their ability to support Māori community development in organised, collaborative and constructive ways.

Chapter seven illustrated the concept of *ka* based on its meanings of *past, present and future* to examine how the women's past and present experiences influenced their future aspirations in their roles as leaders for the community (refer to Figure 1). More specifically, I explored how past experiences guided the work they do for Māori. I then reviewed the contextual environments they lived in to identify how the context of their social, political and historical experiences have shaped the leadership roles they have entered as leaders in the Māori community.

Chapter eight used *ū* (*from within*) and its relationship to the provision of nourishment from within, to explore the nourishment they received to enable them to become leaders. It examines the intrinsic qualities these women brought to their roles in Māori communities, which helped them to grow and prosper as leaders. This is identified in the way *ū* was used to depict how traditional Māori characteristics such as *kaha* (*strength and potentiality*), *maia* (*bravery and capability*) and *manawānui* (*dedication and persistence*) were developed throughout their lifetimes (see Figure 1.) This chapter examined how these women were able to step up to and withstand the pressures of leadership by basing their individual leadership styles on traditional characteristics admired in the Māori community. To summarise, these were characteristics which were highly regarded in traditional Māori communities and which continue to retain significance in relation to the nature of Māori leadership today.

He kupu whakamutunga

The ethical discussions in this project began from its outset and continued to its very end. These issues were vast and complex, and included the ongoing debates regarding walking in two worlds as a Māori academic doing research in the Māori community and acknowledging the academic rigor of scholarly research. The ethical considerations included ensuring that the expectations for both worlds were not only acknowledged, but that they were met and maintained throughout the project. Engaging in robust dialogue with Māori inferred who would be included in the project based on feedback from a diverse range of Māori in the community. The data collection process itself was reliant on a collaborative working relationship with the women in this study and was based on their expectations of my research conduct. This was shown in the way that interviews were organised and structured and how the relationships with each woman were developed and maintained during the study. It was illustrated in the way I was required to engage in ongoing collaboration with the woman throughout the editing process of their narratives to ensure that the women whose stories were included in the thesis were represented in a manner which met with their expectations. This chapter also discussed how pūrākau as a framework for analysis was developed based on traditional Māori methods of learning and highlighted how, although Māori knowledge is dynamic and changing, at its heart traditional practises continue to resonate. It also aimed to introduce the key elements based on pūrākau as an analytic framework to provide a comprehensive analysis of how leadership was developed in the lives of thirteen Māori women. In conclusion, it provided a brief outline of how the research findings were explored based on this method of analysis and introduced how they were developed across the following four chapters.



Whakapapa

*I te timatatanga
 koo Rangí me Papa
 Tae kia koorua
 a kuí a koro
 Haere tonu
 ki ngaa matua
 me ngaa whaea
 Tae mai ki au
 Tuku atu
 ki ngaa tamariki
 Haere tonu
 ki ngaa mokopuna
 Kia tupu
 Kia ora
 Moo aake
 aake tonu*



Te Wahanga Tuarima: Ko te Pū o te Rangatiratanga: Chapter Five – The Source of Leadership

This chapter used pū (*source*) based on the pūrākau analysis framework to explore the life experiences, which were the source of these women's development as leaders (see Figure 1, p. 243). The first section does this by discussing how their early developmental experiences of nourishment and protection from their ūkaipō were the source of their aspirations for their work within the Māori community. It highlights the importance of traditional Māori values in relation to the child rearing practises of ūkaipō and identifies how these values have been maintained in Māori communities, and how they influenced the development of leadership qualities among these women. The second section focuses on how the women's experiences of connecting with whakapapa were a source of inspiration in the work they have done for Māori communities. This was illustrated in how they established and sustained connections to their whakapapa and how whakapapa histories and connecting to whenua have influenced the work they do for Māori. To conclude, this section focuses on how the women's source of inspiration for their work in Māori communities was guided by their experiences of whānau expectations. Finally, I reviewed how their roles in the community grew based on their experiences of whānau expectations, and how they were sustained because of the ongoing guidance they received from whānau throughout their lives.

Ingenuity, skill, initiative, and bravery were just as important qualities for leadership as inherited mana and tapu from chiefly forebears (Walker, 1993)

Kō te ūkaipō te pū o te ōra: ūkaipō was the source of nurturing and sustenance

Kō te whenua, te ūkaipō. Ko te ūkaipō, te whenua

(The land is our breast milk. That which gives us substance is the land)

Ūkaipō and its importance to the dynamics of whānau can be traced back to Māori stories of creation. As discussed previously, this was highlighted in the role of Papatuānuku as earth mother and was basis for the way women were considered te whare tangata. The term te whare tangata is translated to mean the ‘house of mankind’ and Papatuānuku is described as the ‘mother of all living things’ (Barlow, 1991, p. 147). This was an example of how traditional narratives provided the foundation for understanding the fundamental nature of women in Māori cosmogony, which liken Papatuānuku and Māori women with sustenance, nurturing and protection (Hutchings; 2002; Mead, 2002; Mikaere, 2003). Ūkaipō were also elaborated by Barlow (1991):

Ūkaipō refers to the nurturing person – literally the place where a person is suckled. The word is supposed to be an abbreviated form of the extended phrase ‘kai waiū i te poho’ or ‘suckling milk at mother’s breast’. Ūkaipō can also refer to the place in which a person grew up, that is where he or she was raised on the ‘fat of land’, especially during childhood (1991, p. 143).

Barlow (1991) noted that when Māori pass away it is practise to return their tūpāpaku (*deceased*) to their ūkaipō to rest with tīpuna. This was done so that they could continue to provide ‘spiritual sustenance’ to their descendants from the ‘spiritual realm’ (Barlow, 1991, p. 143). It is for this reason that a strong belief is maintained among Māori people that tīpuna are always present and are a constant source of guidance throughout life. Furthermore, understanding the importance of the values and practises within ūkaipō as a central building block for nurturing children within whānau was crucial to these women’s development as leaders and identified as the pū (*source*) for the development of their roles as leaders. For example, all of the women spoke of the early years of their lives and the support they received from their whānau during those years. These early experiences were central to the development of the values they apply to the work they do in Māori communities and were an ongoing source of inspiration in the development of their roles as

leaders. An example of this experience of nourishment and protection from their ūkaipō is highlighted by Louise as below:

I was eight years old when my karani (grandmother) died, yet now and again I can recall a whakāro (thought). I know it's really close to me and I have to really think about it, but then I think ae tika (yes that's right), this is the kōrero from my karani...So my karani has had a huge influence on my upbringing and despite all the things that happened after my karani's death, I held on to that thread and to the things that I was exposed to from my karani they were my life link. They helped me to overcome my personal trials and tribulations and I became a foster parent for about thirty something children while I was with my first husband.

As noted in the opening whakataukī of this chapter ūkaipō refers to the early childhood developmental principles of nurturing and protection of children. In the context of ūkaipō and based on the concept of pū as identifying the source of leadership development. Louise spoke of her experiences of being nourished, protected and nurtured by her karani during the early years of her life and described this time as her 'life-link'. These experiences demonstrated how the principles of ūkaipō in Louise's childhood were based on traditional Māori values, which emphasised that children need to be protected and nourished from birth and that the primary function of the whānau was to achieve this aim (Walker, 2004). In addition, Louise's experience highlighted how the traditional values of ūkaipō have influenced how she was raised and gave her continued guidance throughout her life as a caregiver for children. This was demonstrated in the knowledge received from her karani during her early life experiences and the positive messages given to her regarding her role in the Māori community, which encouraged her development as a leader. The oral transmission of intergenerational knowledge has been noted as playing a 'central role in the shaping of human behaviour' (Kalish, Griffiths & Lewandowsky, 2007, p 288). Louise's experiences of being nurtured by her karani demonstrated the importance of how oral methods of intergenerational knowledge transmission to how she made sense of her environment.

Experiences of nurturing within the ūkaipō from powerful intergenerational role models within their whānau also became a constant source of inspiration for these women. Ngahuia's example below described how her experiences of ūkaipō as a source of leadership

was based on having access to powerful role models, which encouraged her to recognise and develop her natural instincts and talents:

Mummy was just amazing. Her mother, my kuia, was even more extraordinary. I think even in my writing the influence and wisdom of these two remain absolutely pervasive. They were both essential to my own values and to my sense of hope and in a huge way to my creativity.

In Ngahuia's experience of ūkaipō having access to both her mother and grandmother in a warm and protective environment encouraged her belief in her inherent talent and her ability to achieve whatever she set out to do. This example further illustrated how traditional whānau environments, which encouraged intergenerational whānau member's involvement in children's lives, enhanced the environment of ūkaipō and reinforced the learning children received during their early stages of life. This process further demonstrated how ūkaipō became an integral source of leadership development for the women in this study.

As highlighted by Kahukiwa et al. (1999) the values of nurturing and protection of children within ūkaipō were reinforced in Māori communities by oriori (*lullabies*), which were a means for transferring traditional Māori values across generations. By analysing these methods of knowledge transmission it became evident that children were viewed as taonga (*precious*) (Kahukiwa et al., 1999; Turia, 2010, 2011; Wall, 2010). In relation to the women in this study the early experience of being treated as taonga in their ūkaipō encouraged the belief in their individual value and their abilities for high achievement, which became a further source of inspiration in their development as leaders. An example of this process was described by Tariana:

My aunts and my uncles had huge aspirations for me so I always believed when I was a kid and as a teenager that there was not anything I could not do and that I could be the barrier to my own opportunities because I was a bit head strong. I wanted to do things that I shouldn't be doing and all that sort of stuff, but that was a message that was given to me constantly.

Being taught at a young age that they were taonga and were able to achieve whatever they proposed to do was crucial to the women's development of their ability to work as leaders for Māori. This was reinforced in their ūkaipō by their whānau and became the primary

source for their development as leaders. The following waiata is an example of how the traditional values of ūkaipō were sustained in contemporary Māori communities using waiata as a method for knowledge transmission.

Kō te taonga ō tōku ngākau	The greatest treasure of my heart
Kō tāku mokopuna e	Is my little grandchild
He mokopuna korikori e	My dancing, moving grandchild
Hei aha hei aha e	But that's just fine
Kō te mea nui kō te aroha	Because the main thing is love
Kaua e patu tāku mokopuna	So don't hit my grandchild
Me awhi awhi koe	You hug and cuddle
Tāku mokopuna korikori e	My active little grandchild

This waiata reinforced how Kahukiwa et al. (1999) acknowledged that oriori and waiata were methods Māori sustained to transfer traditional knowledge across generations. The women's life experiences from the context of their ūkaipō highlighted the message reiterated in this waiata that children were taonga who need to be nurtured, protected and nourished. As a result, ūkaipō was the ongoing source of inspiration, which influenced these women throughout their entire lives. Early in life they were endowed with the gifts of intergenerational knowledge, which supported their pathways of leadership. They were steeped in the traditional values of how Māori children were raised, and were constantly reminded of their importance, value and the contribution they can make to Māori communities.

Another example of the importance of ūkaipō as a source of inspiration for the work these women do was provided by Pani. Her desire to work with whānau came from the learning she received from her mother with regards to her ability to manāki (*care for*) whānau during tangihanga:

My mother will always be my role model. She was very talented and my sisters and I shared some of those same gifts... I loved being a nurse and caring for the sick and the dying. It seemed to come natural to me especially when it came to the dead and comforting their families. My mother taught me to always respect the dead and remember that they were special to their loved ones. So, with the benefit of my

mother's wisdom I developed the ability to present the dead at their best throughout most of my life.

These experiences of learning from her mother were a source of inspiration for the work that Pani did in the hospital and in the wider Māori community. In particular, these experiences encouraged and developed her ability to *manāki whānau pani* (*caring for grieving families*). Her experiences of learning and understanding the value of *manākitanga* (*hospitality, kindness*) and the intergenerational transmission of knowledge from her mother enhancing her ability to *manāki tangata* (*care for people*) came from within her *ūkaipō*. Early in life she was given the skills, knowledge and ability to enter an important leadership role in the Māori community. This was demonstrated in the variety of caring roles she has had throughout her life as she has worked as a nurse, a social work and as a *kuia*. Again, *ūkaipō* was an inherent source of leadership development, which encouraged their development as leaders and sustained them in these roles within Māori communities.

Ūkaipō was a traditional means from which one could seek sustenance. As illustrated by these women's experiences, the values and practises of *ūkaipō* continued to be applied to their early experiences of growth and development. These values provided a basis for understanding how Māori used *ūkaipō* as a way to infuse leadership development in young people across generations from a very early age. This was done in the context of *whānau* environments described by these women, which encouraged them to flourish by nurturing and protecting them. It was demonstrated in the way the women gained traditional leadership knowledge in *whānau* environments, which encouraged intergenerational learning and, which viewed them as the most valuable *taonga* in their communities. In addition, the view of *ūkaipō* as central to childhood development and the belief that children were *taonga* was highlighted in the orally transmitted intergenerational knowledge they received, which became a source of wellbeing and inspiration throughout their lives. Furthermore, they were very clear that the essence of the values learned early in life have been an ongoing source of strength, which has continued to nourish them in their roles as leaders. Finally, the importance of *ūkaipō* as the *pū* (*source*) of their leadership development in Māori communities was evident in how these women have continued to return to their *ūkaipō* to source nourishment and sustenance throughout their lives.

Kō te whakapapa te pū o tā rātou mahi: whakapapa was the source for their work

Polynesians possess oral traditions that reveal sophisticated understandings of the world and of their place in it. These typically take the form of an elaborate cosmogony beginning with the origin of the universe and the primal parents, then continuing to trace the descent of living and nonliving, material and immaterial phenomena, including humans. Among New Zealand Māori, such knowledge is encoded and recorded in a mental construct called whakapapa...whakapapa functions as a genealogical table or family pedigree in which the lineages connect each papa or layer (a metaphorical reference to each generation of a family) (Roberts et al., 2004, p. 1).

This study showed using the pūrākau framework and the concept of pū to identify the source of their leadership that whakapapa and experiences of connecting with their whakapapa were integral to the development of their roles as leaders for Māori. This experience was described by Beryl:

...I think I need to start way back when 'cause my family background has just shaped everything I do.

Beryl's experiences of connecting with her biological whānau, whakapapa and turangawaewae were the primary source of her desire to learn te reo Māori, which led to her experiences of teaching within kura kaupapa. This experience highlighted the beginnings of connecting with her whakapapa, which led to her engagement with te ao Māori and the work she has done as a result. Moreover, her experiences of connecting with her whakapapa inspired her commitment to preserving te reo Māori in Māori communities and were the source of inspiration for her PhD, which was dedicated to recording the history of her iwi. In addition to this example, Kirsty described her connection with whakapapa after having been raised in Australia as the source of her inspiration to work within Māori communities:

...once I got back to New Zealand I really felt like I was home. When my parents decided to return back to Australia I literally begged them to let me stay with my grandparents here in New Zealand.

Kirsty's experiences of connecting to her whakapapa by returning to her whenua and her whānau became a major source of inspiration for her work in Māori communities and it was

based on these connections that she returned to Aotearoa. For Kirsty experiencing this connection with her whakapapa and her whenua was central to her desire to being a part of and working within Māori communities. Whakapapa was described by Mead (2003) as ‘a fundamental attribute and gift of birth’. It was referred to by Mead as ‘the key’ to the relationships Māori have with their turangawaewae, rohe, whenua and the wai their whenua connects too (p. 43). Kirsty and Beryl’s experiences of reconnecting with whakapapa demonstrated Mead’s example of the importance of whakapapa to Māori and provided a background for understanding the source of their inspiration for working for Māori communities. As a result, their experiences of connecting with whakapapa were a primary source of their motivation for working with whānau Māori (*Māori families, communities*).

Whakapapa consists of complex relationships with tuakana and teina (*younger same sex sibling*), aunts and uncles, kaumatua and kuia and it was based on descent from tīpuna and atua (Berryman, Bateman and Cavanagh, 2008; Tate, 2010; Te Rito, 2007). Another example of how connecting with whakapapa was a source of inspiration for the work these women do in their communities was provided by Annette when she described how her experiences of connecting with her whakapapa history guided the work she does in her community. She did this by describing her history and descent from Hinehopu and her connection to this tīpuna. When speaking to her whakapapa connections she advised that being a descendant of Hinehopu and living on the whenua her tīpuna lived on in the Ngāti Pikiao area shaped and guided the values she holds dear. Moreover, her tīpuna Hinehopu and their memories of her further inspired the work she does for Māori. She discussed her experiences of upholding the sacredness of her tīpuna, whenua and her iwi Ngāti Pikiao and how sustaining this heritage was integral to her role as a leader for Māori. This example described how Annette’s experience of connecting to her whakapapa and her whenua reminds her of the status and privilege she sustains in relation to the origins of her iwi. Annette further identified that her work has been aimed at protecting her people in the same ways they were protected by her ancestor Hinehopu. These connections to her whakapapa history reinforced the responsibility she has for ensuring that the land and the traditions of her iwi are maintained.

As noted previously whakapapa was the layering upon which in Māori communities’ foundations were built and these foundations were based on a connection sustained with ariki, koroua, kui and tīpuna. Annette’s connection to her whakapapa was reinforced by the

oral histories, which her whānau have passed down across generations regarding their tīpuna. In addition, it was due to being immersed in this knowledge throughout her life that she was able to identify how her whakapapa history has been a source of inspiration in the work she does in does with Māori communities. This was highlighted by how her whenua strengthened her experience of her connection with her tīpuna, and how remembering and sharing these stories consolidated her return to her rohe. This connection to her whakapapa history became a major source from which she found inspiration to do the work she does in her community.

Kirsty reinforced this example by illustrating how whakapapa histories guided the work she does for Māori communities:

I believe that if we look to our whakapapa it will tell us some of the career areas we are destined to be a part of I do believe that although each to their own, but that's been my experience.

Kirsty's experiences of understanding her whakapapa history helped her to identify the skills she inherited, which assisted her to understand how these skills can best influence the work she does in Māori communities. As a result, understanding and connecting with these histories became a further source of inspiration in her role as a leader for Māori. Many of these genealogical histories have been lost as a consequence of colonisation and Māori have actively worked to recover those which have been lost over time (Sharples, 2010). Reconnecting with and understanding whakapapa has been a journey Māori have been participating in as a part of the language revitalisation process (Wirihana, 2008). As illustrated by these women this process of connection with whakapapa history became a means for identifying the kinds of work prevalent in their history and provided inspiration for the kinds of roles they have held within Māori communities. Using the concept of pū to analyse the source of the development of their leadership roles highlighted how whakapapa and connecting with their whakapapa was a primary motivation for the work they have done within their communities.

Whakapapa has been described as the means to maintain connections to family structures, which extend far beyond the nuclear parent and child relationships (Mead, 2003; Ruwhiu, 2009; Tate, 2010; Te Rito, 2007; Walker, 1990; Valentine, 2009). As noted by Barlow

(1991) ‘Whakapapa is the genealogical descent of all living things from the Gods to the present time and whakapapa is ‘to lay one thing upon another’ as, for example, to lay one generation upon another’ (p. 173). These foundations are not only based on descent from tīpuna and atua, but are also a means for connecting to waka. In discussions by Johnstone (2008) whakapapa included the connections with whenua and bodies of water in the rohe (*territory, boundary*) settled by tīpuna on their arrival. Hence, whakapapa included relationships with whānau, hapū, iwi, tīpuna and atua. In addition to these relationships, whakapapa recognised vital connections Māori have with the natural environment, which have been acknowledged as crucial to Māori identity (Berryman, Bateman & Cavanagh, 2008; Te Rito, 2007).

Whakapapa was noted by Edwards (2009) as the vehicle from which cultural knowledge and heritage can be maintained. Traditionally, whakapapa served as a means for maintaining genealogy and connection to Papatūānuku and it was used as a method for teaching and learning within ngā whare wānanga (Melbourne, 2009). Whakapapa was traditionally a means by which intergenerational knowledge was passed down from generation to generation and Māori knowledge has largely been sustained in the Māori community as a result of this method (Pere, 1982). This transmission of knowledge has supported the retention of whakapapa knowledge in some communities and has strengthened relationships in Māori communities.

Tuhiwai Smith (1992) reported that whakapapa was the foundation by which Māori women ‘make sense of different realities’, and it was important in a number of ways for the women in this study (p. 39). For example, experiences of connecting to whakapapa have been an immense source of inspiration for the work they do for Māori communities. In addition, their foundations in whakapapa led to some of their most poignant works in Māori communities and were essential to how they worked and the kinds of work they have done for Māori. As Barlow (1999) stated ‘Whakapapa is one of the most prized forms of knowledge’ in the Māori community (p 174). Whakapapa was the main doctrine Māori used to understand and relate to each other and was the basis from which these women engaged in the work they did in Māori communities. As a result, by using the concept of pū to analyse the source of their leadership development it is clear that whakapapa was a further source from which they found inspiration to engage in and sustain the work they have done in their roles as leaders for Māori.

Ngā tohutohu o te whānau te pū o te rangatiratanga: whānau expectations were the source of leadership

All the people in a community are expected to know who their immediate ancestors are, and to pass this information on to their children so that they too may develop pride and a sense of belonging through understanding the roots of their heritage (Barlow, 1991, p 174).

Experiences of how whakapapa was a source of inspiration for these women were described by Naida in the context of whānau expectations. Analysing these women's life experiences of whānau expectations using pū to identify the source of their roles as leaders highlighted how Naida stated her skills of leadership developed as a consequence being the matāmua (*oldest sibling*) within her whānau. These experiences of being matāmua facilitated her early responsibilities within her whānau and the skills she attained in this role were transferrable to the work she does in Māori communities.

...the leadership role in me came as the eldest of my brother and two sisters. I took the role in which at the age of ten I could bake bread, I could clean house, I could do the washing, I could nurse the twins, I could do everything. So as the tuakana matāmua of our whānau my leadership skills began with the ability to keep house and keep my brother and sisters safe. Yeah, I think that was the beginning of the leadership role and that's us as a people we know that there is a role. The role of the matāmua is to cast the shade of safety over all the tuakana, teina, tungane and tuahine. The role of the teina is to be creative in the knowledge that the tuakana are there to pick them up when they create havoc and they often do.

Early in her life Naida's experiences of whānau expectations directed how she became a leader in the context of her own whānau and demonstrated how these skills influenced the work she does in Māori communities. The relationships between tuakana, teina, matāmua and pōtiki (*youngest sibling/cousin*) encouraged roles of leadership based on the expectations of whānau early in life, which they sustained throughout their lives. These expectations became a source of leadership skill development, which began early in her life. As her role within the Māori community grew these skills were utilised within to her role as a leader for Māori.

The women in the study further identified how their experiences of whānau expectations became a source, a guide and an inspiration for the continued work they do within Māori communities. This was noted in the following example by Louise who described how her experience of whānau expectations influenced the work she has done for Māori:

When my name was put forward for my current position I had a kōrero with my whānau. I went back to my whānau and they said, "Why not? You've been doing this sort of position." I said, "Who the heck wants to be a kuia, a bloody kuia?" I said, "I'm going to be one of those one day, but not today!" So my cousin Boss Tipene said to me, "Get off your laurels there's nothing you can do." I said, "I don't like it!" He said, "You're not meant to like it! You're not there for you you're there for your people." That was the key. You're not there for you you're there for the people.

Louise's experience of how she became the kuia within the hospital services highlighted how whānau expectations influenced the work these women do in wider Māori communities in addition to their leadership roles within their own whānau, hapū and iwi. Louise's experience identified how whānau expectations included the expectation that they would assume leadership responsibilities within the wider Māori community. In particular that they would do so when it was identified that their leadership was required within their communities. As a consequence, using the concept of pū to analyse their experiences illustrated how their whānau expectations became an ongoing source of inspiration which guided, directed and reinforced the work they do for Māori communities.

Tate (2010) stated that the relationships Māori develop in the context of whānau are based on intricate structures inherent to whakapapa. Within of this study the women's experiences of these structures were a crucial source of leadership development in their lives. This has been true regardless of whether they were raised in urban or rural settings. Identifying with their whakapapa and sustaining those links within whānau, hapū and iwi was central to their individual development and key to the work they do within their communities. Within the context of whakapapa, and as a result of their experience of whānau expectations, they were able to learn and integrate various forms of leadership skills and qualities learned within their whānau environments. They were able to find guidance by looking back to their whakapapa histories for inspiration, and they developed an appreciation of the skills they inherited from their tīpuna in the work they do for Māori. Their experiences of leadership

development supported Winiata's (1967) concepts of inherited leadership because of their connections to whakapapa and whakapapa history. Furthermore, it acknowledged how their leadership grew as a result of their roles within their whānau as well as those encouraged by their whānau within Māori communities. Their roles as leaders also grew based on the passing down of intergenerational knowledge, which began as early as childhood.

Whakapapa can be a powerful means for interpreting Māori experiences as it is the basis of a fundamental social and value system within Māori communities. In addition, whakapapa provided a method for understanding how these values have been maintained and developed over time. Moreover, whakapapa was the basis from which Māori learnt elementary codes of conduct and prescribed the rules of engagement with each other and their environment. Additionally, in the context of this study the women's experiences of connecting with whakapapa highlighted that whakapapa was a vital source of leadership development for these women within their whānau and within their wider Māori communities. As a core element to Māori lifestyle and engagement, whakapapa was a means from which the women have drawn their strength and capacity to work within their communities. Although their diversity in background makes each woman unique, they each identified that their experiences of their relationships within whānau, hapū and iwi were a primary source of their desire to work within Māori communities. As a consequence, whakapapa was fundamental to the work each of the women has done in Māori communities as it informed the work they did and it guided how they did it. Finally, understanding whakapapa and the many layers which nurture Māori experiences of social, physical, natural and spiritual environments means exploring a 'body of knowledge which existed...prior to the arrival of the European in New Zealand' (Royal, 2005, p 221). Therefore, in the context of this study by analysing the life experiences of these women using pūrākau as a method for analysis and peeling back the layers of whakapapa demonstrated how experiences of the traditional values of whakapapa were a critical source of leadership development within Māori communities today.

He kupu whakamutunga

Using pūrākau as a framework of analysis I was able to identify the life experiences which were the pū (*source*) of these women's leadership roles. Ūkaipō refers to nurturing and nourishment and to the care and protection of our children as precious taonga in Māori communities. It refers to the environment from which one was nurtured by mātua, whaea, koroua and kui and reinforces the notions of harmony and balance. In addition, experiences of ūkaipō can provide methods of teaching and sharing knowledge from elders, which can influence the leadership development of young people. Providing nourishment and protection from the ūkaipō can enhance the ways in which Māori relationships in the context of whānau influence the work Māori do within the wider Māori community. As highlighted in the narratives within this study ūkaipō was a key source of inspiration for the work these women do in Māori communities. It was during their early years they received the 'unconditional love' described by Kahukiwa et al. (1999), which nurtured their beliefs in their ability to work in their roles of leadership in Māori communities. The ability of whānau to nurture children and young people not only developed 'the concern and aroha for the further generations' for these women, but was the basis for the work they have done with Māori (Kahukiwa et al., 1999, p. 4). The traditional values of ūkaipō created a foundation from whence these women were given the confidence to proceed and succeed in whichever pathway they chose to follow. This was highlighted in the early lessons these women had in the context of whānau and in the sharing of traditional knowledge across generations. It was evident in how they were identified as leaders early in life and were nourished into roles of leadership within their whānau and their communities. Furthermore, the process of identifying potential leaders in the context of ūkaipō and nurturing the development of leadership skills reinforced the traditional models of acquired leadership (Winiata, 1967).

In summary, using the concept of pū to identify their source of leadership highlighted how whakapapa was the basis of leadership development for these women. Connecting with whakapapa was a source of inspiration which encouraged their work in Māori communities. These women looked to their whakapapa histories for guidance in the work they do in Māori communities and often based their work in Māori communities on whānau expectations. Whakapapa, ūkaipō and whānau were the springs which fuelled and inspired the work these women do in Māori communities. They were where the women returned for physical,

emotional and spiritual sustenance. They were also ways of being founded on long traditions of Māori history and the intergenerational transmission of knowledge across this history. These traditions are intrinsically bound to Māori relationships with their spiritual, physical, social and environments. In the context of this study, experiences of ūkaipō, whakapapa and whānau were necessary sources for the growth and development of leadership. They were methods Māori used to transmit traditional knowledge across generations to nurture the growth of leadership, and they have continued to enhance the development of Māori leaders today.

Marama

E whakapā ana te wairua

te ngākau

i te ākonga

Kia mārama i te mātauranga

E whai ana ngā moemoeā

Kia mārama tātou



Te Wāhanga Tuaono - Mai i te Wheako Whaiaro kō te Māramatanga: Chapter Six - From Experience Comes Enlightenment

This chapter used the analytic framework based on pūrākau (see Figure 1. p. 243) to explore the concept of rā. Rā was used in the study to identify moments of enlightenment or advanced understanding in the women's lives, which led to the development of leadership in the lives of the women in this study. It explored the moments in their lives when they experienced māramatanga (*enlightenment, insight, understanding, light, meaning, significance, brainwave*), which led to or further developed their roles as leaders for Māori. In the context of this study māramatanga was used to describe insight, understanding and light and represented the periods of enlightenment and insight these women have gained from different experiences. This process of māramatanga is described by the following whakataukī:

Mā te whakaatu, ka mohio. Mā te mōhio, ka mārama. Mā te mārama, ka mātau. Mā te mātau, ka ora. (*By discussion cometh understanding. By understanding cometh light. By light cometh wisdom. By wisdom cometh life everlasting*) (Tate, 1991, p. ix).

Although the women in this study have been faced with massive challenges they have had to overcome throughout their lives. During these times they have had experiences of enlightenment, which helped them to continue working in their communities. This chapter discusses how these times of enlightenment arose based on specific experiences, which supported their development as leaders. The first section of this chapter discussed how enlightenment was found as a result of their experiences of wairua. The second section of this chapter looked at how experiences of racism and discrimination in Māori communities led to times of enlightenment and the development of their moemoeā (*dream, vision*) for Māori communities. The final section of this chapter explored how experiences of mātauranga Māori (*Māori education*) and matauranga tauīwi (*non-Māori education*) led to enlightenment and enhanced the nature of the work they have done within their communities.

Ngā tohu wairua ō te koiora: the spiritual symbols of life

Māori women's realities are spiritual as well as physical...our spirituality is dynamic – it waxes and wanes, ebbs and flows, and transforms itself (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1992, p. 43).

Spirituality was central to how Māori understood and interpreted their environments. Durie (2005) noted that a number of explanations have been offered, which have examined the nature of spirituality for Māori in Aotearoa (Best, 1934, 2005; Marsden, 2003; Tate, 1999). The nature of Māori spirituality for Māori women can be a dynamic and transformative process (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1992). Wairua is central to how Māori make sense of experience and as Marsden (2003) stated:

Māori perceived the universe as a 'process'. But they went beyond the New Physicists idea of the Real world as simply 'pure energy' to postulate a world comprised of a series of interconnected realms separated by aeons of time from which there eventually emerged the Natural World. This cosmic process is unified and bound together by spirit (p. 31).

Wairua defined the Māori worldview and was interconnected with what Marsden (2003) described as 'ultimate reality' (p.33). As a result, the influence of wairua was ever present in the context of Māori experience. Using the analytic framework based on pūrākau and the concept of rā to identify periods of enlightenment or māramatanga, which enhanced the women's roles as leaders. Their journeys as leaders in Māori communities were constantly informed by their experiences of wairua and they often refer to being guided by their tīpuna. These experiences occurred during critical moments in their lives when wairua allowed them to find enlightenment or a higher understanding of their purpose and goals in life and were crucial to the work they do for Māori. They were often intangible, intuitive and powerfully transformative and they helped create or sustain the pathways of leadership they hold within their communities. An example of how experiences of wairua led to enlightenment and influenced the work she has done in Māori communities was discussed by Tariana. Tariana spoke about running as a Member of Parliament for the Labour Party and the following excerpt described the experience she had with her whānau following the election and their interpretation of her success:

I nearly bloody died when the results came in. In fact I'd gone to bed because I didn't think I had a show of getting in. I was twenty one on the list and Labour was polling really low. I went to bed and my whangai sister rang me at about two in the morning screaming to me on the phone that I was in. I said to her, "You probably don't know how to read the polls." They kept rolling over on the TV and then the names would drop down. I thought she'd got it all wrong. Gosh when I switched on the TV I couldn't sleep. I was beside myself just thinking about what I'd done. Three people had to lose their seats just for me to get it in Whetu Tirikātene-Sullivan, Chris Carter and Richard Northy. Labour insisted I go to Wellington for ten days and I had the embarrassment of sitting around with these three people who were all awaiting recounts. Their recounts had gone against them and the three of them lost their seats. Now our people saw that as the hunga wairua at work. They really believed more than anything that I was meant to go and that I was meant to be there.

I was meant to be running a hui at Putiki where I grew up with the old people. We had been doing this strategic planning looking at our future as an iwi and trying to develop a set of policies that would clearly demonstrate our own authority when we were working with the government on anything. It was just so so great I just love doing that work. I arrived at Pūtiki and I hadn't told any of them that I'd got in, and I was hoping that none of them had watched TV that night. Of course when I arrived there, well they were all crying these kuia who I had grown up at their feet and who had taught me everything I knew about working at the marae and working in the dining room and working out the back. These kuia who had growled me and who had told on me when they saw me up town when I shouldn't have been. All of those people were at the marae and they cried. Most of them have gone now but I realised, probably more vividly at that time just how much each of them had contributed to shaping the person that I was.

Tariana's experience of hunga wairua (*group of spirits*) influenced the work she does in the community. Her experience of this state of wairua led to enlightenment and a higher understanding for herself and her community of her role and the importance of her role within their community. This example illustrated how her pathway was guided by her elders and how her experience of wairua was important to how her community positively viewed her role as a leader for Māori. In addition, this experience of wairua was further recognition by her community that she was the right leader required for the work she was doing for Māori communities. Experiences of wairua within this study were illustrations of how wairua connect the women with their tīpuna. They reinforced the belief that tīpuna were a

constant presence in their lives and that they watched over and protected them in the work they do with Māori. These tīpuna or kaitiaki navigated pathways the women took and became an ongoing source of heightened learning and enhanced understanding in the context of the work they do.

Experiences of wairua for the women in this study and the enlightenment and māramatanga they found in these experiences were acutely transformative. These spiritual experiences, which led to powerful transformations in their lives inevitably affected or were associated to the work they do in Māori communities as demonstrated in Tariana's experience. While they often directly influenced their professional lives and the work they do in Māori communities they would also guide their personal lives. For instance, Beryl spoke of needing to connect with her biological whānau and her process of doing so included seeking enlightenment and understanding from tīpuna while on the marae. In this situation Beryl asked the pou of the wharenuī for guidance from her tīpuna in her decision making process.

You know what I did to pick the sister? I was working at Waititi at the time and I didn't know what to do. It was a Saturday and I went to the marae. No one was there and I stood in front of the meeting house of Ngā Tūmanako and I just said, "I don't know what to do." Then for some reason she popped into my mind and I made my mind up she was the one I was going to see. She was the one I was going to see and she was the right one. She was the only one that could've done that and her and my mum are my biggest influences. I just think what luck to have them. I mean they weren't perfect, but they were descent women and clever ladies. I just don't know why I was so lucky.

Reconnecting with her whānau was a primary source of inspiration for the work Beryl has done in Māori communities. This experience of wairua assisted her towards gaining enlightenment and understanding on how to proceed forward with a difficult situation in her life. It then influenced a pathway which strengthened her relationship with her whānau and encouraged her engagement within the wider Māori community. A traditional pūrākau based on Hinetitama (*the dawn maiden, the first human*) and her quest to find her identity identified how she was encouraged to ask ngā pou (*the carved posts of the house of her ancestors*), which were the symbols of her tīpuna for the answers to her questions (Reed, 1997). Although versions of this pūrākau vary Hinetitama sought heightened understanding of her situation by asking her ancestors in the same way Beryl asked for guidance from hers.

This pūrākau provided an insight into the importance of seeking guidance from tīpuna and the trust and faith Māori place with tīpuna when seeking advice during difficult or trying times. Beryl's experience of seeking support and guidance from tīpuna using this method also reflected how Māori view tīpuna a constant presence. This experience led to a moment of enlightenment, which assisted in her reconnection to her whānau. At times these experiences of wairua came as a means for intensive internal reflection which occurred during periods of crisis, success or change. This was evident in Beryl's experience and was described by Kirsty in the following statement:

I believe our tūpuna call us back to things.

This statement acknowledged that these women strongly believed their tīpuna guide their lives in particular directions. It illustrated how these women felt supported by tīpuna in their experiences of wairua and that these times of enlightenment powerfully enhanced the work they do for Māori. Their experiences of wairua influenced the work they have done during their lives and in their roles and relationships with their whānau in broad and meaningful ways. For example, Tariana's experience of hunga wairua came when she was making critical decisions about her role in the Māori community. Kirsty and Beryl both acknowledged how wairua and tīpuna provided guidance and enhanced understanding in their roles and relationships. A further example of how wairua led to enlightenment was provided by Helen when she noted that her whole desire to engage in works within the Māori community came about as a consequence of a dream she had.

There are a whole lot of things to our environment that we don't necessarily see or acknowledge as well and I suppose in some ways I got into this job because of a dream I had when I was up North. I was long term unemployed and I had this dream. I won't go into details about the dream, but basically it sent me off looking for a job, any job at this stage, which had a way that would lead into something.

Following her experience of this dream Helen first began working for Māori at the Auckland City Council. Helen found enlightenment, purpose and a higher understanding of her role within Māori communities based on this dream. This led to some of her most important work for Māori. It also assisted her to move into various positions, but always with a focus on Māori development.

Naida referred to an experience of wairua when she recalled standing against Telecom for being asked not to greet people on the phone lines in te reo Māori. Naida spoke of how she managed this dilemma and in a moment of intensive self reflection described how she found enlightenment and guidance from her tīpuna due to an experience of wairua.

I heard this voice as I was going over the harbour bridge and this voice said to me, “Nui ake tēnei take ia koe!” This is far greater than you! I thought it was the wind whistling in the window so I wound the window up! Then I got to the top of the bridge and I heard it again, “Nui ake tēnei take ia koe!” So with that I knew it was the voice of my grandmother and this was in 1984 she had actually died November 4th 1972.

This experience came during a difficult time in which Naida was seeking further understanding of her role in the situation with Telecom. As a result of her decision to continue promoting te reo Māori in this role Naida became renowned throughout Aotearoa as the ‘Kia ora lady’ and has become one of the strongest advocates for te reo Māori today. These examples highlighted how experiences of wairua were interpreted as their work being guided by tīpuna throughout their lives. Enlightenment received from their experiences of wairua was essential to their development as leaders and to the work they do for Māori. They were intuitive transformative moments of spiritual reflection, which were acknowledged and interpreted by whānau and fused their relationship with tīpuna.

These experiences of wairua highlighted how Māori accept the intrinsic nature of spirituality when working within Māori communities. Understanding wairua and the influence it can have in one’s life was essential to leadership development and integral to the work Māori leaders do within Māori communities. Furthermore, experiences of wairua encouraged and supported these women’s life journeys and they have been a way for the women to reflect on and provide meaning for the work that they do. They have also been examples of times when they have either sought or found guidance and enlightenment from tīpuna when facing periods of change, controversy, challenge, doubt and indecision. Experiences of being guided and of seeking guidance from tīpuna were practises valued in the Māori community as noted in the following poem work by Pehimana (1995):

You’re my tīpuna wāhine toa and I call on you often for aroha, kaha and wisdom. You’ve never failed and I’ll cherish you till in death we’re re-united (p. 21).

Tīpuna not only guided and instructed the work the women do, but as Pehimana noted many Māori consistently seek guidance and instruction from tīpuna throughout their lives. Although these women speak of points in their lives when experiences of wairua provided enlightenment, transformation and guidance they were always aware of the constant presence and influence of wairua in their lives. They acknowledged that these experiences needed to be interpreted in the context of Māori environments with the guidance of kuia and koroua or with the support of whānau. Traditionally Māori elders were the primary holders of knowledge and were essential to the function of ‘priestly duties’ (Barlow, 1999, p. 59). Mead (2003) claimed ‘The kaumatua and kuia, the elders, are often the guardians of tikanga’ (p. 14). This is a position of status and responsibility within the Māori community, which comes as a consequence of the intergenerational transmission of traditional knowledge. As a result, many of the women in this study were able to interpret experiences or states of wairua based on their own knowledge as kuia, and have been able to provide highly reflexive accounts of the meaning and influence wairua has had on the mahi they do with Māori. Many of these women were kuia when interviewed and were either raised or have immersed themselves in te ao Māori. They are now developing the knowledge and ability to interpret these experiences based on their own access to intergenerational transmission of traditional knowledge. Finally, using the pūrākau framework of analysis highlighted how their ability to find māramatanga, light, enlightenment and meaning from their experiences of wairua have been essential to their development as leaders within this community.

Ngā moemoeā mo te iwi Māori: the dreams and aspirations for Māori people

Our work has always demanded that we make distinctions between the symptoms and the causes of oppression. We are caught in that we have to deal simultaneously with both...The reality of our struggle is that we are caught in a crisis which will engage our minds and our energies for all our lives (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1992, p. 43).

All of the women in this study were recognised by their communities as leaders for Māori and their work has been largely based on their desire to see Māori communities improve. Their moemoeā for Māori communities have begun with a very basic need to ensure optimum environments for Māori to grow within. These moemoeā provided opportunities to

experience periods of enlightenment and māramatanga, which arose as a consequence of their experiences of racism and discrimination within their communities. Racism began early in their lives and their experiences of pain and difficulty due to racism led to a heightened understanding of the need to develop their moemoeā to see Māori embrace their heritage, and to provide or develop spaces which allowed them to flourish. These times of enlightenment based on their moemoeā for Māori communities set the stage for many of the works they have done within these communities.

Sharon described her experience of racism with regard to her goals to develop a Māori clinical service that had a by Māori for Māori approach to working in Māori communities. She advised of her experience of wanting to provide a free psychological service to Māori and the racism she experienced from non-Māori who discouraged her efforts and believed she would fail in this endeavour. Sharon identified that this lack of faith in their ability to succeed was based on their service being independent to mainstream organisations. Sharon's aspiration for providing a psychological service for Māori was achieved as a consequence of her moemoeā to provide a unique service for Māori communities. In addition, her experiences of racism led to a time of enlightenment in which she believed that her moemoeā was not only possible, but that her dreams had the potential to provide for the needs in Māori communities in an innovative and creative way. Thus, Sharon's experiences of racism significantly motivated her desire to provide a service for her community, which she believed she could facilitate in a manner which best suited Māori needs.

Experiences of racism and how it affected these women's work were described by Tariana. Her moemoeā for the decrease of discrimination in Māori communities strongly informed the work she has done publicly in the community. These experiences led to times of enlightenment in which she sought to build safer communities for younger generations of Māori. They led her to making public the impacts of racism on Māori in her community.

Then the Springbok tour came along and it divided our household down the middle. I grew angrier and angrier about the racism that I would see in our community and I began to relate it to ourselves. When we first went to look for a flat we couldn't get one. We could get it if I went on my own because they wouldn't be sure if I was Māori, but if George and I both went to look at it that night it wouldn't be available. So I was really angry going into my thirties and I think that my energy was

dissipated by that anger. I got off-side with probably most of my relatives through making anti-Pākehā and anti-system comments.

A Rotary Club invited me to come and talk about racism. I was probably about thirty five then and I was invited by the judge at the Court. I used to go to the court and pick young kids up and take them home. I always took in kids particularly teenagers because nobody kind of wanted to look after teenagers and we had the room. We had the farm and I had a lot of love for kids so I used to pick up the kids at Court. The judge at the Court recommended that I come along and talk about racism at this Rotary Club. Unbeknown to me there was a media person sitting in the room and I went and shared my deepest thoughts about racism in our community. It came out in our paper the next day and the crap hit the fan basically.

As a consequence of their experiences of racism these women began early in their lives to find enlightenment in their moemoeā, which they developed in their goal to assist towards the betterment of Māori community. These times of enlightenment led to their desire to voice the discrimination in their communities as highlighted by Tariana. Alternatively, they led to the development of Māori services in their communities, which was demonstrated by Sharon's experience.

For the women in this study their moemoeā were strongly related to their desire for the promotion and access of te re Māori me onā tikanga within their communities. These women have been strong figures in the protection and retention of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga and their dedication to this work has often been directed by their experiences of racism. In addition, using the concept of rā to explore how they have found māramatanga and enlightenment in their moemoeā to ensure that Māori culture, values and practises were retained for future generations was described by Naida's experience as a te reo Māori teacher at her local high school:

Anyway, the first term of school this class had the highest attendance rate in the whole school. They came because they owned the class. It was theirs and it was Māori and they were brilliant. The change of attitude came when I said to them, "Look they call me a teacher and my salary is based on the fact that they call me a teacher, but in actual fact you're the teachers and you're not going to get paid for it. I want you to teach me about what you want to learn and together we can do it."

As discussed earlier Naida's experience of racism in her position with Telecom and her persistence in promoting te reo Māori led to her role and training as a teacher for Māori students in High Schools. Naida's experiences of racism led to enlightenment based on her moemoeā for the promotion of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga in Māori communities. This pathway then led into her role as the cultural advisor for the Auckland District Health Board (ADHB). At the time of her interview in this study Naida was the Chief Tikanga Advisor for the ADHB and her role remained primarily in the promotion, retention and protection of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga within health services for Māori communities.

The forces of racism impacted on each of the women in a variety of ways and the impact of colonial sexist and racist practises have been widely discussed (Jenkins and Mathews, 1998; Johnstone, 2005; Johnstone and Pihama, 1994; Mikaere, 2003). These practises severely damaged the traditional roles Māori women had in Māori communities. Moreover, the impacts of colonisation on Māori women have been acknowledged as more severe than those which affected Māori men. For example, Pihama and Jenkins (1998) stated that Māori women were not only removed from the traditional status they held in Māori society, but their status was substantially lower than Māori men within New Zealand society. Furthermore, it has been noted that there were early anthropological inaccuracies regarding the status of Māori women within iwi, which included the misrepresentation of their responsibilities as land ownership partners as well as their duties based on inherited arikitanga status (Binney & Chaplin, 1990; Awatere, 1995).

Racism and its impacts on Māori have been an ever present debate within media studies, which have been widely discussed (Nairn et al., 2006; Rankine and McCreanor, 2004; Rankine et al., 2007; Spoonley, 1990; Walker, 1990). Not surprisingly, the battle against 'prejudice and lack of respect' (Fox, 1990, p. 105) occurred not only within the actual representation of Māori in the media, but also within its own executive hierarchy (Rice, 1990). Te Hiwi (2008) noted that discussions regarding racism within Aotearoa exist in the theoretical debates regarding colonisation, but reported that more emphasis needed to be made on the impacts of racism. This was a reflection supported by Spoonley (1990). Nairn et al. (2006) stated that colonisation bred a 'racist society' within Aotearoa and was a direct result of the subjugation and assimilation of early colonial settlers that portrayed Māori as 'savage' (p 185).

Early colonial settlement occurred almost two centuries ago although the impacts of these assimilation practises have continued to influence Māori in contemporary society. The impact of historical colonisation on the experiences of racism in Aotearoa today has been widely acknowledged due to their affects on Māori wellbeing. It has been noted that colonial assimilation is frequently related to wider issues of urban drift and cultural dissociation and displacement from environmental resources (Jenkins & Mathews, 1998; Te Hiwi, 2008; Tuhiwai, 2003; Waitere & Johnstone, 2009). In addition to these issues, Māori communities are strongly influenced by advancing technology, globalisation and increasingly individualised societies in Aotearoa (August, 2005; Browne, 2005; Durie, 1998; 2011; Hutchings, 2008; Kingi, 2003; Pehi, 2010; Sawrey et al., 2008; Seck, 2006). As a result, research has focused on analysing the impact of racism on individual health, safety and wellbeing as well as the intergenerational impact on whānau, hapū, iwi and the wider national Māori community (Clark et al., 2011; Paradies, Harris & Anderson, 2008; Kearns, Moewaka-Barnes & McCreanor, 2009;). This has occurred in conjunction with a growing body of international indigenous research, which provided evidence of the impact of intergenerational trauma associated with racism and indigenous people (O'Carroll, 2010; McIntosh, 2010; Walters, 2006). While the research in this field is growing further research on racism requires ongoing attention within Aotearoa.

The impact of racism in the history of Aotearoa is wide and far reaching. In the lives of the women in this study their experiences of racism were profound in shaping the work they do for Māori. They have all been exposed to the intergenerational affects of colonisation and were present for or experienced the affects of incidents such as the haka party incident in 1979 and the rise of radicalism during this period (Walker, 1990). These incidents led to continued marginalisation of Māori within Aotearoa and reinforced the platform from which the negative media portrayal of Māori was normalized and common practise (Fox, 1990; Spoonley, 1990). Experiences of this period of radicalism were described by Annette in her recollection of the political movements which followed the Springbok Tour. Annette described the Springbok tour as a catalyst for change in her life based on a series of events, which encouraged her engagement with radical Māori political movements. These experiences led to her engagement with a number of Māori activist groups and black women's movements, which promoted further understanding as to the nature of racism and violence and the impact they have on indigenous communities. These experiences then

encouraged and motivated her work towards decreasing racism towards Māori and improving access to te reo me ōna tikanga.

Regardless of the open and at times violent hostility within their communities the women in this study voiced their concerns about racism many times over and they have actively worked to stop it in Aotearoa. Their work has been galvanized by community movements, which sought to promote Māoritanga (*Māori culture practice and beliefs*) in positive ways and, which valued Māori language, culture and practises in Aotearoa. The enlightenment they received during these difficult times led to the development of their moemoeā for Māori communities and often instigated the different kinds of work they have done within the community. For example, in Annette's experience her moemoeā was to see communities promoting te reo Māori me ōna tikanga and Sharon's moemoeā was to see the successful development of Māori services within Māori communities. Their moemoeā have been driven by a need to ensure that Māori youth do not have to contend with the damage and violence, which can be caused by the oppression and discrimination of racism. This was further demonstrated by Naida's work in her community.

The impacts of racism on the women in this study have influenced their lives in life-changing ways. Racism has been a powerful mechanism, which gave rise to the many works they have done or achieved within their lifetimes. In many cases racism has been the catalyst which has thrust them into public arenas. Their experiences of racism gave voice to the insidious and destructive nature of its impacts within Māori communities. Racism has seen many generations of their whānau suffer and many more Māori in their community disparage as a result. In the context of this study racism was a catalyst, which drove them to periods of enlightenment and māramatanga by highlighting the need to develop their moemoeā to promote acceptance, restitution and healing within the Māori community. Furthermore, as a consequence of the impacts of racism on themselves, their whānau and their communities they have continually challenged New Zealand society to acknowledge its existence and seek redress for the damage it causes to the Māori community.

Experiences of individual and intergenerational racism have been a cause from which many of these women continue to work by and for Māori. Essentially, this work has been focused on ensuring that future generations can live in a space where they can experience pride and find strength in their identities as Māori. Finally, using pūrākau as an analytic method of

research analysis and the concept of *rā* to explore experiences of *māramatanga* and enlightenment highlighted how these women worked to ensure that Māori children could connect with their heritage, their *turangawaewae*, their *whakapapa* and all that being Māori entails in a positive and meaningful way. It came from a desire to ensure that *rangatahi* were well nurtured and given opportunities to flourish in today's society. It arose out of a need to ensure that *tamariki* and *rangatahi* were free from the affects of the history of oppression and prejudice they were exposed to within their communities. To summarise, the work these women have done has been fuelled by a need to ensure that younger generations of Māori grow up in environments, which nurture their growth and development rather than those which can oppress them as a result of the violent and traumatic forces of racism.

Kia kitea te *māramatanga* i te *mātauranga* Māori: finding enlightenment in Māori knowledge

Mātauranga for the Māori can mean any of the following: to know something, to learn and acquire skills, to be acquainted with, to have some understanding, or be certain of... *mātauranga* is not seen as something that is static or isolated. *Mātauranga* as a concept is open-ended with no definite boundaries. When used in its broadest sense *mātauranga*, in terms of an individual, refers to everything one experiences or is exposed to in one's lifetime (Pere, 1994, p. 73).

The journey of learning is a lifelong process that can engage people in dynamic and meaningful ways. Using the research framework based on *pūrākau* and the concept of *rā* to analyse periods of enlightenment and *māramatanga* in the women's lives. Experiences of education were an important method by which the women in this research have transformed their personal lives and enhanced the work they do within Māori communities. Their experiences of learning led to times of enlightenment, which they have continually drawn from to augment the work they have done throughout their lifetimes for Māori. One such experience was described by Beryl:

While I was there Graham Smith was in Māori education and he said, "Do a couple of papers with us with this diploma". So Jill and I did that because you could do two options. We went over to the Māori education thing and it blew your mind away. It just blew your mind away because they were doing critical theory. I never did critical theory because I couldn't understand it and what those guys did there

then was a revolution. Everybody my age that I know who's got passed BA level went through them. It was so successful, but it's completely collapsed and crashed now. Why it was so successful was because they actually went and shoulder tapped people. I don't think they were particularly discerning they just wanted as many Māori as possible. They understood the barrier that we'd all have about theory and learning that academic stuff so they walked us through it very very slowly and they had such a good team. They wouldn't have been able to do it by themselves. There was Kuni and Margie and it was after school at night time and they did those things like you know we'd bring kai. They taught us how to swot and how to help each other. They did all those things people who don't belong in the system need to know like all the secrets that you don't get told.

In this example Beryl described how her experience of education led to periods of enlightenment, which were informed by a learning process that encouraged tikanga Māori using whakawhanaungatanga to engage their class. Her experience of learning academic theory was delivered by people who acknowledged the need for a collective style of learning for Māori students. Essentially, they were offered an environment which encouraged them to wānanga in a ways that were conducive to their needs. Beryl's example of attaining academic achievement led to enlightenment and māramatanga in the context of a learning environment, which acknowledged Māori ways of being. Additionally, Māori education and the pursuit of knowledge have been discussed by Tawhai (2007) who noted that 'from the Māori worldview, the Creation stories lie at the heart of Māori, upholding their wellbeing in the endeavour for knowledge' (p 130).

This approach to learning was discussed by Smith (1990) who stated 'Māori education as it is now being determined by Māori people is beginning to reassert a philosophical foundation based on a tradition that is at least a thousand years old' (p 63). Furthermore, it was noted that Māori engagement and participation in knowledge acquisition was bound in a process of learning, which enabled them to connect with wairua and whakapapa and encouraged empowerment and wellbeing within Māori communities (Browne, 2005; Irwin, 1992; Jenkins & Pihama, 2001; Pere, 1994; Pere, 2006). As a result, the journey of learning became more than a pursuit of academic achievement and a process which engaged people on career and educational pathways. Education for many Māori can become spiritual journey, which reconnects them with mātauranga Māori. This was highlighted in Kirsty's

discussion about how mātauranga Māori influenced the way she worked and encouraged her team to work within their service:

I was really lucky because with Te Rau Matatini when we first started we wanted to potentially develop or utilise an existing whakataukī that would capture what it is that we wanted to do. We're really lucky that at the time they were both based at Te Pūtahi a Toi Rangi Matāmua and Taiarahia Black allowed us to use a whakataukī from Ngāti Awa:

Kia ngātahi te waihoe

(So let us row the waka in unison)

Tāhuri te kai ō tōu waka whakawhiti ngāru

(Let us position the front of the waka facing the waves to be able to push through them)

Haere ki tua ki papa pounamu te moana e topa e rere ki uta

(Past those waves the ocean is flat and we can speed into the distance and reach our destination or the horizons we want to get to)

For me who was still new on my journey of being home it was important the whakataukī wasn't just treated as a tokenistic whakataukī. I learnt more about what the waka was about and about what being on the waka was as an organisation. We've also been on a waka tangata together so it was about infusing those philosophies right through our organisation. Like many whakataukī which are amazing one of the things that I find absolutely amazing about us as Māori is there are layers and layers of meaning. So it can be applied to team work. It can be applied to how we work with the work force. It can be applied to risk management and project management. There are just so many different facets that you can use a whakataukī like that for. We also physically drew a waka to symbolise the waka of Te Rau Matatini. In drawing and creating a waka I needed to learn about the different facets of the waka and the different roles within the waka and how the waka was navigated and all those sorts of things. For me that was a personal choice I took to really make sure I could honour the whakataukī that was given to us because we need to role model as a Māori organisation.

As noted in Kirsty's experiences of mātauranga Māori and its importance in her work it was evident that this whakataukī was the foundation for the values their service held. Kirsty's example demonstrated how using mātauranga Māori the women in this study developed a higher understanding and appreciation for the work they do for Māori.

Enlightenment in the process of learning has been viewed as a method of transformative learning (Hodge, 2010; Mezirow, 1978; Mezirow, 1991). Transformative learning has been discussed widely by many educationalists with an emphasis on how learning environments can facilitate a process in which ‘a deeply transformational learning experience can be nurtured to enable new knowledge creation’ (Cranton, 2011; Ryman, Burrell and Richardson, 2009, pg. 46). Transformative learning in relation to the experiences described by the women in this study were important because they focused on the indigenous contexts, cosmology and archetypal and spiritual interpretations of the world discussed by Mayo (2004) and Miles (2000). Although transformative learning has been used to describe adult learning experiences it does not account for the lifelong process of learning noted by Pere (1990) as central to the growth and development of Māori (Hodge, 2010; Moriarty and McKinlay, 2008;).

Experiences of intuitive transformational and spiritual learning were described by O’Malley et al. (2008) as ‘ako moments’:

Ako (learning) moments are snapshots of lived experiences that are spontaneous, often intangible, but of significant relevance because of their transformative nature. The layer of engagement is self-selected in this multi-dimensional realm and affirms the teachings and knowledge of our tūpuna (ancestors), thereby strengthening our personal and collective identity as Māori (p. 226).

By defining ako moments O’Malley et al. (2008) sought to highlight a manner of learning and understanding knowledge from a Māori worldview. They aimed to interpret the growth and development of knowledge as experiences of learning where Māori engaged in intangible experiences, which connected and aligned them with tūpuna. In their discussion regarding these experiences O’Malley et al. coined the phrase ‘ako moments’ (p. 226). This term is derived from the popular phrase, aha moments, which is used to refer to intuitive moments of enlightenment used to solve problems or reach higher levels of learning or enhanced awareness (Dirrette, 2002; Dirx, 2006; Shettleworth, 2009). By using the term ako moments O’Malley et al. infused an indigenous perspective of enlightenment, which allows for the inclusion of spirituality in the process of learning and connects Māori with tūpuna, atua and wairua. Their definition of ako moments brought forth discussions regarding the underlying foundations of Māori worldviews, which integrate an inherent

sense of spirituality in the process of learning. In so doing, they normalised these experiences of enlightenment and māramatanga, which Māori often struggled to articulate.

These theories of learning explain the transformative nature of the learning experiences of the women in this study although they do not account for the learning processes identified by these women during their early developmental years. In addition, they do not account for the access to mātauranga these women had from the kaumatua and their wider whānau as children, and the experiences of learning which led to enlightenment as noted by Louise. Louise described how she was instilled with mātauranga Māori from her kuia at a very early age and that her recollections of this learning are some of her earliest childhood memories:

From an early age I was introduced into the kōrero, “Kia tika tōu mahi.” You know, “Me haere ki tō tika koe e kore koe e whara. Kaua e takahia koe te toto me te whakapapa o te tangata.” If you are correct you will not fail and those types of kōrero. My karani was deeply into Catholic religion and I was a Mormon. It just goes to show the knowledge imparted to me and how the messages had no boundaries and religion was not a boundary. She not only gave me grounding, but also a rounded teaching of things that kept me safe.

For the women in this research engaging in the learning of mātauranga Māori was a lifelong journey. This learning led to periods of enlightenment and a higher understanding in profound and meaningful ways during their lives. As highlighted by Louise early access to her kuia gave her a foundation in traditional Māori values, which she continued to apply in the work she has done in Māori communities. This method of learning was not conducted in a formal educational environment such as the classroom, but was a consequence of the intergenerational knowledge transfer, which occurred while being raised by her kuia. As Louise was whangai (*adoption or being raised by extended whānau*) the process of kaumatua raising grandchildren was identified as a traditional method for retaining knowledge across generations (Perkins, 2009). This occurred when children were raised by their grandparents and their knowledge was transferred to the younger generation so it could be sustained within whānau (Jenkins and Mountain-Harte, 2011; Walker, 1993). Walker (2004) noted that koroua and kuia played central leadership roles within the whānau, hapū and iwi context with a particular focus on manākitanga of children. Additionally, Jenkins and Mountain-Harte identified that children who were nurtured by kuia and koroua were

involved in council meetings and were trained to engage in various activities which sustained and strengthened hapū and iwi.

The process of learning in the context of whānau, hapū and iwi with the support and guidance of kuia and koroua provided a basis for understanding the importance of kaumatua in the learning experiences these women have had throughout their lives. From childhood they were taught and given many skills, which were nurtured and strengthened by the kui and koroua in their communities. This process of learning emphasised the importance of intergenerational knowledge transmission in the context of whānau, hapū, iwi and marae. This form of learning in the context of whānau and in the shelter and guidance of kuia and koroua upheld the social traditions of whānau and the influence whānau, hapū and iwi had on shaping the learning of tamariki (*children*). Furthermore, Durie (2005) stated, ‘A secure identity demands more than a superficial knowledge of tribal tradition. It depends on easy access to the Māori world - especially Māori language, the extended family network and customary land’ (p. 55). As a consequence, having access to multiple generations of whānau was a very important process of learning for Māori. The knowledge gained and transferred across generations within this process was transferable for these women across many domains in their lives and had a major influence on how they worked with Māori communities.

The concept of security in identity discussed by Durie (2005) and the process of storing traditional knowledge across generations by koroua and kuia have been identified as an international indigenous theme (Berryman, Bateman & Cavanagh, 2008; White, 2010). Elders in indigenous communities were widely recognised by indigenous peoples worldwide as the stronghold of knowledge and were the gateways to higher indigenous learning (McGuire, 2010; Walker, 2003; Warburton and Chambers, 2007; Waterman, 2009). Elders were the vessels for the storage of cultural practises which included healing, storytelling and ‘ancestral teachings’ (Manuelito, 2004, p 246). Their role as holders of these cultural practises and knowledge have been well explored (Hoffman, 2010; Kaomea, 2004; Walker, 2004).

The practises and customs held by elders within indigenous communities have been discussed in the context of Aotearoa by Barlow (1994) who described the status of koroua and kuia as ‘keepers of knowledge’ who traditionally ‘acquired Godly status after death, and

who become the protectors of the family' (p 40). Barlow (1994) described kuia as candidates for 'special priestly duties such as assisting priests in 'rites of passage' and other rituals', while also performing the karanga during pōwhiri on marae (p. 41). These dual roles operated as a means for exemplifying harmony and balance and were identified by Henare (1994) as methods by which Māori maintained 'cohesion' and 'rangatiratanga' on the marae and in the context of whānau (p. 21).

To summarise, experiences of involvement of koroua and kuia in the lives of the women in this study nurtured and supported them through major life experiences. They were a resource from which they have consistently returned to refuel and reflect when faced with challenging life situations. They became a means from which the women were able to achieve māramatanga and enlightenment in their journeys as leaders. The strength and knowledge of kuia and koroua encouraged and allowed the women to stand strong in their mana wāhine and in their work in the promotion of the rights of Māori within their communities. Most importantly, kuia and koroua were symbols of mana and rangatiratanga, which continued to be strongly maintained in Māori communities in urban and rural settings throughout Aotearoa. The knowledge they had was abundant and having access to their mātauranga led to experiences of light, enlightenment and māramatanga, which enhanced the development of the methods these women used when working successfully within Māori communities.

Kia tipu ki roto i te mātauranga tauīwi: growth in the knowledge of others

Models of liberating education embody concepts such as critical consciousness, which are present in Māori worldviews. An education that honours Māori self-determination therefore would uphold learners' rights to critical consciousness (Tawhai, 2007, p. 44).

Whether they sought higher learning or they were involved in learning environments as a consequence of the work they were doing in Māori communities education was a major platform from which these women have launched the work they do for Māori. The search for enlightenment as the extension of mauri (*life force*) was described by Pere (1994) as a

‘basic human right’ (p 103). In addition, Pere stated that she developed an appreciation for other cultures as a consequence of the value and importance she placed on her own. Learning in the context of non-Māori knowledge provided the impetus for the following discussion, which illustrated how enlightenment and māramatanga were achieved by these women in their experiences of non-Māori education. It explored how these experiences supported the work they do for Māori. The first example of how having access to mainstream education influenced the work these women do in Māori communities is highlighted Ngahuia:

I also had this aunty that used to come and look after me fresh out of teachers college. She had me reading by four years old. I was writing at four and reading at three or four. Her name was Aunty Toria as in Toria Tawhai. She was the dux of Saint Josephs of Hato Hohepa and she was a dynamic intellectual and a vivacious assertive, amazing woman, alas, long since gone. She was a serious influence in my life as well. She was the original girls can do anything Māori woman apart from my kuia and my mother of course.

Ngahuia showed that at an early age in her life she had access to and was encouraged to embrace learning in both mātauranga Māori and tauīwi. She identified that her talent for learning was inherited and sustained within her biological whānau:

...my biological family are scholars, composers, and whakapapa people. They were thinking people with a real value for and attraction to books, and thinking, and disputation and all of that stuff. So, genetically I suppose I was drawn to that and not to making art as such it just wasn't in my hands. Yet you could tell me story, you could recite whakapapa, you could look at a carving and explain the context and history in that whakairo panel and I would just have it.

This example highlighted how her whakapapa directed the work she did in Māori communities. It is an example of how her heritage had a strength for academic work and abstract thinking, which inevitably led to her being the first Māori woman in Aotearoa to receive a PhD. This example illustrated how she was encouraged to embrace learning within in her whānau and was supported to embrace non-Māori education early in life. As a result, Ngahuia's experience of education led to a heightened understanding and enlightenment as a consequence of an appreciation of her ability to achieve academically. This set a stage for her academic and professional career based on these inherent talents. In

addition, her life has been dedicated to maintaining knowledge in the academic community and within the Māori community. This was evident in the work she engaged in on completion of her PhD as a curator for the Waikato Museum.

Ngahuia's experience of non-Māori learning and education was similarly depicted by Annette's experiences of learning. Annette's entry into education began at an early age within her whānau and came from a desire to learn, which was fostered by her mother and grandmother early in life and reinforced by teachers she had access to at school. She described attending a school where she was able to learn from teachers such as Merata Mita who encouraged learning in profound and meaningful ways. These methods of learning enhanced Annette's appreciation for learning, which was nurtured as a consequence of her academic ability.

In many ways the contributions made by these women in their professional careers have revolutionised their fields. For example, Annette highlighted how early access to positive education environments was a way she was able to sustain her desire to learn and feel confident in her ability to achieve in a mainstream learning environment. Ngahuia highlighted how her ability to attain a PhD during the early 1980s showed her innate ability to attain higher levels of learning during a time when Māori women were not often being encouraged to further their educational pathways.

Pathways of formal education for Māori were fraught by the process of colonisation beginning with the 1867 Native Schools Act discussed by Cacciopoli and Cullen (2006). The impacts of early colonial experiences of education within the Native Schools for Māori have been widely discussed (Johnstone, 1998; Pihama & Jenkins, 2001; Walker, 2004; Ruwhiu, 2009). The affects of both the Native Schools combined with the results of the Māori land wars and the Māori urban drift on the retention of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga has been catastrophic. Yet education, as evident in Annette and Ngahuia's experiences, has been a means for advancement which was promoted within their whānau. It became a platform from which they gathered strengths for their own individual advancement and, which assisted towards promoting the work they have done for the advancement of Māori communities. It has been from these experiences of enlightenment and māramatanga in mainstream education that they have been able to develop their skills for working within Māori communities.

Education was a driving force which has long influenced the philosophies of Māori leaders. This was noted in Apirana Ngata's desire to educate Māori within non-Māori educational institutions as he perceived that education would be a means for achieving parity for Māori (Durie, 2005). Durie (1997) stated, 'Māori advancement is closely linked to the acquisition of knowledge' (p. 6). This was evident in Caren's experiences of education. She described how education helped her to achieve enlightenment and māramatanga, which influenced her work in Māori communities as a lawyer and as a judge.

My cousin Charl by that stage had become a lawyer. He came down to visit the place I was staying at. I was staying in a state advance home in Strathmore in Wellington and he said to me, "Is this what you're gonna do for the rest of your life?" I said, "Pardon?" He said, "Are you happy doing this?" I'd just left school and I didn't have any qualifications at all. I thought about what he said and it was quite a challenge. Then I decided yeah I'm gonna go for it so I enrolled Mere in Barnado's in Seatoun, which was just through the tunnel. It's still a forty minute walk everyday and forty minutes back. I took her there and I'd drop her off and then I started school...

...I was an adult student at Wellington High School when the Spring Bok tour was on in 1981 and that's when I started to get political with the tour and from meeting some of those people during the tour years. I read for the first time one of the books that was to become one of the most influential books of my life and that was Malcolm X's biography from America. I started to think about race and the attitudes of race and prejudice.

Engaging in education allowed Caren an opportunity to meet with like-minded Māori during an especially important political era in the history of Aotearoa. In addition, Caren's experiences education helped her to achieve enlightenment and develop her moemoeā, which facilitated the formation of pathways forward for Māori within her work.

In summary, using the concept of rā to analyse periods of enlightenment and māramatanga in the women's lives demonstrated how education has been a key factor not only in the personal and professional journeys of the women in this study. It has been a space from which they have been able to reflect on the collective history of Māori and a foundation from which they have been able to do their most important works within our communities nationally, regionally and locally. Their experiences of enlightenment and māramatanga as

a result of education enabled them to work on many levels for the advancement of the Māori community. It provided them with a means from which they have been able to access resources and implement strategic development for Māori. In seeking and attaining education in both Māori and non-Māori knowledge they have been able to use these experiences to influence many Māori communities in the work they have done throughout their lifetimes. These experiences of enlightenment and māramatanga strongly guided their own personal experiences and informed how they developed in their roles as leaders for Māori. Education as an experience of rā and enlightenment was pivotal to this process.

He kupu whakamutunga

Using pūrākau and the concept of rā and experiences of māramatanga as a framework for analysis in this chapter highlighted how the women's experiences of wairua, moemoeā and matauranga led to profound enlightenment, which enhanced or encouraged the work they have done in Māori communities. To this end, their experiences of wairua provided enlightenment in their lives and influenced their personal and profession development. Their experiences of racism and disparity led to enlightenment based on their moemoeā for the wellbeing and future generations of Māori in Aotearoa. Experiences of mātauranga Māori encouraged transformative lifelong learning and gave the women strength to keep working in Māori communities. This led to being educated as a consequence of intergenerational knowledge transmission, which was one of the most powerful forms of learning these women engaged in with regards to their roles as leaders in Māori communities. Within these learning methods they had access to whānau, hapū and iwi members who encouraged their growth and development and mentored and advised them in a manner which enhanced their work as leaders for their communities. Using intergenerational knowledge transferred by their elders encouraged them to work in a ways which promoted their leadership development by creating pathways that aimed to strengthen communities during times of difficulty and struggle. Finally, as noted in the whakataukī 'ma te matau ka ora (*by wisdom comes life everlasting*)'. It was through the attainment of knowledge, enlightenment and wisdom these women utilised their experiences of heightened understanding to create pathways of health and wellbeing in the work they do for Māori communities.

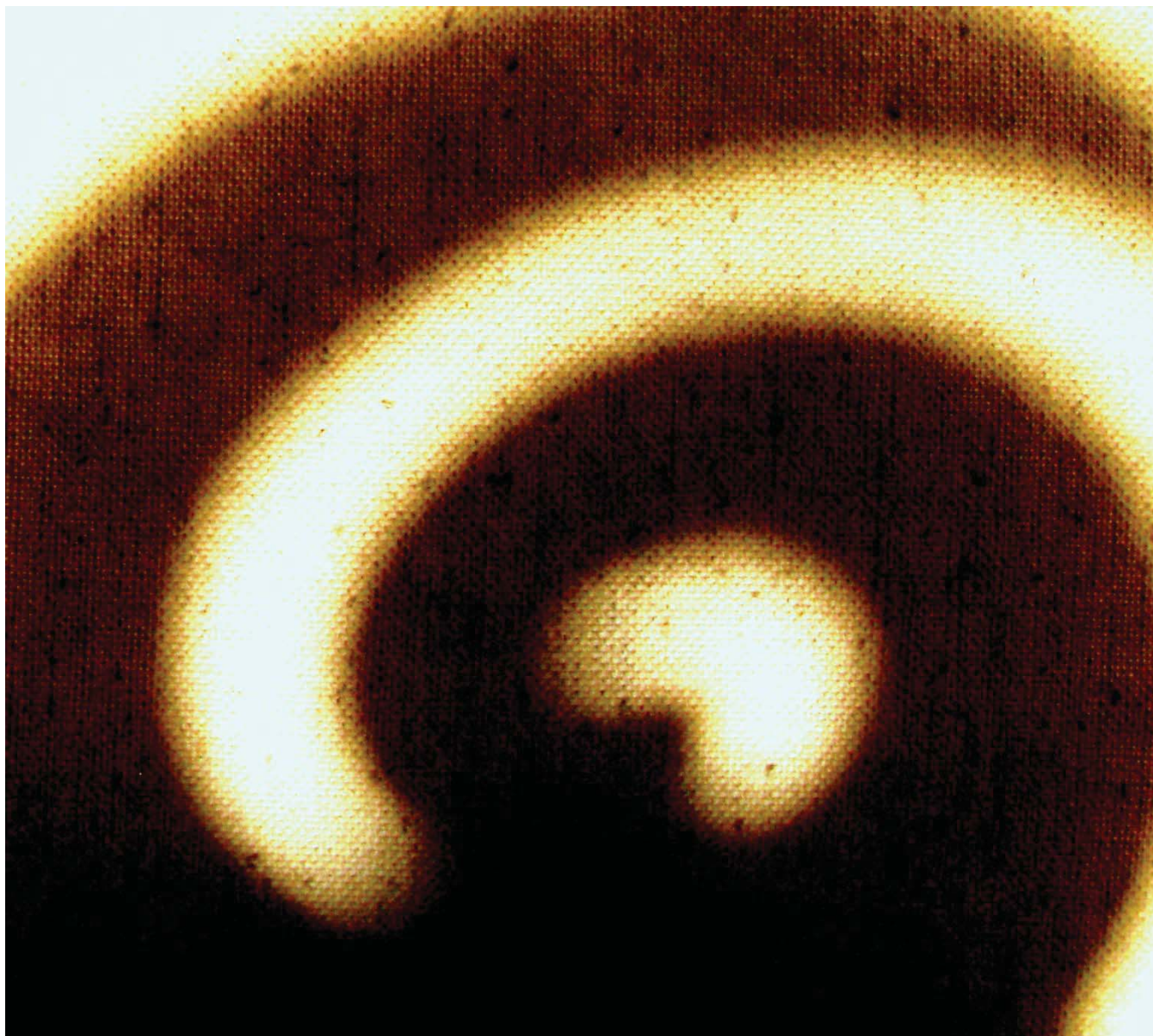
Ka hoki nga whakaaro ki muri kia maumahara

Ka tu tonu mai a te waa ngaa taonga o neheraa

Ka hoki ngaa whakaaro ki muri kia maumahara

Ka haere ki mua maa raro i te korowai aroha

Maumahara



Te Wāhanga Tuawhitu – Ka Hokinga Mahara ki Muri Ka Haere ki Mua: Chapter Seven: Reflecting Back So We Can Move Forward

The purpose of this chapter was to identify how the women's past and present experiences informed their future goals and the work they have done within their communities. It did this using the analytic framework based on pūrākau and the concept of ka (see figure 1 p. 243). In te reo Māori ka can be used as a sentence starter to indicate either past, present or future actions. This chapter used its relationship with past, present and future tense to identify how the women's past experiences led them toward the work they do within our communities. As discussed by Tate (2010) measurements of time can provide a method for the analysis of life experience:

Te wā in a general sense means time, 'stages in time,' or 'goal.' However *te wā* has many other associations, being deeply rooted in Māori consciousness, as is evidenced in language usage and cultural practise. The history of a people (of *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*) can be read in terms of *te wā* prolonged, obstructed, achieved, or yet to be achieved. In a similar way, the life story and experiences of an individual can be read in terms of *te wā* (p. 236).

The first section of this chapter reviews the women's past experiences by focusing on the importance of context and how this influenced the work they have done in Māori communities. It does this by exploring the social, political and historical contexts they have lived in and will discuss how these contexts have informed the work they do for Māori. I then discussed how these social, political, and environmental contexts have influenced their roles as leaders in Māori communities. In addition, I illustrate how their roles adapted to meet the needs of their communities as a consequence of these environments.

The second section of this chapter focuses on the effects of major political and social events in Aotearoa and how they have affected the women in this study and the pathways which led them into leadership roles in our communities. This is followed by an analysis regarding how these events directed their work in Māori communities and led to them assuming

various roles throughout their lifetimes. Finally, I discussed how key past experiences in the lives of these women instigated and fortified the roles they have held in Māori communities.

Ka whakatōmene te horopaki: exploring the context

Within a Māori framework of knowledge, time is valuable and highly significant for it provides a scale of continuity which, embraces the remote past to the present, links the present back to the past, and connects the past, the present and the future...Time then for Māori society is the historical record of its past, present, and future development (Nepe, 1991, p. 37).

Māori experience, history, knowledge, society and culture have been defined in many ways (Best, 2005; Durie, 2003; King, 1996; 2003; Marsden, 2003; Mulholland, 2006; Orbell, 1998; Walker, 2004). Exploring traditional Māori narratives such as pūrākau can provide a means for understanding how Māori shaped their worldviews within a historical context. Analysing these narratives has the potential to identify the values and philosophies important to Māori lifestyles and can provide insights into how these philosophies were applied within contemporary Māori communities. For example, Barlow (1991) discussed how wāhine Māori in the context of traditional cosmological narratives were symbolised in the personification of Papatūānuku as the mother of creation. Papatūānuku was the quintessential symbol for Māori women, which maintained the view that women were ‘the house of mankind, because all humans are conceived and develop in the womb’ (Barlow, 1991, p. 147). This was the context in which Māori women were viewed in traditional Māori society. Māori women were portrayed as powerful figures within the traditional narratives and creation stories. They were always acknowledged in their roles as bearers of future generations and in their connection to Papatūānuku as the earth mother. Papatūānuku’s relationship with Ranginui as sky father further supported the traditional balance evident within Māori society (Mikaere, 2003). Jahnke (1997) went on to suggest that Māori women not only existed to balance traditional society, but ‘The roles of women as powerful, autonomous, independent beings and as bearers of knowledge were recurring themes which continue to have relevance today’ (p 27).

These historical interpretations differ in contrast to current views of Māori women in today's society, which were misrepresented within the records of traditional anthropological research (Awatere, 1995; Binney & Chaplin, 1990). Māori women were negatively illustrated in early colonial newspaper media and press (Erai, 2007). Yet more and more research has suggested that Māori women's roles within traditional and contemporary society contradicted these negative historical portrayals of Māori women (King, 2003; Nikora, 2001; Tate, 2010; Te Awekotuku, 2003; Walker, 2004). For example, the beliefs in the need for Māori women to step into domains traditionally retained by men were illustrated in Māori history as necessary when Māori communities have been in need of dynamic leadership. Māori women are often at the heart of change and progress within our society. They have long been leaders of progress and development within Māori communities (Jenkins & Pihama, 2001; Kahukiwa & Irwin, 1984; Mikaere, 2003; Walker, 2004). As previously noted their roles in Māori communities began with the narratives regarding Papatuānuku and the various other Māori women who exist in Māori creation stories such as Hinetitama (*the dawn maiden*), Hineahuone (*the first women*) and Mahuika (*goddess of fire*). It was evident by the many heroines in Māori history, which reverberate within Māori narratives (Orbell, 1998). Heroines in Māori communities and the endeavours of wāhine Māori have been acknowledged and celebrated (King, 1991, 2003). Traditional leadership roles have been a preface for the development of Māori women's leadership today and each of the women in this study was to some extent influenced by both the traditional and contemporary Māori leaders. They have had access to inspirational leaders who have faith in the work they can and have done for Māori. These traits were demonstrated by Māori women ancestors such as Wairaka, an early Māori settler within Aotearoa, who arrived on the Matātua waka during the great migration over a thousand years ago:

Following the directions of his father, Irakewa, the Captain Toroa, his brothers Puhi and Taneatua, sister Muriwai, son Ruaihona, daughter Wairaka and other members of his family sailed to Kakahoroa, mooring in the river estuary near the town's current commercial centre. The men then climbed the hillside to Kapu-te-rangi, leaving Mataatua in the care of the small group consisting mainly of women. The outgoing tide was threatening to carry away the waka when Wairaka exclaimed: "E! Kia whakatane au i ahau" (let me act the part of a man). In breach of tradition, the women paddled the canoe back to safety and from this incident; Whakatane received its name (Kixo, 2011).

The diversity of views regarding Māori custom, practise and knowledge highlighted the significance of social, political and environmental context on how Māori society has been portrayed. In addition, indigenous leadership in indigenous communities are in a constant process of change. Research by Golonev (1997) outlined the need to analyse social, historical and political systems and their changes in relation to the development of leadership processes within indigenous nations. Contemporary literature has been focused on affirming mana wāhine within the Māori community (Irwin, 1992; Pihama, 2001; Te Awekotuku, 2003). These issues emphasised how social, political, economical and international changes impacted on the contextual environment these women experienced in Aotearoa. Media, politics, research and society all informed the contexts which defined how these women viewed and made sense of their experience throughout the course of their lives. In addition, the reality of their social, political and historical contexts provided a space for exploring how they viewed their relationships with Māori communities. Using the concept of ka to analyse how their experiences of these contexts directed much of the work they have done within their community provided an insight into the roles these women had within Māori communities. For example, Ngahuia referred to the inspiration she received by women within her whānau, which helped her to aspire towards high achievement and led to her becoming a renowned academic within Aotearoa. Having access to strong mentors in the context of her community provided a means for her to set high expectations for herself in the work that she does. In addition, being raised in an environment which encouraged her to shine enabled Ngahuia to pursue her talent and achieve great success as an academic and a creative writer. Ngahuia's whānau embraced the traditions of her rohe, which included many inspirational and well remembered women:

There have always been outstanding, dynamic, risk-taking female leaders from Ohinemutu. Just think of the name itself! There's a little bay called the Ruapeka and a hundred years ago it would have been quite a distinctive shape. A couple of Pākehā launch operators wanted to bring their boats in so that the tourists would get a better view of the natives at home and a local female leader Rihi Karenga organised her female cousins to resist this intrusion. They were just so sick of waiting for the koroua to talk to the tour operators and this was over a century ago. Instead, with her group, which called themselves the Ngāti Whakaue Māori Women's Parliament, they formed a human chain across the entrance of the Bay and they would not move. They said, "If you bring your boats in here you will have to run us over." Isn't that the most uplifting, amazing, fantastic story of mana

wāhine? In a place in which the public perception is that this is a man's domain and that kuia Rihi Karenga and her cousins and sisters and gang went up there and they stopped the launches. So, as a kid hearing stories like that how could they not be strong! How could they not be motivated and courageous?

As demonstrated using pūrākau as a framework for research analysis and using ka to examine how the wāhine in this study were often guided in their roles as leaders by the histories of their social and political environment. Ngahuia's example demonstrated how she was immersed in her whakapapa heritage and how she acknowledged the history of her heritage and the influence this has held in her life. Kuini described how in the context of her social and political environment she saw the rise of the Māori Women's Welfare League within her community. The Māori Women's Welfare League developed due to the growing need to ensure better health and wellbeing for Māori during a time when the Māori community required a lot of support (Tahana, 2006). The following is Kuini's description of the kinds of work she did when she was a member of the League:

I suppose I would've been about fourteen when I was asked to join the Māori Women's Welfare League. There was no age limit those days 'cause they were pleased to have anybody to make up the forum. I just got straight in on the League at that time. There were lots of goings on and it was just about how you fit in with it all. You had to allow time for yourself to fit in as well...

...We used to go to pubs especially on benefit days and stuff like that those were the sort of things that we did. Where was the money going too? Why were children left like that? When there'd been any domestic problems or anything like that we used to go to our meetings and they'd tell to us to have boxes of food made up. We'd take a box to those who haven't got much food in their house for their family and the kids. We'd make up a parcel for them and a lot of the women made preserves. They did a lot of preserving and they'd put down a lot of vegetables.

I got into the League through another lady that belonged with them. They sort of got the word out about what they did and they asked if you'd like to come in and join. When you went you would sit and listen and realise that it was quite a take up what they went through.

Kuini highlighted how her role as a leader in the Māori community developed due to the goal of the Māori Women's Welfare League to provide specialised interventions for Māori communities. The Māori Women's Welfare League came about during a time

when many Māori were living in low socio-economic situations and were suffering from poor health outcomes. As described in the following excerpt by Tahana (2006) in her interview with Bella Roycroft, the Māori Women's Welfare League was developed in response to the increasing need in Māori communities, which came about as a result of discrimination and increased poverty and isolation because of urbanisation:

Those conditions saw the Government and Māori women establish the League in 1951. The aim being to improve the health and wellbeing of women and children, promote understanding between Māori and between Māori and Pākehā, and preserve arts...The League is always there when it's needed, and doesn't need to say, "Here I am. Here I am." She believes, "I think the league is one of those organisations that comes to the fore when there is a need to be filled especially in the social side of a community. Its goals are good ones, lasting ones" (p. D3).

The roles these women have held as leaders in their communities have been strongly driven by the context of their political, social and historical environments. They were often based on the needs of Māori communities as demonstrated by Kuini's work in the Māori Women's Welfare League. Their roles of leadership adapted to the changes in their environments over time, place and people as noted by Rangitīnia in her work with Awataha Marae. For example, Rangitīnia spoke about her experiences of encouraging wāhine to speak during the opening ceremony of Awataha marae:

For instance the day we opened this place I insisted that I speak as the Chair of this marae and they said, "Oh no you have to speak under the roof". I told them that I wasn't going to do that and that I was going to speak outside next to Hine-Ahu-One and her kaitiaki. Some of our kaumatua didn't like the idea that some of the women were going to speak! We had the mayor of North Shore City and I said that it was important that she be given a place to speak after the men folk had spoken. It wasn't while they were doing their whaikōrero, but a place would be given to us to speak afterwards. Well that created another controversy! I was rung up by different ones reporting and asking why I was speaking. I said that it was important to hear a woman's point of view and to acknowledge their place in bringing this about.

Rangitīnia's actions during this event were an example of how past and present contexts based on her social and political environment brought to the forefront a major shift in the roles of wāhine Māori in today's society. For example, Rangitīnia's experience illustrated how the nature her role in her community and in the context of an urban marae environment

influenced how the marae was founded and the role women had in its development. This example identified how Māori are increasingly engaging in different ways of working with tikanga and protocol and how it has been adapted to meet the changing needs of Māori communities. Rangitīnia's view of the need for Māori women to be able to speak during pōwhiri on marae was not an isolated view. This was a view which was strongly promoted by Dame Mira Százy (Százy, 2011). These examples highlighted how Māori sustained traditional values within society, yet women were able to engage in different roles across different domains when required to meet the needs of their communities. The forward thinking and innovative actions of Māori women encouraged adaptive methods for meeting new and difficult challenges within Māori communities.

A talent for innovation and leadership among Māori women was controversial in many of the discussions I had with people regarding my PhD research and its focus on Māori women leaders. These discussions were based on queries regarding whether Māori women leaders existed in the Māori community. This was a perception which was strongly clouded by the lack of representation of the positive work Māori women do within the mainstream media. It was also a consequence of the assumptions that Māori women were not leaders in Māori communities because of the misconceptions that they have no voice during the formalities of pōwhiri. Often this was an assumption which was influenced by the misunderstandings of the formalities of pōwhiri process, particularly regarding how Māori women's voices are the first and last to be heard on marae because of their roles as kaikaranga and kaiwaiata (*singers*). Moreover, interpreting the role of women without understanding the fuller context of pōwhiri does not acknowledge how Māori work together collaboratively to manāki manuhiri. Furthermore, Rangitīnia demonstrated how Māori women can respond to their community in innovative and constructive ways. As a result, the women in this study acknowledged the importance of tradition and sustaining tikanga within their communities. Yet they responded appropriately to the needs of their communities as they felt it was necessary at the time. To summarise, using ka to examine how their past and present experiences were influenced by their social, historical and political context highlighted how understanding these contexts was critical to analysing how they developed as leaders for Māori communities.

Ka kōrerorero ki te āhuatanga o te horopaki: speaking to the influence of context

Many Pākehā detractors have said that Māori dwell too much on the past. They would probably be right from a Pākehā perspective. The Māori response would probably be that Pākehā do not spend enough time thinking about and learning from their own past. That is why we're in the mess we are today (Williams, 1990, p. 14).

Many events have touched the lives of the women in this study, but none more than the arrival of colonial settlers to Aotearoa and the effects on Māori ways of being and living. Most importantly, the loss of land and te reo Māori me ōna tikanga have influenced the work they have done in Māori communities. Simon (1990) discussed how the historical relationships of 'dominance and subordination' affected Pākehā and Māori relationships today (p ii). Additionally, these women's experiences of their disconnection with Māori language and culture as a consequence of colonisation led them to reconnect with and sustain te reo Māori me ōna tikanga in Māori communities.

An example of how context influenced their experience and the roles they have as leaders was evident in how some of the women in this study were raised in traditional and communal Māori environments and had access to te reo Māori me ōna tikanga. For example, the eldest of the women in this study was born during a time when she lived rurally with her kuia in the back blocks of Taranaki. Kuini and her whānau lived on food she and her whānau harvested, gathered or hunted on their whenua. Kuini's grandmother sold her crafts locally and worked the farm land to provide for their wider extended whānau. Kuini was born during a time when she only spoke te reo Māori and her grandmother wore a traditional moko kauae. Although she was the eldest woman in the study she was one of many who grew up in a very traditional manner. All of these women were raised within environments where living with extended whānau either as whangai or with their parents, aunts, uncles and other cousins was normal and accepted. They survived largely off the land on food they cultivated, gathered or hunted. They were raised in a collective social context and spoke te reo Māori as a first language, which was spoken in their homes by multiple generations. The wearing of moko kauae (*Māori facial tattoos*) and korowai (*traditional woven cloaks*) were commonplace as was the learning of traditional Māori art, craft, knowledge and practises. These aspects of their lives were components of everyday Māori

communal living. This was described by Louise's experience of her grandmother's korowai and Pani's experience of moko kauae in her whānau:

She would put a korowai on me and those were our travelling cloaks at night.

(Louise)

In my mother's day only the women who had finished their childbearing years took on the kauae moko and were brave enough to go through the painful process of acquiring their moko the old way.

(Pani)

During their lifetimes these women have been witness to the drastic changes in the use of te reo Māori. This was described by Reedy (2000) as a period of 'classic pattern language decline...moving from total fluency in the mother language to individual bilingualism and then to monolingualism in the new language, all of which can be effected in a matter of three generations' (p. 158). Although they held many similarities in their lifestyles their use and maintenance of te reo Māori and their experiences of speaking te reo Māori were varied. For example, Pani advised of how her whānau gathered as a collective to ensure that te reo Māori was acknowledged and maintained within their kura. They did by ensuring that their practises as a community could continue while their children were at school:

I started at the age of five and my first language was te reo. We spoke it at home and in the community. Our parents and grandparents were fluent speakers and held regular visits to the school to make sure that te reo was being maintained. It was never a problem for us and the school worked well with the local Māori community. I remember whenever there was a tangihanga at the local Hiruharama Marae the school allowed the children to attend the funeral.

Pani's experience of being supported to maintain te reo Māori me ōna tikanga was a major influence in the kind of work she has done in Māori communities. At the time of her interview in this study she was working as a kuia for a scholarship programme and in this role provided leadership and mentoring in tikanga for Māori health workers. She was committed to being available to support students as a cultural advisor in the work they do within their work and within their studies.

Naida spoke about growing up with her whānau and her kuia and koroua within a rural environment. Although her experience of school was negative her access to te reo Māori me ōna tikanga helped her to maintain their use throughout her life and led her into the work she has done as a tikanga advisor and as an advocate for te reo Māori.

She raised me on the shores of the Kaipara Harbour...

...I had a very chequered career in school. The reason for that was because I was a fluent speaker of Māori when I went to school. Te reo was massaged into me by my grandmother who couldn't speak English very well. For the early part of my life she lived across the road from my other grandmother the Croatian one. They both spoke Croatian and Māori to me so I had to go to school to learn to speak English. School did not resonate with me at all and I guess my years of challenging began at school.

Although Naida spoke of the difficulties she experienced being a native speaker of te reo at school her use of te reo was integral to her role as a leader for Māori. Her context as a child growing up with access to the intergenerational te reo Māori became central to her role as a leader for Māori. As previously mentioned Telecom was pivotal to the work she does in Māori communities as an advocate for te reo Māori and as an advisor of tikanga within her rohe.

These environments where te reo Māori was spoken in the home have decreased substantially within Māori families in Aotearoa today. In addition, the preferred method for language retention using intergenerational transmission is decreasing (Fishman, 2001; Spolsky, 2003) and the use of te reo Māori has decreased significantly over the past century (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008; Tuhiwai Smith, 1990). Although there has been a major language renaissance in Aotearoa the survival and retention of te reo Māori remains tenuous (Matāmua, 2006). Louise, Ngahuia, Naida and Pani experienced the intergenerational transmission method of learning the language, which was adversely influenced by the colonial processes consistent during their time and within their rural lifestyles. In addition, each of these women spoke about how moving from these strongly communal lifestyles to more urban settings and their experiences with Pākehā within their communities affected their work in Māori communities. More specifically, they spoke of the value systems and the lifestyle differences between Pākehā and Māori culture as noted by Pani:

They certainly had a different life-style to ours, but they were good people. They appreciated hard work and would go the extra mile to support you. It was a stark contrast to my whānau. Whilst we were poor in material things, we were rich in our cultural identity. Our values were very important then because we had strong men and women who taught and practised the true understanding of manākitanga. Our marae were and still are a place where we demonstrate our skills and show respect to visitors.

These women were all a part of urbanisation, which saw many Māori communities move out of rural areas and into the cities (O'Regan, 2007). The urban drift and cultural assimilation forced upon many Māori as a consequence of colonisation and land loss have all been widely discussed (Barcham, 1998; Gibson 1973; Gould, 2004). Assimilation into the British culture was a key aim in the process of urbanisation of Māori post New Zealand and WWII (Archer & Archer, 1971; Biggs, 1961; Collette, 1974; Hunn, 1960; Simons, 1990) and the impact of land loss on Māori was catastrophic. Māori were cultivating and hunting on their traditional whānau land less and less. They were moving away from marae and closer to or within Pākehā settlements and often worked hard labour jobs to provide money to sustain their families. The result of this shift meant that Māori families lived less collectively within these urban environments. Māori men's abilities to provide for their families became more limited with the move into urban environments. They faced hostile urban environments and were encouraged to integrate with Pākehā, learn English and engage in British and missionary educations (Ormond; 2008).

The impacts on the health, wellbeing and education of Māori during these times were severe. Large sources of food were destroyed in combination with oppression of Māori language and cultural practises. Māori suffered from colonial diseases, which they had little or no immunity to and these diseases ravaged their communities. These issues led to the development of the Māori Women's Welfare League whose aim was to look for alternative ways to improve the wellbeing in Māori communities. Traditional healers became increasingly ostracised and the Tohunga Suppression Act in 1907 meant Māori were discouraged from accessing traditional healers for contemporary diseases (Durie, 2005). This meant that tohunga continued to be sourced in Māori communities to treat illness, but this was done in a secretive manner. Recent movements have begun to support traditional healing and knowledge (H. Kingi, personal communication, February 16, 2012) and Māori

methods of healing have been encouraged to complement medical health practitioners in Māori communities (Mark & Lyon, 2011).

These political, social and historical events have all influenced the women in this study in numerous ways particularly in relation to the work they do for Māori. Using the analytic method based on pūrākau and the concept of ka to examine the influence of social, historical and cultural context on their experiences and their work as leaders for Māori highlighted how the history of colonisation influenced the work these women have done within Māori communities. For example, in Beryl's experience she began teaching at Hoani Waititi, which was the first kura kaupapa in Aotearoa. Beryl's experience of teaching was influenced by the development of kura kaupapa during the period when Māori were reasserting te reo Māori within the education system. These led to many years of working in kura kaupapa to promote te reo Māori and enhance Māori achievement schools. Kirsty's involvement in Māori health workforce development was driven by a need to ensure that Māori health workers were constantly working towards developing and enhancing their skills as health practitioners. She did this by providing an environment which was conducive to their learning needs and acknowledged Māori diversity:

I'm leading an organisation to work as hard as we can to serve a very diverse workforce, but because of that diversity that means that we won't always get it right for everybody all of the time. How do we develop a suite of programmes that recognises the different needs of the Māori workforce? We're not a homogenous work force in any way shape or form.

In the context of this study using ka to analyse the past and present social, cultural and political contexts these women have been exposed to throughout their lives was essential to understanding their development as leaders within our communities. For Naida and Pani who had access to traditional social environments they have been able to share their knowledge in Māori communities. For the women who grew up in urban settings their work has been largely directed at learning te reo Māori me ōna tikanga or enhancing the wellbeing of Māori communities. This was illustrated by Kirsty's experience of education and her motivation for working with Māori communities:

I had a real interest in Māori education, which came as a result of watching my brother struggle through the education system. It wasn't because he wasn't

intelligent and he wasn't very gifted in his own right, but they weren't in the areas that the education system was recognising. So I had a real interest in Māori education and I don't think the system did him very well at all. In fact, I think it probably did him more of a dis-service. He was a fantastic practical kinaesthetic learner where a classroom kind of shackled him. So, I picked up education and psychology as a result of that and was one of about thirty Māori students who started psychology together.

Strong links have been made between the processes of colonial assimilation and the social, cultural and economic factors which affect Māori today (Barcham, 1998; Durie, 1995; Mikaere, 1999; Tuhiwai-Smith, 2003). Strategies aimed at rectifying these problems have also been sought (Durie, 2011; Kingi, 2002). The process of healing within indigenous communities is a movement which developed internationally as a means for restoring the balance lost within indigenous communities because of colonisation. International networks have been the foundation from which many works within indigenous communities have been promoted on a worldwide scale (Berryman, Bateman & Cavanagh, 2008; Moewaka-Barnes, 2011). In relation to the women in this study their experience of the historical colonial practises and their dedication to ensuring better outcomes for the Māori community hugely informed the work they do for Māori communities. This was shown in the roles they have had throughout their lives, which encouraged better health and education outcomes and the maintenance of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga in Māori communities. Additionally, using ka to analyse past and present experience and how this was affected by their social, cultural and political contexts created a background for interpreting the work they have done in the Māori communities. For example, the work they have done has been driven by a need to ensure positive development for Māori communities, regardless of the destruction of colonisation on Māori. This was highlighted by Kirsty's desire to work in adult education based on a need for the development of learning environments which were conducive to Māori. It was evident in the work Naida and Pani do in their communities promoting te reo Māori me ōna tikanga. Their contexts provided a basis for understanding the work they do for Māori.

There have been aims in the Māori community to ensure that the present and future wellbeing for Māori can be achieved in the context of regenerating intergenerational language transmission and sustaining the cultural values inherent to Māori ways of being (Durie, 2005; Matāmua, 2006). Yet Ormond (2008) stated that although young Māori living

in rural areas drew strength from their ancestry and forged bonds to their heritage and traditional knowledge, they continued to be silenced by the rhetoric of the dominant society. Ormond went on to state rangatahi 'are marginalised into silence by a society that legitimates voice according to the societal group from which it issues and what type of discourse it imbues and progresses' (p 33). Although there have been significant detrimental effects of the urban shift for Māori and international indigenous peoples. Waterman (2009) argued that the process of urbanisation for both Māori and Native Americans led to the development of a positive literary discourse, which consolidated and shaped indigenous development and suggested that both peoples have been able to find 'growth out of loss' (p 2).

In the context of this study Beryl's experience of dislocation from her culture led to her commitment to maintaining te reo Māori. She did this by ensuring the use of intergenerational language transmission within her whānau, beginning with her daughter learning te reo Māori:

I had also decided that my daughter would go to AGS, so I sent her to AGS, which was miles away because it was the only kura that had Māori. She went to the local school in Langholm and then Glen Eden. They started up the Kahurangi immersion unit at AGS and it was the nearest one. I made her go there and all her best mates are from Kahurangi so she's lucky she went there.

Helen and Caren acknowledged the importance of learning and maintaining te reo Māori me ōna tikanga and reflected on the poignant moments in their life journeys when they have had access to kuia and koroua. Elders within their communities were holders of idiosyncratic whānau, hapū and iwi practises and dialects, which have been difficult to retain in the process of colonial assimilation (Benton, 1997). This erosion of language, which continually affects cultural practise, has meant that hapū and iwi specific practises have become increasingly important as noted by Helen and Caren:

She'd taught us waiata and things when we were younger. I remember one day we were just sitting there and she started coming out with fluent reo and using idioms. I wish I'd written them down because they were kind of local idioms and words and she said, "Oh well that's what my mother used to call them."

(Helen)

I also recognised that until I made an effort to know my Ngāti Porou heritage that it wasn't going to come to me. I had to do things to go and seek it out.
(Caren)

The consequence of the loss of te reo Māori led to many of the women promoting te reo Māori me ōna tikanga on a local whānau, hapū and iwi basis as well as in their work in wider Māori communities. Their past experiences led to the national initiatives the women were involved in which aimed to retain Māori cultural practises as highlighted in Annette's work with Te Reo Māori Society. She became involved in this society as a means for ensuring that the language was protected and retained. Her involvement in this group came about because of the political connotations, which arose during her university training and as a result of guidance she received in her social context from elders within her community.

Many of these women were involved in international indigenous movements, which promoted indigenous human rights, health, education and wellbeing. Increasingly, Māori have become immersed in indigenous movements, which focus on the development of the indigenous human rights act. For example, Annette described her involvement in with the Māori law commission and her subsequent involvement in promoting and protecting international and indigenous rights.

Exploring their experiences of their social, political and historical contexts using the concept of ka has identified how these experiences have shaped the work they do for Māori. It has highlighted how the women who did not have access to traditional and intergenerational knowledge bases within their whānau, or who have not learned te reo Māori as a first language have focussed on improving access to environments which promoted te reo Māori me ōna tikanga. These goals were essential to their purpose and direction in their roles as leaders. Their aims in their work within Māori communities have been to ensure these taonga were revitalised and retained in Māori communities. For example, Annette worked a large part of her career on Waitangi Tribunal cases, which attempted to ensure the return of whenua, te reo Māori me ōna tikanga and the many other resources necessary to our wellbeing were returned through this process. Within this work she sought for the return of the natural resources for many iwi in Aotearoa and assisted within her own hapū in the return of their lakes.

Rangitīnia aimed to provide an urban marae and an environment for Māori and non Māori to share and experience Māori culture and this has been a major focus of her work within her community. She was a president for a branch of the Māori Women's Welfare League. She chaired community trust boards, which supported the development of kōhanga reo. She worked social services and prisons as a cultural consultant and social worker and was a strong advocate for the care and protection of our children.

Kirsty dedicated her entire working career to the educational advancement of adult Māori learning beginning with her work with Te Rau Puawai the Massey University scholarship programme. This programme saw massive increases in pass rates for Māori students. Its primary goal was to see the successful completion of 100 Māori university graduates, hence its name Te Rau Puawai (*One Hundred Blossoms*).

Caren has worked as a tribunal lawyer and as the Deputy Chief Judge for the Waitangi Tribunal. Caren devoted her career towards assisting the return of natural and environmental resources to Māori as a consequence of the land confiscation processes since colonial contact and the New Zealand wars (Belich, 1998).

Helen has been committed for many years now to working with Māori communities on local councils and now within the universities in Māori research. Helen's work is renowned in the academic community and she has been dedicated to ensuring that Māori and non-Māori researchers work in the best possible way to ensure outcomes for Māori communities.

Tariana's is well recognised in her role as the co-leader of the Māori Party, yet her work in the Māori community began long before she entered into the political arena. Tariana has been working with youth in her community for many years. She has taken them into her home and has ensured they have access to nurturing care, protection and support.

Sharon has been working in her community for many years as a psychologist and is one of very few Māori psychologists in Aotearoa. She has strived to improve health outcomes in her role as a psychologist within the community and is in high demand for her expertise in working with children, young people and their families. In addition, Sharon has mentored many young Māori psychologists progressing through or who have completed their clinical psychology training. Each of the women in this study has made massive commitments to

the advancement of Māori communities and each of them has often worked without recognition or acknowledgement to this end.

In summary, by analysing their context using the pūrākau framework of analysis and the concept of ka to explore how their experiences have shaped the work these women have done in their communities identified how their roles have been driven by their experiences of society, culture and politics and the nature of the whānau, hapū and iwi environments. They have been driven by the needs within their communities and their roles as leaders have adapted to meet these needs in the context of their environments. They have responded to their communities in critical ways and as a result have provided outstanding examples of leadership to Māori communities across the nation.

He kupu whakamutunga

The works the women in this study have done in Māori communities have been examined using ka to analyse how their past and present experiences have influenced the work they have done in their communities. The work they have done has been constantly informed by the ever changing nature and dynamics of whānau, hapū and iwi and their work within their communities was either reinforced, directed or determined by their political, social, professional environments. Furthermore, it was evident throughout this chapter that media and current affairs within Aotearoa had a major influence in the work each woman has done throughout their lifetimes. This was highlighted by the involvement they have in political and current events and the driving force from these events, which have in many cases transformed their lives. The discussions they have had with their kaumatua and the international forums they have been involved in strongly influenced the work they do in Māori communities. These women have not only been at the heart of making change in Māori communities, they have been able to use their experiences to implement strategies within Māori communities, which are committed to improving outcomes for Māori people. Their past and present contextual experiences led to a desire to see Māori improvements in health and wellbeing statistics and to ensure the retention of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga for future generations. Finally, as highlighted by Kidd (2010), identity is constructed based on people's genetic, social, environmental and political histories and analysing this process is

necessary for understanding the influence of context on the development of leaders. People are informed and guided towards varying pathways in life based on their individual and collective histories. As a result, understanding the context of these women's experiences was essential to identifying the pathways they took throughout their lives and the influence it has had on the roles they have held within their communities.



[EXAMPLES OF
POTENTIALITY,
CHIEFTAINSHIP AND
POWER ARE
REINFORCED BY
WHAKATAUKI]

Kia kaha

Kia maia

Kia manawaanu

Te Wāhanga Tuawaru – Kia Ū Tonu Mai ki tō Mana Māori

Chapter Eight: Hold Firm to your Mana Māori

This final analysis chapter uses the analytic framework based on pūrākau and the concept of ū (*from within*) to explore the individual characteristics of the women in this study, which helped them to develop and sustain their roles as leaders in Māori communities (see Figure 1 p. 243). Literally translated ū means ‘breast (of a female), udder, teat’ (Te Ipu Karea, 2011). Due to its reference to nourishment from within in this study it was used to explore the qualities these women have from within, which have been necessary to the work they have done in Māori communities. The natures of these inherent qualities were discussed in relation to characteristics, which were encouraged in traditional Māori communities and have continued to be sustained today. These traditional characteristics were espoused in whakataukī, which have been fostered in Māori communities across generations. This chapter has been split into three sections based on the following whakataukī:

Kia kaha, kia maia, kia manawānui (*be strong, be brave, be steadfast*)

Whakataukī were another method by which Māori understood transmitted and shared knowledge. They were often used as an exclamation mark when kaumātua gave whaikōrero. They were used as an educational tool to share and teach knowledge passed down by tīpuna. Whakataukī were methods for transferring knowledge, which were short and sharp and offered guidelines for behaviour. They were used to highlight values and principles and were a means for summarising discussions. They were used to share advice and were a wonderful way to make clear concise points. They were another method Māori used to share traditional knowledge from generation to generation. In addition, it was based on these oral traditional philosophies that concepts regarding behaviour, social functions and leadership roles were maintained. They emphasised the practises upon which the women in this study have modelled themselves. As has been discussed throughout this study these women consistently returned to their kuia, koroua, whaea and their mātua for guidance.

Utilising these pathways provided them with a foundation steeped in the values and practises espoused in whakataukī, which Māori communities adhered to. They also gave them the frameworks from which they have learnt how to conduct themselves as leaders for and within Māori communities.

The three characteristics referred to in this whakataukī this chapter highlighted how kaha, maia and manawānui were nurtured in these women based on the traditional values promoted in Māori communities using the process of intergenerational knowledge transmission. Using the pūrākau framework for analysis and ū to explore the inner qualities these women have, which were integral to their roles as leaders identified how their experiences of these characteristics assisted them towards sustaining these roles in Māori communities. To this end, the sections of this chapter were discussed using the three characteristics of kaha (*strength*), maia (*bravery*) and manawānui (*persistence*) as based on this whakataukī. This whakataukī was often shared among Māori to encourage others and reinforce the attributes Māori admire and as such their use within this chapter was an acknowledgement of the qualities these women exhibited as leaders. In addition, it provided a basis for the analysis of the inherent features they maintained in the work they have done within Māori communities.

Te kaha o ngā wāhine: the strength of women

All is possibility, and whakapapa also, a fluid harbinger of the lives and deep-seated energetic wishes of our people. All of us come into being as chiefs. Our kaitiaki shower us with their aroha, feathers fall freely, a carpet of our love (Kahukiwa et al., 1999, p. 11).

As demonstrated in this study and based on the life stories of these women mātauranga Māori was transferred across generations using oratory traditions. The intergeneration transfer of knowledge provided a foundation for ensuring that children identified with the rangatira and ariki from whom they descend. Additionally, the women in this study were raised with an understanding that ‘all is possibility’ and that their limits of potentiality had no boundaries (Kahukiwa et al., 1999, p. 11). These women understood early in life they could achieve whatever they set out to do. They did this knowing that their communities had faith in their ability to meet their needs. In addition, the belief that they were taonga

was grounded at birth and as a result they developed a belief that they could grow to meet their fullest potential. From this frame of reference their inner strengths and beliefs encouraged them to consistently overcome adversity and seek high achievement enabling them to work towards better futures for their communities. Using pūrākau as an analytic framework and the concept of ū to identify how their individual characteristics from within led to the development of kaha (*strength*). This section discusses how the women's kaha allowed them to grow as leaders for Māori.

Examples of potentiality and chieftainship were reinforced by whakataukī such as the one used to describe the behaviour of these women in this chapter. Traditional Māori practices exemplified how children were all born with potential and provided the foundation for ensuring that children could grow to meet the many expectations Māori place on their leaders to meet the needs of their people. Furthermore, the women in this study demonstrated how their strength in their roles as leaders for Māori and their ability to source their potential arose not out of a necessity to survive in light of adversity, but from their inherent potential to grow and prosper regardless of adversity. This ability to learn, grow and adapt to their environment ultimately led to their development as leaders within their communities. Their potential to meet with and transcend hardship was also based on an inherent belief that they were able to respond well to difficulty in their lives, and that they were well endowed with the skills and abilities to manage these periods in dynamic and diverse ways.

One example was provided by Annette who talked about an early childhood experience in which she was confronted by Park Rangers for fishing on her tribal lands. She recalled how she was escorted to her family home and although she was aware of the seriousness of her situation she did not exhibit fear or anxiety as a consequence of this situation. This experience exposed her to the dual power structures within Māori communities when faced with iwi and governmental authorities. As a result of this experience she believed her inherent ability to manage this situation without distress was recognised by her family as a potential strength and was subsequently nurtured. Annette's experience highlighted how although she was faced with controversy early in life, she showed signs of strength and courage from a very early age. These attributes were not only acknowledged by her whānau, they were encouraged and fostered throughout her life. Annette was able to draw from this experience throughout her life and it informed the purpose of her work and the

direction she took professionally in her career. Her career has led to the immense work she has done for her iwi and other Māori communities in the fight to return whenua back to Māori people. This example showed how although these women were challenged by powerful institutional structures they were able to resource courage and strength using skills they developed from very early stages of their lives to manage these challenges. As a result of their inherent potential for inner strength and the nurturing of this potential within their whanau, they developed the capacity to deal with difficult situations in resourceful and dynamic ways. They developed the wherewithal to do this and succeed well in their goals in the process. They illustrated how their innate potential assisted them in the work they do within Māori communities.

The belief these women had in their inherent potential to achieve was highlighted in the oriori by Kahukiwa et al. (1999) 'All of us come into beings as chiefs.' In this oriori the potential Māori were born with and the leadership they inherit at birth was acknowledged. Their kaha came from the belief that they were wrapped in this korowai of protection and that they have all the potential they need to succeed in their endeavours. In addition, they came to difficult experiences prepared with an inherent understanding that their potential would allow them to flourish, and their communities' faith in their ability to meet these difficulties was nurtured. This was highlighted in Annette's experience of having her potential nurtured within her whānau. It was described by Helen in her experiences within her whānau. Although they were exposed to difficult experiences in their lives the wāhine in her whānau carried an inner strength, which was nurtured across generations:

I guess for my daughter I wanted her to see a positive role model. I'm a bit iffy about that sort of language, but you know I want to ensure that she sees the strength of women in her life as well because I mean my mother was a very strong person. You know she was trampled by my father, but she still withstood all of that and as I say she tried to give things to us like strength. So the core of her was never trampled down and my grandmother was a very stroppy woman. You could see how life had treated them, but they still had that inner strength and determination and that kind of toughness or something to stick to certain things I think. So I guess that's about carrying that on as well and carrying that on for my daughter...

Using ū as a method for analysing these qualities of inner strength and potential described by Helen highlighted how they not only sustained kaha across generations in whānau. They

were evident across wider Māori communities and championed in numerous whakataukī which promoted strength, courage and the ability of Māori to succeed:

Whāia te iti kahurangi, ki te tuohu koe me maunga teitei (*pursue that which is precious, and do not be deterred by anything less than a lofty mountain*)

E hara taku toa he toa takitahi engari he toa takitini (*my strength is not in myself alone but it is in those who surround me*)

These whakataukī refer to the qualities which Māori have encouraged traditionally and they continue to prosper within Māori communities today. They speak to the ability of Māori to set and achieve high standards and goals in life and in each individual endeavour or experience. They were strongly espoused in Māori communities and were evident in the selection process I went through for the women in this study. For example, when I approached the community about whom they felt were leaders for Māori they spoke about women who were strong, brave and steadfast in the work they do for Māori communities. They spoke about women who were passionate about their work and who were able to guide and direct Māori communities towards brighter futures. These women were recognised for their strength and courage to face the adversity they work in Māori communities. Te kaha o ngā wāhine (*the strength of these women*) as based on their inner strength reverberated in the opinions of them within their community. Their ability to embrace their strength was recognised in Māori communities and was developed and encouraged as described by Annette and Helen. These traditional values continued to strongly influence the nature of leadership and have been used to nurture and grow the potential of the leaders who work in Māori communities. Using ū to explore the characteristics these women have from within, which assisted them to develop as leaders recognised how kaha was an integral quality to their roles within Māori communities. Most importantly, it was a quality which was nurtured within the context of their whānau across generations.

Te maia o ngā wāhine: the bravery of women

Te toka tū moana (*The rock stands in the ocean: the wave crashes, the wind blows, the sun burns; the rock stands in the ocean*)

Traditional Māori values have been present throughout this study with regard to how these women have developed as leaders. They have drawn from the traditions of Māori leadership and adapted them to meet the contemporary needs of Māori communities. This has meant that at critical times during their lives in the work they do for Māori, they have had to stand up for what they thought was right and worth fighting for on behalf their community. Using pūrākau as a framework for analysis and the concept of ū to explore the inner qualities these women have, which enhanced their roles as leaders identified how maia (*bravery*) was essential to these roles. For example, Rangitīnia described how she would place herself in difficult positions when working for Māori:

I did it because I felt strongly for the women who were helping to promote the marae. It meant being out and about and away from their families and giving up their weekends! Even during the evenings we would take the model of the marae to show people and give talks. Sometimes you have to put yourself out there on the limb because you feel strongly about our people or our women.

Often in their lives these women would have to make a stand for what they believed was right. On many occasions they have fought for the rights of Māori against and from within the government. This was highlighted by Tariana's involvement in the development of the Māori party and Annette's involvement in the more recent development of the Mana party. Both of these political parties began as a result of the need to challenge the government by asserting Māori rights. These women have stood up for what they believed in, and at times this caused great personal and professional duress. This was noted in Tariana's experience of her decision to move from the Labour party to develop the Māori party:

After the foreshore and seabed came along I knew that I couldn't stay from the very first time they started talking about it. Helen knew that I was really torn. They offered for me to be away from parliament so I wouldn't have to vote. I just felt totally compromised especially when they'd offered for me to keep the house and the car, and that I'd only stand down from the pay a short time. It really hurt me that she thought I went to parliament for a house a car and money. I was disgusted actually and it just helped me be more decisive about leaving. Our people wanted me to move. My electorate supported me to leave. I think I had one email in all that time that asked me to stay with Labour all the rest of them asked me to leave.

Tariana's move from the Labour party was a very brave position to take in light of the issues that had arisen at the time of her decision. Although she made this move independently from her party, she did so with a vast amount of support from the Māori community. Her bravery to stand up for what she believed inspired Māori during a time when Māori rights were becoming increasingly diminished.

The bravery exhibited by the women within this study was a value which was highly acclaimed within the Māori community. Messages of bravery, strength and courage were themes which persisted through to contemporary Māori society and have their basis within traditional mātauranga Māori. Themes of bravery were weaved throughout pūrākau and were continually evident, for example, in the feats achieved by Maui and his adventurous quests. They were demonstrated in the trials of Tāne's journey to the heavens to reach ngā kete wānanga (*the three baskets of knowledge*). The messages received within ngā kōrero o neherā (*the traditional narratives*) provided the means for understanding and interpreting the values important to Māori people. These values built the basis from which behaviours could be encouraged, taught and retained within the Māori community. For example, pepeha (*tribal proverb*) was a further method for retaining traditional knowledge across generations. The language of pepeha was referred to by Kawharu (2008) as a form of language only comparable to that used in the bible. Kawharu stated that pepeha perpetuated Māori traditional heritage in a way that was:

...lively and proud spirit, and there is the power, awe and fineness of the Māori language. Pepeha speak of the nature of Māori life in ancient times and capture the thinking from those times about matters as diverse as the customs of battle and of the heavens...up to this day pepeha have continued to be quoted in songs and speeches (p. vii).

Bravery was a characteristic which is admired within the Māori community and was embedded in Māori narratives and, which Māori either admired or strived to attain. Bravery was a quality which Māori were taught to respect and was characterised within the oral methods which maintained Māori traditions. The women in this study were each identified by members of their community because they exhibited qualities such as strength and bravery, which their community either admired or aspired to attain. When I asked people who they believed their leaders were they identified women who stood up for what they believed in. They spoke about women whom they believed were brave and forthright. They

chose women who were passionate and women who inspired them. They reflected on women who were strong and capable and who represented their communities in a manner which they have admired time and time again.

When actively engaged in working for their communities these women exhibited qualities of bravery by identifying the needs in their communities and meeting these needs, which was often fraught with difficulty. They have worked in Māori communities regardless of severe adversity and they have continued to represent the needs of Māori against massive barriers. As a consequence they have, as Rangitīnia stated, placed themselves ‘*out on a limb*’ for the development of their communities. They have done this knowing that they may suffer severe personal or professional consequences and have demonstrated tireless commitment in the provision of service, support and space for Māori communities to grow and flourish. For example, Caren’s experience of learning law at university gave her access to strong mentors in her community and developed her ability to fight for Māori rights using education as a means for guiding this process:

We needed to be in a position where we could advocate for Māori rights against what were then a relatively uneducated New Zealand Crown and public. I can remember doing things as a student with one of these guys he was a pioneer in our law school at the time, a Pākehā man named Alex Frame. He organised the Māori law students to present a submission to the Māori Affairs Select Committee on the Fisheries Act when the Crown was going to move to repeal a provision in that Act which guaranteed Māori fishing rights. When we arrived at Parliament I was only in stage one at this stage, but I remember this vividly. When we arrived at Parliament you know all green and bushy tailed we started heading towards the Select Committee Room. Peter Tapsell who was an MP then saw us and asked us what we were doing and we explained and he said, “Hold on a minute.” Next thing he was back with the whole of the New Zealand Māori Council trailing behind him including a person who is now Sir Graham Latimer. We all sat down in that Select Committee Room with our submission and what was previously just a little submission from a bunch of wayward kids and a law lecturer turned into this massive Māori position advocated for by the New Zealand Māori Council with Sir Graham Latimer supporting it. It was incredible. I remember him being asked during the process, “Just tell me please what a Māori in New Zealand is?” Sir Graham just looked straight back at this MP at the time and said, “Well, it’s like this. If God says you’re a Māori, then you’re a Māori.” It was that submission which ensured that the section in the Fisheries Act that preserved Māori fishing

rights remained the law. That provision would later be the basis for the Court action which led to the Sealord's Settlement.

Using ū to analyse the inner strengths the women have which encouraged them to provide leadership roles for Māori communities identified how their ability to be brave and the learning they received from these experiences strongly enhanced the work these women have done for Māori. As a result, they have supported Māori development in both urban and rural communities. In addition, as Beryl and Naida illustrated in their work at kura kaupapa and in High School they both engaged in this work during highly controversial times. For example, Naida's experience of teaching embraced the dynamics of whānau by building on tuakana and teina relationships. These methods were highly innovative and dynamic, but were strongly contested:

I was a reo Māori teacher that's what I qualified as a reo Māori teacher. So for the first year I said to the school for the first three periods of the day they're mine and then they go to maths, English and science. There were third, fourth, fifth and sixth formers in my class and they became a whānau. I told the maths teacher, "They're coming over to you as a whānau in the tuakana/teina concept and the tuakana will teach the teina. The seventh formers will teach the sixth and the sixth will teach the fifth. The fifth will teach the fourth and the fourth will teach the thirds. The third formers are the teina and they will come to you as tuakana/teina. So, don't teach only the thirds and don't teach only the fourths. You're going to take the whole class and that will test your metal."

Maths was okay about it and in science I said to the science teacher, "Do you know that the humble kumara is science? I don't want them to come here to learn how to dissect a frog they're coming here to learn science." The tukutuku panels have several curricular in them and those panels have maths. Those panels have the science of the sea for the pīngao. They have the science of the bush for the Kea. They have art and they have comradeship with each other and so it is the art of science and the bush and the sea. So for the science teacher that tested that metal and everybody agreed except the PE teacher. The PE teacher complained about me to the Principal so the Principal called a meeting with us and I said to the PE teacher, "You are ignorant and incompetent to teach Māori students. They are tuakana/teina and you simply want to streamline Māori to suit your training on PE. Well let me tell you some of those third formers are stronger than the seventh formers and so you can't use that as an argument! So here's what I'll do. You do not qualify to teach my kids! You have failed! I will not let my kids come to you."

So I said to the Principal, "You have to find something else for her to do because she ain't getting my class! She ain't getting them and she doesn't deserve them! She is incompetent!" I was left with a period with my class and I thought what am I going to do with them? I rang the Hillary Commission and they came with the Moving On Programme. They took them abseiling and they took them canoeing so that they could learn to work together. It was amazing.

In Beryl's case she taught at the first kura kaupapa in Aotearoa, which they did without funding and on limited resources:

Also, there was no money for it because it was outside the state system so no-one got paid. It had been going about two years and Peter had gone to ask Katarina to come from Raglan and help get the school started. I asked her if I could come to kura and I was on the DPB. I was always on the DPB that's how I got my education. In those days it was easy to do, but it's not anymore. So I said, "I'll stay on the DPB don't pay me." I just wanted to work in the kura and she needed the money. So I was there and Aroha was there and Katarina came in and out. Then Evelyn Tobin came over and Linley and Bev. It was magic because no-one had any money and it was just aroha and energy and belief that kept it going. It's not there anymore that spirits gone unfortunately. It will come back again, but it's not there now. It was like how it goes when you're up against something huge. It was just Māori doing what Māori do so well when there's a war on.

Although their aim was to sustain te reo Māori in Māori communities Beryl and Naida did this during time in Aotearoa when doing so meant dealing with controversy, resistance, trial and adversity. Yet they still fought for their cause and often did so at significant personal cost. They did this because of their belief that Māori people and Māori knowledge and practises could only serve to benefit the community. As a result, they found ways to encourage development in Māori communities. In addition, their bravery was based on the traditions of maia and these inherent characteristics have continued to influence the nature of leadership today. In summary, using pūrākau as a framework for analysis and the concept of ū as a method for analysing the qualities these women have from within, which assisted in developing or maintaining their roles as leaders. These women have demonstrated how bravery was an essential characteristic, which had guided the nature of Māori leadership within Māori communities.

Te manawānui o ngā wāhine: the dedication of women

He moana pukepuke e ekengia e te waka (*a turbulent sea can be navigated by a canoe: persevere*)

Māori expressions of emotion were described by Durie (1985) as strongly connected to the physical sensation of emotion. Durie stated that this physically oriented experience of emotion explained the difficulties Māori have engaging with talking therapies. The inability to separate out emotional wellbeing from mental, physical and spiritual wellbeing found medical models of health lacking for Māori for whom wellbeing relies on holistic models of wellbeing such as that prescribed by the Whare Tapa Wha model. As Kingi stated this model ‘described as the four cornerstones of wellbeing’ made evident that a Māori interpretation of health and wellbeing relied on the strength of physical, mental, familial and spiritual wellness (Kingi, 2002, p. 240).

In light of these contrasting views it can be assumed that Māori experiences of emotion, cognition and behaviour do not necessarily meet with medical or psychologically based models of behaviour. In addition, the word used to explain emotion in Māori is *whatumanawa*, which means ‘seat of emotion, heart, mind’ (Te Ipu Karea, 2011). Māori definitions of the experiences of emotion were strongly tied to an inherent connection with the mind, body and spirit and these interpretations inevitably influenced social behaviour. These interpretations of emotional experience provided a backdrop for understanding the nature of the perseverance, dedication and commitment these women had towards the work they have done for Māori communities. They highlighted how Māori were highly expressive by nature and tended to engage in activities with passion and vigour. Using the analytic framework based on *pūrākau* this study highlighted how these women demonstrated *manawānui* (*perseverance and dedication*) to the work they have done for Māori communities. For example, the women in this study have dedicated large parts of their lives and themselves to a *kaupapa* (*topic, agenda, theme*) they believed in within Māori communities. These *kaupapa* have ranged from education, which was Beryl’s and Kirsty’s experience to the fight for land retention and indigenous rights, which were Tariana, Annette, Rangitīnia and Caren’s experience. Their work in Māori communities has been focussed on health, environmental and research development, which were Naida, Sharon, Ngahuia, Pani, Louise, Kuini and Helen’s experiences. All of the women in this study have

been at the forefront for advocating for Māori development and they have pursued their work with perseverance and a passion for their community. As highlighted by Beryl, charismatic and inspirational leaders in Māori communities demonstrated faith, belief and commitment to their cause:

She was up at the crack of dawn making breakfast and bread and she just worked her butt off. They just worked so hard those two and she was utterly charismatic. She was one of the most respected people I know in the world that woman. She walked the talk, she never got rich and she said the truth.

These were characteristics which inspired Māori communities and were inherent in all of the women in this study. They were present in the manner in which they worked with Māori. They were evident in their commitment and passion for Māori development. They were demonstrated by the charisma they had which inspired their communities to suggest them for inclusion in this study. The value placed on these behaviours provided a means for understanding how Māori experiences of emotion influenced behaviour and were embedded in Māori language and culture. This was shown in the use and repetition of the whakataukī shared in the chapter. These behaviours were guides for how Māori engaged with each other and their wider community. Māori interpretations of emotion and behaviour strongly influenced the way these women have worked determinedly for Māori communities and many of them have done so over the large majority of their lives. This was highlighted in Caren's experience of university and her dedication to completing her studies and developing networks for other Māori students studying law:

The pass rate through our Law School at that time was about one Māori graduate per every five years it was that bad. The first thing that Ani, Tony and Joe decided being the only Māori who had ever got past stage one for a long time was that they should set up a study group. So they set up a study group to get people through stage one and that has become the foundation stone for so much development. After that we got the contributions of various people over long periods of time and from then until now we still have Māori study groups. We have Māori Graduation ceremonies. We have a Māori Student Law Advisor. We have Māori law lecturers, Māori course content and for a long time we had a permanent Māori quota system. As a result, there is on average anything up to five to ten students graduating per annum from Victoria now. If you magnify that from every university that is a lot of Māori students graduating from law school now and that means we can safely say

that we have more than enough lawyers. Now we should be starting to encourage people to look at the way they use law degrees for the future needs of Māoridom.

As shown by Caren when choosing to commit to a kaupapa in their community, the women in this study have done this with all of their being. They have engaged on all levels of their experience to develop their kaupapa and to grow their initiatives within Māori communities. They did this by identifying the needs of their communities and by working towards meeting these needs. Caren's experience of law school showed how she and her predecessors and mentors identified a need in the university regarding access to support for Māori students. They met this need by setting up networks and developing relationships within their school with people who would assist with their development of these systems. These experiences became the foundations which set the stage for the ongoing work she has done for Māori throughout her career.

In summary, using the research analytic method based on pūrākau and the concept of ū to explore the inner qualities the women had, which were integral to the development of their roles as leaders demonstrated how these women have dedicated their lives to working in Māori communities. Early in life they have identified where their skills may lie when working with Māori people. They were then supported by their whānau, hapū and iwi to follow these pathways utilising their talents and were encouraged to follow their pathways to their utmost potential. As a result, they began a process of developing their skills in positions which could best support the development of their communities. Their dedication and perseverance came from a place of vigour, passion and commitment. They have pursued these pathways regardless of the difficulties they have had to face throughout their lives. They identified a need for their community and were dedicated to this task once they have made a commitment to its cause. When they made obligations to their communities they worked tirelessly for them and their passion, commitment and determination have been inspirational. These qualities have, as illustrated by the whakataukī used to structure this chapter, been used to enhance and develop leadership within Māori communities for generations.

He kupu whakamutunga

Using the research analysis framework based on pūrākau and the concept of ū I aimed to identify the inherent attributes these women have, which have augmented their roles as leaders in Māori communities. The whakataukī kia kaha, kia maia, kia manawānui highlighted how these women exemplified kaha in the work they do for Māori by exploring how early in their lives they were attuned to their own inherent strength and potential. The second part of the whakataukī spoke to maia and the bravery shown by our wāhine regardless of controversy, conflict, and personal duress while they have continually stood for issues poignant to Māori communities. Using these kōrero o neherā provided tools for understanding how traditional beliefs and behaviours have traversed time within the context of orally transmitted intergenerational knowledge and continued to be applied to Māori leadership today. The final part of this whakataukī, kia manawānui, spoke to the passion and dedication these women had for their work within Māori communities. These women sustained their commitments to working within Māori communities and have remained passionately dedicated to ensuring better outcomes for future generations of Māori. This was demonstrated in how Māori interpretations of emotion and behaviour drove their dedicated manner of engagement in their work in the Māori communities. Finally, this chapter identified how leadership qualities in Māori communities have been nurtured across generations using traditional methods of oral knowledge transmission.

**Te Wahanga Tuaiwa: He Aha te Mea Nui o Te
Ao? He tangata.**

**Chapter Nine – What is the Most
Important Thing in the World? It is
people.**



He kōrero mutunga: conclusion

Nā te hiahia kia titiro, ā, ka kite ai tātou te mutunga
(*You must understand the beginning if you wish to see the end*)

The purpose of this thesis was to explore how the life experiences of Māori women leaders in Māori communities influenced their development as leaders. To this end, thirteen women were identified by their community as leaders for Māori and were asked to participate in this study by sharing their life story narratives. In this chapter I aimed to summarise the core findings arising from these interviews by illustrating how, using pūrākau as a framework for analysis, I was able to identify those life experiences which particularly assisted their development as leaders within Māori communities. Finally, I highlighted some contributions the findings in this study offer regarding the development of future leaders for Māori communities and for current research, and I identified some pathways for future research.

Ka tipu te pū o te rangatiratanga mai i te ūkaipō: the source of leadership came from early nurturing

Leadership in Māori communities was traditionally defined by genealogically inherited status, which was passed down from generation to generation within collective tribal communities. Māori women's roles as leaders in traditional society existed as a consequence of this tradition and were based on their learning of sacred knowledge and an ability to lead Māori in times of need (Binney & Chaplin, 1990). The roles of Māori women as leaders were based on these traditions of leadership and Māori women continue to lead Māori today.

The women in this study were identified by people in their communities as leaders and were recommended to me for participation in this study. Using pūrākau as framework for research analysis and the concept of pū for identifying the source of leadership development this study illustrated the source of these women's roles as leaders was founded in the nurturing and protective environments of their early developmental years. This occurred in the context of their ūkaipō when they were taught from birth that they were taonga. Fostering these beliefs in a space which nurtured growth and development was wholly influential in the development of leadership for these women. As a result, their ūkaipō was where they sought nourishment, encouragement and protection throughout their lives and which built the foundations for future leadership. It then became the basis which they returned to for future sustenance when required throughout their lives. Their developmental experiences occurred within the context of intergenerational whānau environments where children were nourished, protected and taught to embrace and accept their potential, power and their ability to succeed.

For those women who were not raised in rural or traditionally based intergenerational contexts their leadership roles were consequently nourished as a result of their connections to their whakapapa. Reconnecting with their whakapapa on a regular basis became a further source of inspiration, which influenced the ways these women worked in Māori communities. Connecting with whakapapa not only enhanced their desire to work for Māori, but was a source for the regenerative energy they needed to continue working for Māori. Also, by looking back at their whakapapa histories they were able to source avenues and professional or personal pathways for developing their roles in Māori communities based on the skills and knowledge which were embedded in their whakapapa histories.

Their whānau, hapū and iwi were a further source influencing their development in their roles as leaders for Māori. This was based on the whānau expectations placed on the women that they engage in works necessary for their communities and that they did so in a meaningful and competent manner. They were constantly encouraged, inspired and nurtured by their whānau in the context of their whakapapa throughout their lives. As a result, the source of leadership development for these women was instilled early in their lives and nurtured in the context of their heritage, which they have continued to sustain.

Wheako whaiaoro, māramatanga, rangatiratanga: experience, enlightenment, leadership

The second major finding in this study highlighted how, based on pūrākau as an analytic framework and using the concept of rā, periods of enlightenment and māramatanga influenced their roles as leaders. Experiences of wairua were crucial to the development of enlightenment. In addition, during their lives they experienced racism and discrimination and they found enlightenment in the development of their moemoeā to ensure safer, more accepting communities for younger generations. From these experiences they worked to ensure that their whānau, hapū, iwi and the wider Māori community had access to opportunities to grow and be nurtured without judgement and reproach. These women sought to provide pathways for younger generations in which they were supported to achieve their fullest potential in any endeavour. Finally, experiences of education led to enlightenment, which enhanced their roles as leaders, but most importantly they enabled them to develop pathways for growth and development in their communities.

Rangatiratanga ki roto i te horopaki o ērā wa: leadership in the contexts of their time

Using the analytic framework based on pūrākau and the concept of kā to examine how past and present experiences influenced the women's future aspirations the third major contribution this study made identified how their roles as leaders were influenced by their political, social, cultural and historical contexts. Their life histories have been guided by their political, cultural and social environments and as a consequence these contexts have strongly shaped their development as leaders. Due to the nature and context of their environments they have been directed into pathways of leadership based on the needs which arose in their communities based on their environments. They have served highly functional roles of leadership within their communities and have been encouraged to step forward into these roles as and when required (Irwin, 2007). In addition, due to their functionality as leaders, the community have not only placed them in these roles, but have supported them to sustain these roles over time. To this end, Māori leaders have been largely directed by their communities to enter specific roles in the interests of their communities (Katene, 2010).

Te mana ō ngā wāhine kaihautu ō te iwi Māori: the authority of Māori women leaders in Māori communities

The final major finding of this study demonstrated how, using the pūrākau analytic framework and the concept of ū to explore the inherent qualities these women brought to their roles as leaders, the leadership qualities they exhibited were based on characteristics such as kaha, maia and manawānui, which have been sustained by traditional oratory knowledge. Māori leadership stems from a long tradition of powerful charismatic figures and from strong traditions of community leadership sustained over time as a consequence of

intergenerational knowledge transmission (Katene, 2010). The characteristics of leaders in Māori communities have largely remained the same over time and they clearly reflected the values consistently espoused within Māori communities by whakataukī, pepeha, waiata and mōteatea. Although the qualities of leadership have been consistent over time these characteristics of leadership roles have functioned successfully across the many different contexts where these women have been involved in relation to the needs of their communities. Importantly, although the roles of leadership have changed based on the context of their environments over time the essential qualities of Māori leadership have remained the same.

Ahakoia he iti he pounamu: although it is small it is a greenstone

This study used a new and innovative framework for analysis, which enabled an in-depth exploration of these women's lives and how their experiences have influenced their development as leaders. This framework, based on pūrākau, has been a valuable means for analysing life story narratives and can be used as a resource for future research with Māori. In addition, the development of pūrākau as an analytic framework was founded on its traditions in mātauranga Māori, which highlighted the importance of oral tradition in the process of wānanga. In the context of this study it was used as a method to wānanga and learn from the stories shared by these women. It provided important insights into the nature of leadership in Māori communities and explored methods, which can be used to encourage the development of leadership among future generations of indigenous communities worldwide.

First, it did this by highlighting why it was important for children to be raised in a nurturing, protective environment in which they were constantly reminded of their unlimited potential. Second, it reflected on how leadership guidance and development within indigenous communities often arose from the enlightenment associated with wairua, moemoeā and mātauranga. Third, it revealed how social, political, cultural and historical context strongly influenced the needs of indigenous communities and the roles required of indigenous leaders in response to these needs. Fourth, it described how oral traditions continued to influence indigenous communities today and that these influences can teach and guide leadership practises in contemporary environments.

This study offered an important contribution to the nature of Māori leadership in Māori communities although future research regarding the influence of life experiences on the development of leadership in Māori communities would benefit from exploring the life stories of male leaders in Māori communities. Moreover, although the number of women in this study was limited to thirteen and many of the women in this study were prominent leaders in the Māori community. There are a vast number of Māori women in diverse leadership roles in the Māori community and it would be important to explore the nature of diversity across Māori women's roles as leaders in Māori communities because while this study sought a diverse range of leaders. It has not covered the full extent of the heterogeneous nature of leadership positions and their roles throughout this community. Furthermore, as Māori communities are becoming more globalised and more Māori are living overseas future research would likely benefit from exploring the dynamics of Māori leadership in Māori communities living abroad.

Finally, this study highlighted the major similarities in these women's life experiences and the influence of these experiences on their roles as leaders for Māori communities. Yet, they are diverse and dynamic women with a vast uniqueness, which further enhanced their roles as leaders for Māori in powerful and inspirational ways.

Appendix I: Research Information Sheets



Massey University

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Te Kura Pūkenga Tangata

SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY

Private Bag 102 904

North Shore Mail Centre

Auckland 0745

New Zealand

T 64 9 441 0800 extn 41244

F 64 9 441 0831

www.massey.ac.nz

Maori women's narratives on life experiences, and their journeys.

He Panui - Information Sheet

Ko wai au? Who am I?
E nga mana, e nga reo, e nga rau rangatira ma
Tena koutou, tena koutou, tena koutou katoa
I te taha o toku matua ko Ngarauru kii tahi,
Ngati Maniapoto, me Te Rarawa oku iwi
Ko Waitotara toku awa
Ko Taranaki toku maunga
Ko Wairoa-iti, Te Kuiti, me Pawarenga oku rohe
I te taha o toku whaea ko Te Rarawa, Te Aupouri, me Airihi oku iwi
Ko Hokianga-whakapou-karakia toku moana
Ko Taiaimai toku maunga
Ko Te Kao, me Panguru oku rohe
Ko Ripeka Wirihana toku ingoa

Kia ora! My name is Rebecca Wirihana; I am a PhD student with the Massey University and I would like to invite you to participate in my research project.

Background information

This study will explore how Māori women's life experiences have contributed to the involvement Māori women espouse, as local leaders within their Māori communities. Many Māori women maintain roles of leadership within their communities, professionally, within educational settings, and among their own whanau, hapu and iwi. Māori women's roles as community leaders, social pioneers, and cultural activists within their communities, have often been neglected. Nevertheless, Māori women's roles as leaders within their communities are fundamental to the ongoing promotion of whanau structure health and well being.

This study will use the process of narrative story-telling to develop detailed accounts of how Māori women's life experiences, and their understandings of these experiences, have influenced their roles as leaders in their local Māori communities.

The research project

My project is focused on adult Māori women who are currently involved in leadership roles within their local Māori communities. Your involvement within your community does not need to be specific; you need only be an active participant in local Māori community activities. I am looking for between 10-15 women for this project. If you choose to participate in this research project, I will contact you individually to coordinate convenient meeting venues and times.

It is envisaged that we will meet on at least four occasions. We can decide together whether we need more than four meetings, and each session will last for approximately one hour and a half to two hours. I will be taking written records during every meeting, and meetings will be audio recorded. I will report my initial findings back to you at each subsequent meeting for your perusal, feedback, and critique.

Based on the narrative nature of this research project, and your corresponding role as an active leader within the Māori community, it is unlikely that your anonymity can be maintained during the reporting process of this research project. As a consequence, it is expected that you will be named in the final research report of this study.

Refreshments will be offered during our meetings, and a koha will be provided in acknowledgement of your time and commitment to this study.

Information Storage

Each meeting will be audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. You can decide whether any of the discussion during any meeting will be kept confidential. You will also have the opportunity to remove information from the audio or transcribed records at your discretion. In addition, because of the narrative nature of this research, and its focus on Māori women in leadership roles, it is anticipated that the information gained in this project could be useful for future research. As a consequence, I would like to store the transcript records collected during this study in an appropriate archival storage facility. Storage of the information collected in this study will be negotiated and discussed with each individual participant involved in this study. This will include discussions regarding potential for future use of the data collected during this study and any caveats you may wish to apply to this information as a result.

Your rights

If you choose to participate in this project you will be clearly advised of your rights as a research participant, and will be asked to complete a signed consent form based on the following principles. Please note that consent forms are not compulsory, and I will accept verbally informed consent. Furthermore, you are under no obligation to participate in this research project, and you may withdraw from the study at any stage.

As a participant in this research project you have the right to:

- Conduct your interview in te reo Māori if you choose to
- Abstain from talking about any particular subject

- Ask questions regarding the process, and the project, at any stage during your involvement in the research
- Ensure that the information you provide during the project will be safely stored in an appropriate archival storage facility
- Request the audio recorder be switched off at any stage
- Be given opportunity to feedback on, and make changes to your contributions collected throughout the study. You may provide this feedback until such time as I am drafting the final research report or, until such time as you choose to withdraw from this study
- Withdraw from the study at any time (if you do choose to withdraw from the study, the information you have provided to this date will be retained)

My supervisors

I am very fortunate to advise you that I have two supervisors for this research project: Professor Kerry Chamberlain from the School of Psychology, and Dr Denise Wilson from the School of Health and Social Services. If you would like to participate in this study, or you have any queries you would like answered - please do not hesitate to contact either myself, or my supervisors, on the following contact details.

My contact details:

Rebecca Wirihana

Ph: (09) 837 7412

Mobile: 027 322 3510

Email: rebeccawirihana@yahoo.com.au

My supervisor's contact details:

Professor Kerry Chamberlain

School of Psychology

Massey University

Ph: (09) 414 0800 extn 41226

Email: K.Chamberlain@massey.ac.nz

Dr Denise Wilson

School of Health and Social Services

Massey University

Ph: (09) 414 0800 extn 9070

Email: D.L.Wilson@massey.ac.nz

Nga mihi mahana ki a koutou katoa

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application 09/033. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact XXX, Acting Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414 0800 xXXXX, email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix II: Human Ethics Application Approval



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
ALBANY

13 August 2009

Rebecca Wirihana
c/- Professor K Chamberlain
College of Humanities and Social Sciences
Massey University
Albany

Dear Rebecca

HUMAN ETHICS APPROVAL APPLICATION – MUHECN 09/033
"Maori women's voices on life, experience and journey"

Thank you for your application. It has been fully considered, and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern.

Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, a reapproval must be requested.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

Dr Dianne Gardner
Deputy Chair
Human Ethics Committee: Northern

cc: Professor K Chamberlain
College of Humanities and Social Sciences

Te Kunenga
ki Pūrehuroa

Office of the Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Research Ethics)
Private Bag 102 904, North Shore City 0745, Auckland, New Zealand Telephone +64 9 414 0800 ex 9539
humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz

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