

Unfurling routes of self-determination in Aotearoa New Zealand The Black Women's Movement 1978 – 1982

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HE MIHI

I dedicate this thesis to the women who shared their stories:

Teorongonui Josie Keelan

Peta Si'ulepa

Ripeka Evans

Sam Uta'i

Miriama Rauhihi-Ness

&

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku

Your voices and experiences excite and inspire this writing.

Tenei taku mihi ki a koutou

Erina

Ko Kurahaupo, Ko Aotea oku Waka
Ko Taranaki te Mouna
Ko Taranaki, me Ngāti Ruanui, me Te Ati Awa oku iwi
Ko Ngāti Moeahu, Ko Hapōtiki, Ngāti Rāhiri oku hapū
Ko Parihaka, Ko Taiporohenui, oku marae
Ko Erina Okeroa ahau
No Murihiku ahau.

ABSTRACT

Self-determination is a transformative process of ideas and action. It can manifest in a variety of ways but is often dependent on the meeting of likeminded people, the circumstances they find themselves in, and the energy that fuels them into action. This thesis is a theoretical and empirical exploration of Māori and Pasifika women's self-determination in Aotearoa via a study of the Black Women's movement from 1978 to 1982. The primary focus is on the complexities, connections and contradictions of their identification with Blackness as part of an assertion of self-determination and Tino Rangatiratanga (Māori self-determination). Using the indigenous concepts of mauri (life force), whanaungatanga (familial relationships) and the koru (unfurling koru frond), this research shows how their Black identification was an important catalyst for a particular type of self-determination, asserted within the political landscape of both the public and private spheres. Black women often negotiated spaces of activism, making their struggles central to, and an example of, the core values that drive anticolonial activist politics. This investigation adds to current Māori activist literature, by addressing the largely ignored solidarity between Māori and Pasifika women within anticolonial activist movements of the era. Overall, the thesis contributes to a wider understanding of the particular racial and gendered dynamics of social and political movements in Aotearoa.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Each generation must discover its mission, fulfil it or betray it, in relative opacity.

Frantz Fanon, 2001

Tino Rangatiratanga for Māoriⁱ peoples has been at the heart of Māori activism since the late 19th century. Loosely translated, Tino Rangatiratanga means chieftainship, but in a more contemporary sense translates to Māori self-determinationⁱⁱ (Durie, 1998; Kawharu, 1989). Since that time, there have been many manifestations of Tino Rangatiratanga – Māori self-determination movements, each with their own sense of identity within the broader struggle - but all share a similar political and ideological framework: securing the right of Māori to govern their own peoples, lands and resources. The ideological foundations of Tino Rangatiratanga have remained relatively consistent, even as the manifestations and dynamics through which it is expressed changes contextually and inter-generationally. In a more contemporary urban context, there is a focus from both scholars and activists on the gendered aspect of Tino Rangatiratanga, which for some Māori women is about challenging hegemonic colonial masculine ideologies, and making visible issues and analysis pertinent to Māori women (see for example, Hutchings, 2002; Mikaere, 1995; Te Awekotuku, 1991; Pihama, 2001; Evans, 1994; Irwin, 1992). The nature and importance of Tino Rangatiratanga has, in a contemporary context, been articulated over various issues relating but not limited to, Māori land, language, identity, culture, civil rights and importantly, gender (see for example, Taki, 1996; Bargh, 2007; Potter, 2004; Te Hiwi, 2007; Simmonds, 2009).

In the anti-colonial struggle, each generation's purpose manifests differently in that each generation reinvents or reinterprets its purpose in the context from which they find themselves (Fanon, 2001). This is true in the context of Tino Rangatiratanga, and was especially apparent during the late 1960s, when an intergenerational shift took place in how Māori activism was expressed. Particularly, Māori activism took on a new form of political activism, which was unseen before in Aotearoa, and was considered extreme and radical by an older generation of Māori protagonists (McDowell, 2007; Harris, 2004). Revisiting that time makes apparent that several of these new activists entertained ideologies and

aesthetics of Black Power, Black (American) identity and a general sense of Blackness in their assertions of Māori self-determination. This raises a set of questions for scholars and later activists, regarding the use-value for Māori activists in finding self-determination through another group's identity, and one that was not indigenous.

1978 to 1982 is the period that this thesis covers, and it marks a particularly turbulent period for Māori activists in their assertions of Tino Rangatiratanga. Following the upheaval of the 1960s, on-going conflict with the state and racial tensions between Māori and Pākehā erupted during these years. Tensions fuelled in 1978 as a direct conflict between protesters and the state unfolded at Takaparawha/Bastion Point with the state executing a media sensationalized eviction, ending the peaceful occupation of Ngāti Whātua and supporters on their land (Waitangi Tribunal Orakei Claim, 1987; Poata-Smith, 2001). In 1979 a group of Māori and Pasifika youth, known as 'He Taua' took action against a group of Pākehā engineering students at their 'haka party' at Auckland University, which intensified already strained race relations between Māori and Pākehā (Poata-Smith, 2001; Dalton, 1979). The Springbok Tour in 1981 un-leashed a melting pot of racial tensions between Māori, Pasifika, Pākehā and the state, and in 1982 the Race Relations Conciliator at the time, Hiwi Tauroa, released *The Race against Time* report which argued the state of race relations in Aotearoa required urgent attention (1982). Each of these aforementioned examples provides a snapshot of a time where both the highs and lows of Māori activism unfolded in the face of state opposition and an intensified societal racism. Nevertheless, Māori activism, in its various strands, continued.

Yet the balance of political forces *within* Māori activism had changed considerably by the late 1970s and early 1980s. The rise of the New Right internationally had a large impact on the varying ideologies and factions that often competed for dominance within the Māori protest movement since the early 1970s. In particular, the downturn of mass struggle, and the rise in the influence of identity politics provided a backdrop from where Black Women's Movement was to develop. As the radical women's movement fragmented and its activist base declined, the 'assumption of autonomy' took root (Poata-Smith, 2001: p.217). This was to be extremely influential in the evolution of the Black Women's Movement in Aotearoa.

The Black Women's Movement formed because of sexism within anti-racist groups and racism within the feminist movement, and the need of a space where Black women could organise upon issues pertinent to their interests. Radically different from other women's movements of the era, such as Women's Liberation and the Māori Women's Welfare League, the Black Women's Movement galvanised a new mauri (life force) within contemporary Māori, Pasifikaⁱⁱⁱ and Indian activism, demanding equality for Black women in both society and personal lives of the women themselves. As will be shown, using a Black identification was an essential part of their collective, because it allowed for an articulation of their particular oppression, but also because it was strategic, in that it promoted solidarity of Māori, Pasifika and Indian women's voices. As such, it is important to highlight their voices and articulations of Black Power as defined and developed through their experiences, rather than to accept the portrayals that dominate the literature; such as the somewhat peripheral view of the movement taken by Walker (2004) or the outright dismissiveness of their lived experiences as articulated by Greenland (1991). Moreover, I shall use a Kaupapa Māori theoretical model of enquiry, reflecting Māori aspirations, ideals, values and perspectives within a methodological framework to draw out the significance and tensions of Black identification in Aotearoa. I will demonstrate through an analysis of the Black Women's Movement that Black identification was not in contrast to Indigenous self-determination, but rather, a process that had relevance and purpose for activists who specifically and consciously used this identification.

Aims of study

One of the first points that led me into this research was the response of people in personal conversation who when hearing of the Black Women's Movement in Aotearoa for the first time replied, 'but we are not Black.' Others emphasized the ways in which Māori identification with Black Power was problematic, given that Black Power originates from a foreign ideology, and that Māori are unable to identify with "Blackness" from a historical context. These responses, which generally suggest that Black identification is in contrast to an Indigenous struggle towards self-determination,^{iv} indicate that the tendency of Māori, Pasifika and Indian activists to identify as Black is a misunderstood and perhaps undervalued phenomenon in the history of contemporary activism and social movements in Aotearoa.

Thus in this thesis, I plan to engage with these assumptions about what Black identification has meant to grassroots activism in Aotearoa, and to highlight the relationship the identification has to the spaces that Black women occupied, especially their situation in both personal and public spheres in terms of political action. I also explore the fact that self-determination for colonized peoples is often asserted in relation to relative others, not just against colonial others – in the context of Māori women’s activism as Black women, this means self-determination in relation to Pasifika and Indian women. The question I propose to answer is ‘why and how did Māori and Pasifika women identify as Black from 1978 to 1982?’ Using a Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous feminist approach alongside the indigenous concepts of mauri (life force), whanaungatanga (familiar relationships) and the koru, I show that Black identification was a catalyst for a particular type of self-determination asserted in both public and private spheres by Māori women, in relation to others, namely Pasifika and Indian women.

I would like to acknowledge Indian women’s involvement within the solidarity of the movement. Some of the Māori and Pasifika women who I interviewed spoke of the involvement of Indian women and recalled their names as potential interviewees for this thesis. Regretfully I was unable to source interviews with these women. Nor could I find data within the archival documents that identified specifically what the Black Women’s movement was like for Indian women involved, or what Black identification meant for Indian women in Aotearoa from 1978 to 1982. It is for this reason that Indian women are not consistently part of the discussions within this thesis. Nevertheless, I respectfully acknowledge their involvement and solidarity as told to me in my interviews.

In the following section, I address my aims by reference to existing literature on Māori activism, in order to illustrate the places in which the necessity of my thesis to the existing body of scholarship are the most apparent.

Literature Review

The purpose of this review is to investigate how scholars have represented the Black Women's Movement and the influence of Black Power upon Māori activism. In particular, it explores two prominent discussions that remain underdeveloped in existing literature. The first is whether and in what ways scholars have addressed the uptake of Black identification amongst Māori and Pasifika women as a self-determining process within their movement. Identifying as Black had meaning and purpose – and thus, power - for the women who did so, and is a point that I argue requires attention.

The second discussion relates to the spheres or spaces where Black women's activism took place. The term "spheres" refers to the public and private spaces within broader society that are often regulated along gender lines, or through the traditional liberal notion of the public/private dichotomy (Phillips, 1993). The tendency of Māori activist literature to date is to downplay the significance of personalised spaces where political activism takes place. Yet it is in these spaces that the significance of the Black Women's Movement is most visible. In order to contextualize both of these discussions, developing an understanding of both the public and private spheres these women operated in, and the literature that surrounds them, is necessary.

A number of scholars have undertaken research to document the wide and varied movements of Māori self-determination from 1970 – 1985. The following authors are particularly relevant to the questions raised above, offering analysis and critique of the Black Women's Movement. The first explores the construction of an ethnic ideology (Greenland, 1991); the second critiques a cultural nationalist perspective on the politics of identity (Poata-Smith, 2001); the third gives an historical overview of the Black Women's Movement in relation to Māori activism (McDowell, 2007); and the fourth provides only a peripheral view of the Black Women's Movement opposed to other Māori activist groups of the late 1970s (Walker, 2004).

A review of this literature helps to clarify the spaces into which this thesis seeks to contributively speak. In this review, I pay particular attention to how these writers have centralised the adoption of United States Black Power ideologies, to Māori identifying as black and to their gendered aspects.

Historical formations of Black in the South Pacific

Before discussing the literature on contemporary and Twentieth century Māori activism, it is important to note that while it is difficult to pinpoint *exactly when* Māori started identifying as Black, the term has been circulated in the both the South Pacific and Aotearoa at least since the arrival of colonial settlers. Colonial missions in the South Pacific have been well-documented (Orange, 1987; Walker, 2004). However, this literature does not include the slave trading practices and the globalisation of Black identity within the South Pacific that was part of these colonial missions. Gerald Horne (2007) presents an argument that (similar to the United States context of slavery during the 17th and early 18th centuries) there was a system of hierarchical racial discrimination also in the Pacific, where Melanesian and Pacific Islanders were kidnapped into slave labor and then relocated to cotton and sugar plantations in Fiji and Queensland. As Horne explains 'blackbirding was a practice of luring Melanesian and Polynesians into slavery and was introduced into the Pacific region as a result of the Civil War in the US and the emancipation of the African peoples in the Southern United States in 1860 – 1870' (Horne, 2007, p.2). This shows that US imperialism and the Atlantic slavery system did not only impact on Black and Indigenous Peoples of Africa and the Americas but was, in fact, far reaching in its rhetoric and practice upon several nations of Indigenous Peoples in the Pacific. A crucial point to note is the racial formation of the 'Black' being globalized in the 19th century, notably as it spread into the South Pacific.

In Aotearoa, colonial settlers used stereotypes such as 'Black' and 'nigger' to label some Māori who did not want to assimilate into colonial rule. For example, James Belich discusses the specific racialized identifications used in colonial settler stereotypes for Māori as 'savages' from the early 1820s: 'the Black savage [was seen as] being permanently inferior or unconvertible, the white savage as being convertible into the civilising mission and the grey savage being the dying savage as a result of contact' (Belich, 1997, p.10). In other words, 'Black savage' was a colonial stereotype used to identify Māori who resisted colonial conquest.

Crucially for my thesis, Māori who resisted colonial rule actively embraced the label of black to express their opposition. As one of two prophet-leaders of the passive resistance

movement at Parihaka opposing a colonial domination, Te Whiti o Rongomai in 1881 spoke about colonial stereotypes given to Māori, saying:

We are looked down upon because of our appearance. Disgust at Black skin is one thing and our poverty is another and they despise us while they say "how very Black indeed is this man" (New Zealand Times, 1881 in Scott, 1975, p.87).

Not only was Māori resistance to colonial rule interpreted and labelled as 'black', but Māori (individually or collectively) were perceived as savage, despicable and un-saveable because of their 'black' skin. As both Belich and Te Whiti o Rongomai show, Blackness was a form of distinction from the white colonial settler, but also as a derogatory stereotype applied *specifically* to Māori who resisted colonial rule (Belich, 1997; Scott, 1975). In response, some Māori used the term to make a distinction from a Māori perspective, between themselves and the colonizer. For example, Te Whiti o Rongomai, addressing a meeting of 1200 Māori at Parihaka in 1880 noted in addressing a Crown representative, "I have little to say. Black and white will never agree and cannot be joined" (Gordon, 1881). In essence, while 'Black' was a term used by the coloniser to show distaste to those who maintained struggle against their colonisation effort and attendant confiscation of lands, - for some Māori, to be Black was a way of articulating resistance to that process, and to white rule in general. Te Whiti o Rongomai employed Black identification in a manner that clearly symbolised this resistance.^v

The tension around the meaning of 'Black' highlights the fact that Black identification for Māori has always been powerful, even if it has at times, been vexed. History informs us that colonial settlers in Aotearoa used racial hierarchies—based on the colour of skin and perceived characteristics—to determine a group's position within white society. Yet white systemic dominance is not the whole story. Protagonists struggling against oppressive systems also use racial identifiers to mobilise movements, political thought and action. Racial identifications (rather than national or cultural) can be used to represent the values, ambitions and projects of people across the globe. Thus identities thrust upon colonized peoples by colonial missions have periodically been used as powerful signifiers of resistance; oppositional identities adopted by Māori, Pasifika and African American peoples, among others (Smith, 2003; Nagel, 1997; Espinoza, 2001). In some cases, these identities are not

only signifiers of resistance but are 'colours of solidarity' (Teaiwa, 2011) and/or articulations of 'a state of mind' (Teaiwa, 2004).

The representation of Black women in Aotearoa

In his study of *Māori Ethnicity as Ideology* (1991), Hauraki Greenland considers the ways in which Māori activists used ethnicity and culture as a key strategy to critique Pākehā society. By using Māori symbolic and cultural resources, Māori activists strategically utilised culture as a source of politics. This strategy highlighted oppositional binaries between Māori and Pākehā ideologies: Pākehā were land grabbers, while Māori—as Tangata Whenua, peoples of the land—had rights to the land. The idea of binaries is important to understanding how and why Māori and Pasifika activists began to identify and engage with negritude, in terms of being a black and white struggle. Negritude seeks to promote pride in African cultural values and the self-affirmation of Black peoples as a direct response to colonial discourses that dismissed African cultures as 'backwards and primitive' (Cesaire, 1950).^{vi} By promoting the legitimacy of an identity that is not white, the logic of negritude resonated with Māori activists who did not want to become 'brown Pākehā'. It is for this reason I submit that Greenland endorses Black Power for Māori activists as being a 'powerful general influence' (1991, p.95).

As part of this strategy to use culture as a source of politics, many Māori women adopted a Black women's perspective of both gender and ethnicity via a 'personal is political' framework, which Greenland argues, "possibly informed the most important arguments bestowed on Māori radical ideology" (1991, p.103). Yet despite noting that this 'personal is political' framework was central to the development of Māori activism, Greenland problematically dismisses that framework by arguing that "intellectual criticisms of racism and sexism were spurned for recounting what it was like to be Māori, female, working class and/or unemployed and gay" (1991, p. 97). Greenland could be interpreted as suggesting that Black Power was a 'powerful general influence' when applied to the public sphere of Māori political dissent, but when personalised by Māori women who identified as Black and who used this identification in both the public and private spheres of their lives, he appears to undermine its significance.

In doing so, Greenland provides an opening for one of the main arguments of this thesis: that politics in the public and private spheres are relegated between genders, and that challenges to the traditional liberal notion of the 'public/private dichotomy are necessary in order to understand the significance of the Black Women's Movement to Māori and Pasifika activism. Anne Phillips (1993) highlights contradictions in the classic liberal separation of the public/private—the 'public realm of political equality' and the 'private realm of economic and social subordination' (1993, p.13). It is important to critique and problematize the impact of this binary on women in general. Namely, that the economic and social subordination of the feminized private realm to the masculinised public realm marginalises women to the private, making them and their contributions invisible or devalued. Furthermore, as seen with Greenland, such binaries, if accepted by scholars, can marginalise the lived experiences of Māori women in academic discourse, even though the source purports to represent them as Māori activists.

Evan Poata-Smith's *'Political economy of Māori protests politics, 1968-1995* (2001) remains an instructive place to look for explanations about the politics of identity within Māori activism. Notably Poata-Smith builds upon aspects of Greenland's (1991) argument in terms of the Black Women's Movement, and highlights the tendency of Māori activist to use aspects of cultural nationalism to promote political dissent. Cultural nationalism locks characteristics of an oppressed identity into an oppositional binary with the identity of the oppressor, thus making the struggle for power a personalised one. Poata-Smith argues there are several problems within this approach. A central one being that cultural nationalism leads to a tendency for politics to become internalised (or personally driven), there is more likelihood of an implosion where one is never truly free of perceived privilege (Poata-Smith, 2001 p. 234). For example, a Māori man may be racially oppressed but also be sexist, or a white woman may be sexually discriminated against but also be racist. In this way, people may be constantly evaluating their level of privilege to that of others in the group, in order to claim oppression, thus failing to attack oppressive structures in terms of outcome.

Poata-Smith utilises the Black Women's Movement to demonstrate how the politics of identity lead to a 'natural conclusion' (p. 234). His case study provides one of the more extensive historical analyses of the movement to date (alongside McDowell, 2007); focusing upon Māori women's struggles for equality within anti-racist movements (p.228) and

highlighting Māori women's identification with third world feminist movements (p.230). Poata-Smith also details how Black women's politicisation of their lived experiences saw a personalisation of their political activism, thus arguing that Black women's personal-political agency resulted in the premise that 'changing one's lifestyle was what mattered, not changing the world' (p.234). For the purposes of this thesis, Poata-Smith's focus on the demise of the Black Women's Movement is problematic in that it distinctively focuses on the end-result rather than the self-determining processes that occurred within the movement itself.

By arguing that politicisation of their personal experiences resulted without any particular political value to the overt struggle of self-determination for Māori, Poata-Smith presents the Black Women's Movement as being transitional, a means to an end. In this way, the movement potentially loses its vitality and meaning. It is not understood or even recognised in terms of its purpose or achievements. While I agree that there was a personalisation of Black women's identity which led to both the empowerment and demise of the movement, I argue that black identification for Māori and Pasifika women, was a *process*, described here as a *route*, rather than an uptake of an identity. I use the metaphor of routes to exemplify the processes of decolonisation, healing and transformation and to represent an on-going development rather than highlight the end goals. Further, I demonstrate the personal is political as a tool for consciousness-raising had meaning and purpose for the women who adopted the term; which is the focus of discussion in chapter six.

Tiopira McDowell (2007) in *Riria te Riri, Mahia te Mahi, The Politics and Development of Modern Māori Activism, 1968 – 1978* provides an historical overview of Māori activism during the years of 1968 to 1978, but expands upon these to include the specific contribution of Māori women, and a discussion of the Black Women's Movement. McDowell acknowledges the politics developed within the Black Women's Movement as being 'unique to the time and circumstances' in which their activism took place (2007, p.139) although he does not expand on these politics per se. Rather McDowell focuses on the relationships between Black women and Māori male activists in order to highlight the issue of sexism within Māori activism, and how this was countered by both Māori men and women. McDowell makes an important observation,

Within Māori society, decisions, actions, alliances, indeed any political act must be sanctioned not just by consensus but also by tradition; there must be precedence in whakapapa and oral traditions which explain and validate current circumstances. This has held true for the Black Women's Movement and one striking features of the movement was the construction of a whakapapa of Mana wāhine, highlighted again and again in the words of the activists (2007, p.146).

I interpret McDowell's argument to mean that some Māori women within the early 1970s such as Donna Awatere, first joined Women's Liberation, and then moved onto Black feminism, before arriving at Mana wāhine groups and discourses. In this respect, sexism that occurred within Māori activism was part of colonising patriarchal discourses that Black Women's (and later Mana wāhine) discourses responded to. Because the patriarchal colonial order shut out the emerging Mana wāhine discourse from the public realm, Māori women were forced to look to places where a discourse of a relevant Women's Liberation had erupted into the public sphere. Hence, identification with Black and third world feminism was relevant to Māori and Pasifika women's experience within urban Aotearoa during the 1970s. Building upon McDowell's comments, this thesis elaborates upon the construction of the whakapapa of Mana wāhine by bringing the voices of Black Women to the centre stage of enquiry while also highlighting Māori women's relation to Pasifika women within a colonial society – a point that also remains under-developed within Mana wāhine literature.

In contrast to McDowell, Ranginui Walker (2004) downplays the centrality of the Black Women's Movement to Māori activism. In his seminal *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, Ranginui Walker, who is noted as being authoritative on the topic of Māori activism (Harris, 2004, p.158) discusses a group of 'Neo-Māori Activists' as part of a feature of political dissent within urban Aotearoa. He includes Black Women in this group, alongside others such as the Waitangi Action Committee, He Taua, and the Māori Liberation Movement of Aotearoa (2004, p.221). However, in what follows he summarises particular actions and ideologies of all the aforementioned groups *except* Black women. In Walker's descriptions, Māori and Pasifika women do not fare as actors within their own right, or as being important to the activist movement via their involvement in the Black Women's Movement. This is surprising

considering that Walker is not typically silent on the contributions of Māori women involved in Māori activism (see Walker, 2004). Yet here, he does not acknowledge the particulars of the Black Women's Movement, nor its participant's unique contributions to Māori and Pasifika activism. This may be because of Walker being unfamiliar with the specifics of Black women's political organising, or that Walker does not recognise the participation of Pasifika or other minority women as Black women alongside Māori as being important to Māori activism.

Indeed, one of the most striking omissions from Greenland, Poata-Smith, Walker and McDowell, is that each has inadequately addressed the involvement of Pasifika and Indian women within the Black Women's Movement. This is possibly due to their focus on Māori activism or because the movement itself was led by Māori women. Yet while it is certainly fair to say Māori women were visible in their leadership, and had written the majority of media-directed outputs on behalf of the movement, solidarity with women of other ethnicities in Aotearoa was a strong and unique point of their Black identification. And although Poata-Smith (2001, p.221) and Greenland (1991, p.100) acknowledge that Black was used to assert an 'identity of interest' between Māori and Samoan, Tongan, Niuean, Cook Island Māori, Fijian and other communities of the South Pacific, particularly in the early 1970s, they do not explore this occurrence within the Black Women's Movement. This is problematic because Black identification was intensely adopted by Māori, Pasifika and Indian women involved in the Black Women's Movement during this period. The fact that it was overwhelmingly women who took up solidarity with other ethnic minorities through Black identification is an important but overlooked omission when discussing the uptake of Black Power within Māori and Pasifika activism. This recognition points towards the Black Women's Movement as not a derivative of Māori activism in the period of 1978 to 1982 but in fact, exemplary of its confrontation of colonial constructs of power, namely racism and sexism.

Other scholars have noted the Pasifika and Indian women's involvement in the movement, with Michelle Dominy in particular arguing that the construction of a 'cultural identity' allows for the inclusive base of different ethnicities, as seen in the Black Women's Movement. In *Māori Sovereignty: a feminist intervention of tradition* (1990) Dominy argues that gender based movements provide for alliances across ethnicities; alliances which would

normally complicate a nationalist agenda. Dominy's analysis focuses on the construction of a cultural identity by Māori activist women, specifically from 1975 to 1981, and includes a commentary of Black Women. For Black women, the self-ascribed label of Black was symbolic of asserting a particular identity that was not Pākehā, nor 'Pākehized Māori' (Dominy, 1990, p.244). Here Dominy illustrates how Black was an oppositional marker that rejected the bi-cultural absorption of Māori by Western notions of ethnicity (p.238). Although, she also argues Black was a term that "could include Māori women who 'look' white, and Pākehā women who 'behave' as Black" (p.249). Dominy's specific focus, however, is on the shared radical strategies between Black women and Pākehā lesbian separatists that enabled a working solidarity between the two in order to meet their specific political agendas. Such solidarity, according to Dominy, highlights that a cultural identity based in both gender and ethnicity can be more inclusive of various ethnicities, compared to an identity based solely on ethnic nationalism. In this way, Dominy highlights the fluidity of being Black—where lesbian radicals can behave or become Black—but she misses the point that women involved identified as Black *and* Māori or Black *and* Pasifika – a tendency that points a process of *identification* rather than an uptake of particular cultural identities over those that are ethnically nationalist.

Radika Mohanram (1996) also discusses the construction of Māori feminism in *The construction of place: Māori feminism and nationalism in Aotearoa, New Zealand*, but argues that Māori assertions of female identity are an outcome of the Māori nation's struggle for sovereignty, rather than a derivative of the feminist movement in Aotearoa (1996, p. 60-63). She critiques Dominy's privileging of gender over race and highlighting her oversight of the relationship Māori have to the land as Tangata Whenua—through turangawaewae—a crucial element of Māori nationalistic struggle (1996, p. 57 - 63). Mohanram does not specifically detail how Black women sought and supported efforts towards Māori sovereignty. However, she makes an important point that 'women occupy particular places within a growing nationalism', by using Chatterjee's Indian model of nationalism to show the constrained movement of women in both outer/masculine and inner/feminine worlds (Chatterjee, 1989, p.239 in Mohanram, 1996, p.63). Indeed, it is important to note the spaces women may be constrained to within political expression. However, it is equally important to note the extent to which women attempted to address these constraints. How I attend to

these 'spaces' or what I define as here the 'colonial patriarchal public/private dichotomy' (Ngagbrar, 2009) is to intellectually displace these by shifting the focus from 'spaces' to 'relationships'. In this way, I am able to focus on the efforts of women to maintain mutually respectful relationships amongst the sexes, which was a key driver in raising personal-political consciousness within both the public and private spheres of Māori activism.

Black Power in urban Aotearoa

In what follows I highlight how the literature acknowledges and explains global influences taken on board by Māori activists. A number of scholars have suggested that just as Māori activists in the 1970s were not the first to identify as Black (as discussed above), they were also not the first to identify with other global struggles in Aotearoa (for example, see: Scott, 1975; Greenland, 1984). Rather, historical Māori leaders fused elements of particular global movements alongside Māori identity in order to show solidarity against what was perceived as a common oppressor. For example, Te Kooti, Te Whiti and Rua Kenana dubbed the Māori as 'Tu or Huurei,' as the lost tribes of Israel (Greenland, 1991, p. 99). In a more contemporary context, worldwide ethnic revivals galvanised Māori activism (Hill, 2010; Harris, 2004; and Orange, 2004). In particular, the United States' civil rights movement and American Indian movements provided models which informed and perhaps motivated Māori struggle during the late 1960s. Several authors have noted Māori activist tendencies to identify with Malcolm X, the United States Civil Rights, and Black Power movements (Shilliam, 2011; Harris, 2004; Orange, 2004; Greenland, 1991; and Scott 1975).

Poata-Smith (2001) goes into more depth discussing the influences of Black Power and in particular, the concept of institutional racism as defined by Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton (1967). In this way, Poata Smith makes a key point in the acknowledgement of how Black power ideologies were adopted by Māori activist groups such as Ngā Tamatoa to highlight and confront the 'covert and overt nature of racism within New Zealand society, on both the individual and at an institutional level' (2001, p.180).

On the other hand, authors such as Walker dismissed Black Power by arguing what he saw as a 'radical' and 'violent' approach to Māori activism (p. 1987, p.189 - 190). Moreover, Walker went to great lengths to highlight cultural differences between Māori and those with whom they identified, particularly African Americans (1987, p. 189-190). Nevertheless,

Walker notes in later writings (2004, p.201) alongside Harris (2004, p.15) and Orange (2004, p.244) that Māori activists, particularly in Ngā Tamatoa, were modelled on the US Black Power movement. This is seen in an engagement with literature from Angela Davis, Eldridge Cleaver and others, and in the adoption of certain aesthetics, such as clothing and fashion. However, none of these scholars go into any depth about the extent to which this modelling took place nor what it meant for those activists who identified with or adopted aspects of Black Power political activism.

McDowell (2007) focuses on the Black Power aesthetics within Māori activism in more depth (p.103-117) and suggests that the Black Women's Movement was 'the closest Māori had ever come to mimicking African Americans' (p.123, p.129). Yet by focusing on aesthetics, McDowell effectively misplaces the importance of agency of Black Women in Aotearoa. While it is true that both Māori and Pasifika women identified with Black rhetoric from the United States as articulated by Angela Davis (among others), their resonance with Black Power was deeper than mimicking aesthetics or reading Black American literature. These women's identification as Black took on its own sense of being, its own agency within urban Aotearoa, which deserves further recognition in its own right.

Possibly one of the most extensive studies of Black Power and its influence within Māori and Pasifika activism to date is the work of Robbie Shilliam (2012; 2011). Shilliam is able to provide such extensiveness because of interviews with, and input from, activists of the era. Shilliam refers to detailed lived experiences of activists, and those activists own interpretations of Black Power. In *The Polynesian Panthers and the Black Power Gang: Surviving Racism and Colonialism in Aotearoa, New Zealand*, (2012) Shilliam specifically focuses on the Polynesian Panther Party—as a direct uptake of Black Power ideologies from the United States—and the Black Power gang—which was not modelled on the US Black Power movement per se, but whose strategy for family survival is one response to colonial dispossession that arguably reflects the influence of United States Black Power ideologies (2012, p.2). However, an important component of Shilliam's argument is the recognition that American conceptions of Black Power did not map smoothly onto Indigenous self-determination (2012, p.4; 2011, p.18-21). Rather as is shown especially in the history of the Polynesian Panthers but also the Black Women's Movement, both Māori and Pasifika

activists in Aotearoa developed aspects of Black Power ideologies to suit their own environment.

However, despite his attention to the nuanced influence of Black Power, Shilliam does not mention the Black Women's Movement in his analysis. This is perhaps due to his focus on the earlier stages of contemporary Māori and Pasifika activism; the late 1960s and early 1970s, whereas the Black Women's Movement visibly came to the fore sometime during the later 1970s.

As shown with McDowell (2007) and Orange (2004), Black identification adopted by Māori activists during the early to mid-1970s is documented by several authors in terms of aesthetics and the influence of the Black American literature these activists were reading. However, Shilliam (2011, 2012, 2014) and Poata-Smith (2001) aside, there has been little focus on the ideological influence of Black Power. Perhaps this is because it is easier to show the direct uptake of Black Panther policies in Aotearoa by the Polynesian Panther Party during the early 1970s (see Anae et al, 2006; Shilliam, 2012), while there are fewer obvious links between the Black Panther Party and contemporary Māori activist movements per se (McDowell, 2007). Rather, as noted by Greenland (1991) and Pollack (2004), the existing literature on Māori activism regards Black Power as a powerful *general* influence, which resonated with Māori activists. Pollack in particular argues that the uptake of Black identification was a strategy to reconstruct Māori identity in a 'language of oppression' that countered Pākehā rhetoric of harmonious race relations, while also promoting solidarity with other anti-colonial struggles (2004).

Research Objectives

It is important to realise that identification with Black from Māori activists during the 1970s is not the first time that Māori were identifying as Black in Aotearoa, as I have mentioned, thus I contend that the importance of identifying as Black for Māori activists, and especially the Black Women's Movement, deserves further recognition. The literature so far has not provided an adequate analysis of Black Power and self-determination in Aotearoa, particularly for women. Moreover, none of the aforementioned scholars who do discuss the Black Women's Movement say how the Black identifier was interpreted 'on the ground' by

the women involved. This is an omission that I consider extremely important (and productive) to address.

I will now discuss two specific points that I suggest deserve further enquiry within Māori activist literature. The first point is that this literature to date undermines the importance of personal politics, which tend to take place in private spheres. The Black Women's Movement is an example of an organisation by women that operated in both spheres, essentially bringing the politics of the private sphere into the public to be discussed and debated, a point that has been unjustifiably dismissed within current literature. The concept of private and public spheres and ideas that the 'personal is political' are discussed in more detail in chapter six.

The second point is the solidarity of Māori women alongside women of other ethnicities. The Black Women's Movement is one of the only social movements in Aotearoa that has encompassed solidarity between Māori, Pasifika and Indian women during the what is documented as the height of contemporary Māori activist years, 1968 – 1985 (Poata Smith, 2001; McDowell, 2007). In discussing the solidarity within the Black Women's Movement, I am also highlighting which the way in Māori and Pasifika women's solidarity is overlooked within Māori activist writing. Ultimately, what is at stake is that a unique part of Aotearoa social movement history is not adequately represented to date. I intend my thesis to provide an analysis that will illuminate Māori and Pasifika women's solidarity as being both a feature within Māori and Pasifika activism and an important aspect of contemporary activism and social movements of Aotearoa.

This thesis focuses on Māori and Pasifika women's reassertion's of self-determination as Black women from the years of 1978 to 1982. The purpose here is threefold; to consider why and how Māori women constructed their Black identification in the reclaiming of self-determination, to discuss the dichotomy of spaces in which their self-determination was asserted in order to highlight the significance of the movement, and finally to examine how their self-determination was asserted in relation to others, specifically Pasifika women.

Chapter Outline

The aims of this thesis are to engage with assumptions that Black identification has limited relevance within assertions of Māori and Pasifika self-determination. I also explore the spaces in which personal politics takes place for Black women. In this chapter I have highlighted my aims for research, and the context to which it responds: the literature to date which discusses the Black Women's Movement and the influence of Black Power in Aotearoa. As I have argued, that literature does not adequately address the Black Women's Movement in terms of self-determination in relation to others and within the public and private spheres.

Chapter two focuses on my research design and methodological considerations. In this chapter, I weave together a 'tāniko kete' – which is a metaphor to describe the different but interwoven methodological and theoretical tools used in this thesis. In this chapter, I highlight features of Kaupapa Māori, Mana wāhine and Indigenous feminist methodologies that are relevant to this enquiry.

Chapter three examines the theoretical framework used for this research as part of my tāniko kete. In staying with a Kaupapa Māori research lens, I utilise the concepts of mauri, whanaungatanga and the koru. Each of these concepts are used to produce a deeper analysis of the ways that women identified as Black and why.

Chapter four addresses the entanglements of dispossession, urbanisation and the global influence of Black Power. In this chapter I explain the contexts which saw a younger generation of Māori and Pasifika youth identify as 'Black' and highlight the specific contexts of sexism and racism which gave rise to a new mauri within Māori and Pasifika women's activism.

Chapter five documents the rise of the Black Women's Movement. This chapter looks at the solidarity of Māori and Pasifika women because of the need of space for Black women. The koru is used to show the construction of a black identification specific to Black women's organising while simultaneously making a political statement about Black women in Aotearoa.

The aim of chapter six presents the 'personal is political' framing of the movement and considers how Black women brought issues of the private into the public and reviews the interview data from women within the movement. Whanaungatanga is used to displace the public/private dichotomy and the personal is political is highlighted as an important tool for Black women's raising of issues pertinent to their self-determination.

Finally, chapter seven weaves together the main threads of this thesis. I revisit the research objectives and argue the need for further research pertaining to solidarity of Māori, with relative others in the assertions of self-determination and Tino Rangatiratanga within a colonised society.

Chapter Two: Research Design and Methodology Weaving a Foundation

We don't need anyone else developing the tools which will help us come to terms with who we are. We can and will do this work. Real power lies with those who design the tools – it always has. The power is ours. Through the process of developing such theories, we will contribute to our empowerment as Māori women, moving forwards in our struggles for our people, our lands, our world, ourselves.

Kathie Irwin, 1992

The ways in which research is utilised to extend a colonial process legitimating Western knowledge while alienating other ways of being is already well documented (see Smith, 1999; Thiong'o, 1986). Māori and Pasifika (and other colonised and/or enslaved peoples) were historically objectified under a Western scientific lens as part of a colonial, imperial expansion into the 'new' world. This expansion has tended to be enshrined and repeated within academies and institutions. The passing of time saw an emergence of resistance theories and methodologies that challenged the foundations of colonial knowledges (Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2008; Mignolo 2003). Kaupapa Māori and Mana wāhine are two such responses used as methodologies for this thesis.^{vii}

Within this research, mixed qualitative methods paired with Māori based epistemologies are used to discuss how specific Māori and Pasifika women experienced and expressed Black identification. Semi structured oral history interviews and secondary literature sources constitute the basis of this research, and are used to build an argument about Black women's identification and self-determination in Aotearoa. Secondary literature is sourced from a variety of archival documents, newsletters and feminist magazines from the early 1970s until 1985.

Research Design

As I have noted, this thesis is specially focused on Māori women and their relationship with Pasifika women, via a collective solidarity within the Black Women's Movement and their reassertion of self-determination. In order to do this, I have utilised the Māori art form of tāniko to weave together a 'tāniko kete'. Tāniko is an embroidered braid; border or tapestry made of multiple thin threads and then twisted around a thicker cord to form a hand woven pattern. This tāniko kete is a metaphor for threading together Kaupapa Māori methodologies and Māori epistemological concepts (which are discussed further in chapter three). I use Kaupapa Māori methodology as the 'primary chord' of this enquiry and Mana wāhine as the 'golden thread' as this enables me to focus specifically on Māori women's experiences of Black identification in relationship with Pasifika women.

Kaupapa Māori – Weaving a foundation

As a methodology, Kaupapa Māori is the appropriate choice for this thesis in that its purpose is a political one - it is about Māori political self-determination. Kaupapa Māori as a methodological and theoretical framework was created as a result of particular social, historical and cultural circumstances in Aotearoa and the need for a 'legitimate space' for the continued creation of Māori knowledge and research (Smith, G.H., 1997 in Pohatu, 2003). The women who were interviewed for this thesis were among those involved in the struggle for the creation of such spaces and as such, using a Kaupapa Māori methodology is another way to acknowledge their assertion of self-determination, alongside of my own.

Kaupapa Māori is the design of the research that reflects Māori aspirations, ideals and values but also has particular guidelines about how one should proceed. Linda Tuhiwai Smith provides a list of Kaupapa Māori guidelines that have been instructive within the interview, analysis and reflexive stages of this research, and are discussed in more detail below (see Table One, pg. 28). These guidelines are aimed at keeping the researcher accountable to the people and communities where the research is taking place, while also encouraging the researcher to be reflexive about all aspects of the research process.

Table One: Suggested ethical guidelines for undertaking Māori research (Smith, 1999 p.120).

Guidelines	Descriptions
A respect for all people	Allowing people to define their own space and to meet on their own terms
He kanohi kitea	The importance of meeting face to face
Titiro, whakarongo korero	The importance of looking and listening so that one develops understandings and finds a place from which to speak
Manaaki ki te tangata	Collaborative approach to research, research training and reciprocity
Kia tupato	Politically astute, culturally safe and reflective about our insider/outsider status
Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata	Not trampling on the mana of people. It is about sounding out ideas with people, about disseminating research findings, about community feedback that keeps people informed about the research process and the findings
Kaua e mahaki	Not flaunting your knowledge but sharing knowledge and using your qualifications to benefit our community

I do acknowledge however, that Kaupapa Māori might not speak for the greater Indigenous Pacific, a resulting issue being that in using a Kaupapa Māori approach; I am careful not to blanket the Pasifika women interviewed. Respectively however, I note there are strong similarities between Pasifika indigenous methodological models and Kaupapa Māori. Indeed, alongside heeding the call from Pasifika communities for research that is “for Pacific by Pacific” cultural references are also used to place importance on ethics and relationships within research (Anae, 2010).^{viii} As a Māori woman, I cannot respond to the community needs of these interviewees to the same extent as I can the Māori women I interviewed. Having two Pasifika voices in this thesis is crucial in order to discuss one of the most important aspects of the Black Women’s Movement: that ‘black’ was an identification that cultivated solidarity with non-Māori. But as my primary approach is Kaupapa Māori, Smith’s ethical guideline of ‘respect for all people’ is particularly instructive here, especially in its

acknowledgement of allowing 'people to define their own space and meet on their terms' (Smith, 1999, p.120).

In summation, both Māori and Pasifika voices, via semi structured interviews and secondary literature, construct the foundation of this thesis. Yet kaupapa Māori remains an appropriate methodology as the primary chord of this enquiry. Not only does it offer an opportunity to weave Māori epistemologies into the methodological fabric of my research, it is also a research model of Māori self-determination and is sensitive to the mana of all involved in this research. Nevertheless, an important question comes to mind when using a kaupapa Māori framework for this thesis. What does it mean to affirm a general commitment to Māori aspirations, ideals, values and perspectives in the context of gender inequalities within Māori activism?

Mana wāhine– the golden thread

Kaupapa Māori is the main thread of my enquiry. I shall now introduce the golden thread - Mana wāhine - which is a subset of kaupapa Māori that focuses on the specifics of lived experiences of Māori women. While kaupapa Māori lays a foundation for this thesis, it cannot simply reconcile what is sometimes contradictory within Māori political interests. How these interests are defined and acted out amongst Māori can be divided and varied, especially in the face of gender inequality. It is for this reason that I use Mana wāhine as a frame for the specific lived experiences, stories and voices of Māori women within the Black Women's Movement.

Kathie Irwin's quote at the opening of this chapter encourages Māori women to seek self-determination through the development of Mana wāhine theories and methodologies. Several Māori women have heeded Irwin's call and begun to theorise on the basis of Māori women's diverse experiences, as documented by several Māori women scholars. Many of these scholars note that colonisation within a patriarchal society has resulted in a denial of Māori women's positions of power, knowledge and visibility (Mikaere, 2003; Evans, 1994; Te Awekotuku 1991). Mana wāhine, as a discourse, responds by providing a legitimate space to create positive transformations for Māori women and communities (Pihama, 2001).

Mana wāhine, as a genre, has been expanded upon over time to illuminate the diverse ways in which Māori women see the world, for example; Mana wāhine and Papatūānuku (Simmonds, 2009); Mana wāhine and genetic modifications, (Hutchings, 2002); Mana wāhine and the stories regarding menstruation in the pre-colonial Māori world (Murphy, 2011); and Mana wāhine and information technology (Hamilton-Pearce, 2009). In saying this it would be a mistake to say only Māori women scholars contribute to the development of Mana wāhine, rather; the past, present and future lived experiences of Māori women in general speaks to its diversity.

While uses of Mana wāhine vary between authors within contemporary society, as shown above, Mana wāhine holds a political resonance for Māori women. As Ripeka Evans explains “Mana wāhine is the process of self-determination by which we determine our social and cultural future and give effect to our status as Tangata Whenua – as Māori women” (1994, p.2). Ngāhuia Te Awēkotuku defines Mana wāhine Māori as “reclaiming what we have been and what we will become” (1991, p.10). Both definitions, while highlighting political objectives associated with being mana wāhine, also point to its underlying philosophy which is to make Māori women’s experiences visible within a post-colonial society. I agree with Ngāhuia Murphy (2011) and Leonie Pihama (2001) who point out that Mana wāhine is an ancient concept from the Māori world. Some have the view that Mana wāhine is a recent theoretical development not discussed by our ancestors, but Ngāhuia Murphy reasons that; “it may not have been necessary to articulate Mana wāhine in former times as it was an embodied reality, finding expression through a multiplicity of tribal practices. The patriarchal nature of colonization has eroded these practices, however, which has meant that Māori women now have to define Mana wāhine as part of an anti-colonial political project” (2011, p.6).

A key aspect of a Mana wāhine approach is becoming ‘visible,’ - also related to ‘voice,’ - which is often interpreted through lived experience. Mana wāhine employs subjective voice and lived experience as important tools in constructing knowledge about the diversity of Māori women. In this sense, I am mindful of the extent to which the lived realities of Māori women are central to any Mana wāhine research project. This is why, within this thesis, I not only use Kaupapa Māori guidelines for ethical research, but also utilise a Mana wāhine approach by placing importance on the ‘voices of lived experience.’

Mana wāhine and Black feminism – making distinctions, finding connections

What must be addressed before continuing is the question of the relationship between Mana wāhine and Black feminism. Some Māori women have critiqued Black feminism in general and its relevance in Aotearoa in particular. This then begs the question of how one might write about the Black Women's Movement in a space where there has been an influence of Black Power upon Māori women, but a critique of Black feminist literature in relation to its non-representativeness by Māori women (Clothier, 2000, p.26 and Te Awekotuku in Irwin, 1991, p.35).

To begin with, it is relevant to address the kinship Māori women and Black American women share in their criticisms of Western feminism. While Black American women were some of the first to get international recognition from women of colour for the critique of Western feminism, they were not the only women of colour to challenge Western feminist literature. Indigenous and African women were equally as critical, and notably (for this thesis) those from Aotearoa. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1991) and Donna Awatere (1984) among others offered an Indigenous feminist perspective alongside a critique of Western feminist literature. Yet ironically, (in the sense that it represented a form of marginalisation of Māori women's specific and distinctive experiences), although unintentionally, Black women's stories and theories became the dominant discourse that represented the experiences of all women of colour, including Indigenous / Māori women (McNicholas et al, 2001, p.3).

In the first instance, however, it is important to recognise the Black American women who write as 'women of colour' and have been reflexive and critical of themselves in their position within that canon of literature. Angela Davis, for example expresses this in the following way;

We cannot afford to commit ourselves so fervently to defending our names that we end up positioning ourselves against our Asian, Latina, Pacific Island and Native American sisters. As Jacqui Alexander put it, why do we not feel the need to develop a measure of fluency in the available literature by and

about women of colour other than ourselves? We are not the exemplary women of colour. Ethnic solipsism is something we have, is something we have always attributed to whiteness, Eurocentrism. Do we want to simply push aside one system of hierarchies in order to replicate another or accept the notion that discourses about race are essentially about Black/ white relationships, as if to suggest if you are not white or Black, you are indispensable? (1994, p. 227).

Indeed, as Davis rightfully acknowledges, one should not expect to know about the struggles of other women of colour solely by using the lens of a Black women's experience. Other forms of knowledge production are required in order to articulate differences of culture and experience between diverse women grouped by the construct of 'women of colour,' as well as the differences arising from locality for varying groups and geographies. For Māori women and Mana wāhine discourse, issues of land and language are also central to the struggle, issues which Black American feminist literature does not speak to so directly.

Nevertheless, what is important to acknowledge, and to highlight, is the *relationship* between women of colour and their discourses. While I do not want to dwell in the abstract notion of 'sisterhood' which could also encompass the label of 'women of colour', and while I wish to acknowledge that any relationship that exists is relative to the lived experiences of women of different ethnicities, I still consider it relevant to highlight the notion of relationship within and between women of colour's discourses. Linda Smith is instructive here by rightfully acknowledging, 'US Black feminist literature has been useful for Māori women because their writings have been authentic about Black women's experiences of which Māori women can relate to' (Smith, 1999, p.168). And indeed there are many synergies between the projects of Black women writers who are creating theories for women of colour to use, and those that Māori women are engaging with, especially the deconstruction of history and the creation of "her-stories." Hence Māori feminism might be seen as distinctive, but also relative to other feminist writings. My hope for this thesis is to be able to draw on Mana wāhine, Black American and Western feminist ideas in order to discuss Black women's organising in Aotearoa.

Pasifika women's writing and an Indigenous women's research agenda

Pasifika women are also writing and theorising on their unique experiences in addressing issues of race and gender. For example, Noumea Simi's poem 'I cannot' illustrates the need for a framework of thinking to analyse wider issues of women's struggles including all forms of dominance, social inequalities and the role and influences in institutional organisations (Simi, 1992 in Marsh, 2000). Anne-Mare Tupuola writes about young Samoan women's struggles with traditional expectations and how these play out in contemporary Fa'a Samoa and Aotearoa (Tupuola, 1998, p.51-56). Selina Tusitala Marsh focuses on the relevance of feminist approaches to Pacific Island women's writing and argues the need of an indigenised feminism that gives full weight to the culturally specific history and experience of women in the Pacific (Marsh, 2004). Similar to mana wāhine discourses, Pasifika women are also developing tools and theories to challenge colonial constructs and patriarchy within the Pacific, and in Aotearoa.

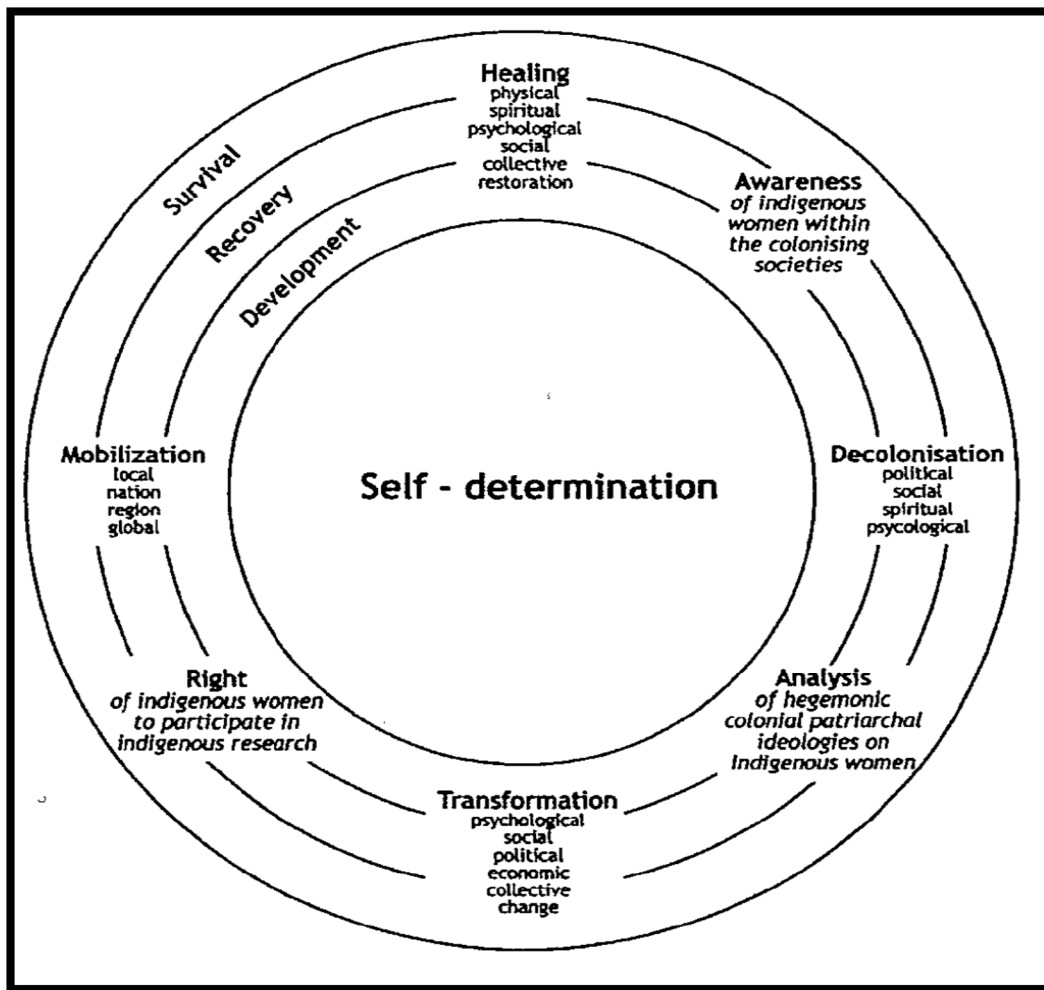
In acknowledgement of Pasifika women's theorising and in relation to mana wāhine, I want to utilise Jessica Hutchings (2002) 'Indigenous Women's Research Agenda' as a research guide for my enquiry. Hutchings' work sits within a wider project that Linda Smith calls the 'Indigenous Research Agenda' (1999, p.115-118). Smith looks at how the mobilisation of global, local and national movements towards self-determination reveals certain themes that contributes to an 'agenda for action'. Decolonisation, healing, transformation and mobilisation are processes that clarify, inform and connect tensions between the local and global Indigenous movements and are processes of development rather than end goals (Smith, 1999, p.116). In addition Smith discusses the four following states; 'survival, recovery, development and self-determination,' describing these as states Indigenous Peoples go through in response to different conditions depending on location, context and immediate need as opposed to planned outcome (Smith, 1999, p.116).

Yet none of these states relate specifically to the gendered aspect of colonisation, nor how Indigenous men and women have diverse experiences as a result of colonisation. Jessica Hutchings (2002) argues that we must consider the differences that colonisation has had upon Indigenous women in comparison to Indigenous men, and therefore expands upon

Smith (1999) adding three important components. These are, 'the self-determining right of Indigenous women to participate in all aspects of Indigenous research; the awareness of oppression of Indigenous women due to hegemonic colonial patriarchal ideologies; and the awareness of the position of Indigenous women within colonised societies' (Hutchings, 2002, p.60). Together Smith (1999) and Hutchings (2002) provide a holistic research agenda for Indigenous peoples. It is important to note that I do not use all of the agenda in this thesis; rather I focus specifically on the points that relate to Indigenous women, although themes within the agenda relating to self-determination as a process of decolonisation; mobilisation; transformation and healing will be alluded to throughout the thesis.

I will now detail what is required of me by using this agenda. I start by showing how I have used the right of Indigenous women in research; the awareness of Indigenous women in colonised societies and the mobilisation of Indigenous peoples (Māori and Pasifika women). The following table will illustrate.

Table Two: An Indigenous Womens Research Agenda (Source: Hutchings, 2002, p.63)^{ix}



The importance of Indigenous women's voices being the subject of research enquiry

The presence of women's voices, stories and experiences within Indigenous research allows for a more complete, nuanced and sophisticated analysis of issues pertinent to assertions of Māori and Pasifika self-determination. Without considering the gendered aspects of colonisation, by only concentrating on the way in which colonisation has impacted upon Māori and Pasifika peoples for example, is to only be informed of one particular aspect of a story. There are gendered aspects of colonial oppression that should also be told in order to then understand different aspects of resistance as Hutchings (2002) rightfully points out. This thereby highlights not only the right of Indigenous women to participate in research but also simultaneously raises an awareness of Indigenous women's experiences and transformative contributions within colonised societies.

How I interpret Hutchings (2002) into my research agenda is to acknowledge that the six women who participated in interviews are Indigenous women - four from Aotearoa and two from Samoa. Given their indigeneity as another point of solidarity, mobilising both Māori and Pasifika women's voices was important in order to discuss the women's solidarity as Black women in Aotearoa (as opposed to focusing specifically on only Māori women's participation in the movement). Moreover, their stories as women who live in colonising societies, allow for us to gain an insight into Indigenous women's experiences.

While seeking potential interviewees, I used a form of snowballing. Snowball sampling is a procedure where the sample emerges through the process of reference from one person to the next (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.28). Three of the six women who participated were chosen via introductions from mutual associates. Additionally, I was fortunate to source two interviewees from having presented part of my internship research which considered the influence of Black Power politics within Māori activism at conferences during 2010 (Okeroa, 2010). The remaining interviewee was emailed using another interviewee's name as a semi-introduction. Originally I approached 15 women as potential participants. Of the 15, six women agreed to be interviewed.

Given that I was interviewing women who in their life times have made significant contributions to social justice for Pasifika peoples and Māori self-determination but who have also personally suffered as a result of their political activism (note Springbk Tour, 1981), it was important for me to interview *kanohi ki te kanohi* – face to face - as opposed to over the phone (Smith, 1999, p.120). I was grateful to receive a grant from the Faculty Research Committee at Victoria University which enabled me to fly to Auckland and meet with three of the six interviewees. The grant also enabled me to give each the women interviewed a small *koha* as a sign of my appreciation for their time.

All of the women I interviewed suggested other women I could speak to, and provided contact details to follow up on. Once I had confirmed the six women; I thought this would be an adequate number for my thesis. All but one, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, identified as being exclusively involved in the Black Women's Movement. Te Awekotuku was involved in several Māori lesbian groups during the time of the movement. Given that she offered an interview after one of my conference presentations and was particularly vocal during the early 1970s

regarding Māori women's struggles, her interview provided additional context for the wider struggle.

On the 29th September 2010, I received ethics approval from Victoria University of Wellington to conduct interviews with Māori and Pasifika women who were involved in the Black Women's Movement in between the period of 1978 – 1982 (note appendix one, p. 100). Ethics approval ensures those who took part in my research were treated respectfully and their rights as interviewees protected, which is an important aspect of the Kaupapa Māori research guidelines (Smith, 1999, p.120).

Between October 2010 and May 2011, I conducted six semi structured interviews with four Māori women and two Samoan women. During these interviews, there were no exact set questions but rather loosely based questions that were asked as we went along (see appendix four, p. 105). It is my view that this approach fitted within the Kaupapa Māori guidelines of 'listening in order to develop an understanding' (Smith, 1999, p.120). Moreover, it confirms what Valentine argues, that semi structured interviews "take a conversational, fluid form, each interview varying according to the interests and experiences and views of the interviewees" (1997, p.111 as cited in Simmonds, 2009, p.44). The different issues and themes collected during the interviews allowed a wider picture to develop of that time which then generated a wide range of themes to develop as part of my analysis.

After the interview, some offered to take an active role in the research, helping with theoretical lens choices and offering suggestions of literature to consult for the thesis. All of the women were happy to assist with any other questions after the interviews, although I did not contact them specifically with any follow up questions. I sent progress emails to the interviewees and then sent transcripts and interview extracts back to the women for their feedback and information.

Post interview analysis

The interviews were transcribed and then read a number of times, in order to become familiar with what was being said. Once I was familiar with the transcripts, they were coded into themes. As part of my analysis, I utilised mind maps to study these themes in more depth, and to map out specific meanings that came out of the interviews and how they

related to each other. Key themes were those related to activism in public and private spaces, solidarity amongst different ethnicities and the purposes of using Black identification. These were analysed and explored in order to show the self-determining actions of those women involved. The main part of my analysis was to look at the ways that the women described themselves, their relationships to others and their understandings of Black identification and what it meant for them.

One of the key findings within the interviews is the marked difference between what was written during the era with Black Women's publications such as the *Black Forum* and *Broadsheet* and the recollections of the women interviewed for this thesis. For example, as Evan Poata-Smith points out, separatist ideas were strongly embraced by Black women (2001, p.233). Yet within the interview data collected, two key themes emerged. Women's solidarity but also importantly - creating a space to promote mutually strong relationships between the sexes. Thus, an important aspect of my analysis was managing the process of collating data from the period of 1978 – 1982 and my interviews in 2010 in order to present an argument. Within the research process, I gave priority to the voices of the interviewees, particularly in the 'personal is political' chapter (chapter six) namely because their voices are un-recorded and as such, open up new ways that we might understand both the inner workings of the movement and the progression of self-determination from Black Women onto other projects.

Another key point that emerged in my research was the conflicting views as to exactly when the Black Women's Movement started (McDowell, 2007, p.139; Poata Smith, 2001, p.228). This was also apparent within the personal interviews, some believed the movement began in the early 1970s (Rauhihi-Ness, 2011) while others believed it began in 1978 (Keelan 2011, Uta'i, 2010, Evans, 2011). I base my timeframe on when the women's identification of Black was most visible in Aotearoa by way of publications and national gatherings of Black Women, but I acknowledge this timeframe as a starting point for the movement may be disputed.

A final aspect of the post interview analysis was to monitor my reflexivity as a new researcher. I kept a journal to 'make the messiness of the research process visible to the researcher who can then make it visible for those who read the research' (Ortlipp, 2008,

p.704). This enabled me to crystallise the research process and rationale behind the various methodological decisions I made, and helped me to unpack how I fit into the fabric of this research.

Research specifics

My intention to write about the Black Women's Movement was to examine particular aspects of the movement in its entirety; hence, there are several aspects that I have left unexamined. Firstly, most of the interviews were conducted with women from Ngā Tuahine and the Auckland based collectives. Thus stories and experiences of the movement from other locations in Aotearoa, such as Otepoti (Dunedin), or even sub sets of the movement such as the Black Dykes are not included. The specific involvement of Indian women is also not included. Further research is necessary in order to include these women's voices alongside the experiences of women in other collectives outside of Ngā Tuahine and those within the Auckland region.

In addition, several women whom I interviewed commented on the high levels of internal violence from within the movement. I agonised whether to include a chapter on these discussions as the internal violence was clearly a factor some of the women remembered. After consultation with my supervisory team and reflection in my journal, I decided against writing the chapter. I did not know how to write about this in a way that would not be perceived in a negative sense from particular viewpoints – it was a methodological challenge that I decided was best tackled in a separate piece of work. More importantly, I felt it was not in the scope of my thesis, which sits specifically upon the themes of self-determination within the public and private spheres and the process of identification.

In light of these limitations, I acknowledge that there could be other perspectives of the movement, constructed by academics or other participants which could create different interpretations of this period of Black women's organising in Aotearoa. This thesis seeks to analyse the possibilities, problematics and outcomes of Māori and Pasifika women identifying as Black in Aotearoa from 1978 – 1982, and I offer but one interpretation. It is my hope, however, that women involved in this movement will write their own memoirs about their experiences and activism of the era and of their lives. Listening to these women's voices, as they experienced the social and political times, is integral to understanding a

movement that few have written about from an insider perspective. These voices can lead us to important information about experiences of race and gender, forged in the fires of Māori and Pacifica women's activism that while being set in a historical sense, can deepen our understanding of gender based assertions of self-determination in Aotearoa. The purpose of this work is to hopefully engage such dialogue.

Healing as an Indigenous woman: two rivers within me flow

In the final part of this chapter, I want to present a background of who I am as a researcher, in light of Smith's (1999) discussion of healing as part of a research agenda. Based on Helene Connor's (2006, p.11) argument that 'the construction of a thesis will inevitably bear the mark of the researcher who created it', my own subjectivity is implicated in the creation of this work. I use the metaphor of 'two rivers within me flow' from Alice Te Punga Somerville (1998) to discuss my mixed race Māori and Pākehā /Irish identity. This will demonstrate a sense of my subjectivity but will also highlight the purpose of my enquiry.

On my maternal side, I am a fourth generation Irish descendant from Galway, Limerick and Tipperary. I remember enjoying strong family ties to my Pākehā/Irish aunties, uncles and cousins and always feeling connected to the wider family circle. Growing up, there has been little doubt about my Pākehā/Irish identity. In fact, over time, the constant accumulation of intergenerational family photos, stories and books from Aotearoa and Ireland that my mother collects constantly affirms my Irish/Pākehā heritage and identity.

On my paternal side I whakapapa to Ngati Moeahu and Hapotiki in Taranaki. My whānau, who grew up in Invercargill, were largely unaware of our iwi and hapū history, culture and knowledge. My father, for his own reasons, was mostly silent about our whānau in the North his own childhood and who we are as Taranaki whānui descendants. His silence prompted on going questions from us as we came into adulthood, and eventually led us into our own journeys of discovering our own whakapapa.

It is my view that this is a legacy of colonisation. The far-reaching intergenerational impact of painful histories and memories, which are locked away and forgotten often equate to a loss of knowledge and identity transmission from one generation to the next. Yet, in a generational sense, there is urgency and even a sense of responsibility to fill these gaps, to

relearn what has been suppressed, and what was taken, defiled or marginalised. Respectively, a process within healing is to recognise and attend to the wound. For while we must acknowledge the impact of a colonial history, we become who we are, in part, by learning of the creative strategies and stories of resistance and self-determination of our people. And indeed from Taranaki, there are many. The following whakataukī was spoken by Te Whiti o Rongomai in Parihaka when talking to the people about having the courage and faith to confront the crown and its military forces in a non-violent way (see Okeroa, 2012). The principle and practice of passive resistance:

Whakaraupo i a koutou e te iwi
Kei te riri mai te hau ki a koutou, ka piko
Kua mutu te riri o te hau, ka tu ano.

*Be like the raupo plant
When the angry wind blows, bend with the force, do not resist
When the wind has exhausted itself, stand again.*

The wind, are the forces of the crown, the settlers and their collective hunger for land. The raupo plant is the people whose spirit in the face of extreme adversity does not break. Relearning these stories and retelling them contributes to our assertions of self-determination as Taranaki whānui, living within a colonised society.

Therefore, my position is deliberately subjective in this thesis. Furthermore, I take issue with the hegemony of scientific, rational and supposedly objective methodologies as the only means to produce legitimate and robust knowledge. It is because of my personal experience of having been disconnected from my iwi and hapū as a child that I reach out as an adult to relearn what was temporarily unavailable. In the case of my work, it is the opportunity to use Māori paradigms and methodologies for my research, essentially as a way of asserting my self-determination. Being able to articulate Māori frameworks and concepts which have survived the onslaught of colonial rule is to fundamentally contribute to a knowledge base for the next generation while also claiming 'space' within the academy. Moreover, in relation to Hutchings (2002), I see this as part of a healing process that comes as a part of a transformative route of reclaiming and restoring one's knowledge in order to move forward.

Conclusion

This purpose of this chapter has been to provide the reader with an outline of my methodological framework. I acknowledge that owing to the very nature of research, the collection and organisation of what is called knowledge is inevitably a political process. As such, I have utilised a Kaupapa Māori methodology incorporating mixed qualitative methods, with the goal being to engage with women's stories and experiences of identifying as Black women in Aotearoa. In this chapter, I have outlined ethical guidelines and discussed how I have applied these to my research approach and analysis. Following this, I examined my reflexivity, which has played a foundational role in determining my choice of theoretical and methodological approaches. In the following chapter I continue to unpack my tāniko kete by presenting three Māori concepts, used as theoretical frameworks, in order to then present the preceding chapters of interviews and secondary literature.

Chapter Three: He Tāniko Kete: Mauri, Ngā Koru and Whanaungatanga

Tāniko is a plaiting, weaving technique of multiple coloured strands but it also explains and manifests in a very elegant way the metaphor of knowledge, the metaphor of gathering strands, the metaphor of creating and blending, and ultimately, producing something of beauty, of colour, of impact.

Ngahua Te Awekotuku, 1999

It (the Black Women's Movement) had its own life force, it had its own mauri, it had its own time, it did what it needed to do at that time and then when its time was over; it was gone.

Teorongonui Josie Keelan, personal interview, 2011

In this chapter, I continue to flesh out the contents of my tāniko kete by discussing my analytical framework. Three key concepts provide the basis of my enquiry; mauri, the koru and whanaungatanga. Each will guide how I discuss self-determination, voice and solidarity of women within the Black Women's Movement. Teorongonui Josie Keelan's comment above signifies the ways in which she conceptualised the movement, and therefore provides one of the key analytical concepts of this thesis. Mauri is loosely defined as 'the life force of animate and inanimate things' (Pere, 1982), and has been adapted as a concept and model across a variety of studies drawn upon to deepen Māori understandings and theoretical developments within a Kaupapa Māori framework (Pihama, 2001, p.121).^x

Mauri^{xi} explains the context from which the Black Women's Movement was born, showing how something becomes generated or fused within particular contexts to then take on its own life-force. The koru is used to symbolise the process of routes towards self-determination through a process of Black identification. Finally, whanaungatanga translates to the complex social, cultural, spiritual and ancestral inter-relationships that characterise a persons' situation (Barrett-Aranui, 1999 in McNatty and Roa, 2002, p.91). McNatty and Roa (2002) describe six value sets within whanaungatanga which map out the complexity of

relationships between people that when they are applied in an intellectual sense to the classic liberal dichotomy of the private and public spheres, they displace it.

Before proceeding it is important to note that some Māori concepts such as mauri and whanaungatanga, do not translate smoothly into an English language equivalent. There are multitudes of meanings associated with particular Māori concepts and in order to discuss these, one firstly requires an understanding of the context of how the concept is being used, followed by an understanding of other terms that the concepts may be in conjunction with. I agree with McNatty and Roa (2002) who argue that care must be taken to ensure Māori concepts and terms do not become disconnected from their cultural roots when constructing analytical frameworks within the social sciences.

Mauri: the essence of ideas and people in action

Te Ao Māori world view accepts that in Māori tradition, a centre exists from which all life comes forth; this centre is Io. Emanating from Io is mauri, described as an interactive life-force of both animate and inanimate things (Pere, 1982). Being interactive by nature, mauri seeks to form connections within certain contexts in order to charge a life force of a particular thing, person or object. As Rev. Māori Marsden argues, 'mauri is that force that interpenetrates all things, to bind and knit them together and as the various elements diversify, mauri acts as the bonding element creating unity in diversity' (2003, p. 60). With Marsden in mind, mauri charges and intensifies specific relationships, although Marsden does not mention time or place, highlighting a sense of unpredictability regarding mauri as a life force.

Taina Pohatu (2011) expands upon Marsden (2003) by highlighting that while mauri is relationship driven, it also is dependent on context; timing and ideals

Māori reasoning accepts there is a common centre (of pure intent and purpose) from which all mauri emanates from and from which everything draws. ... [O]riginal ideas, ideals and principles, require willing and committed participation from people over time, in a variety of places and

ways. In this fusion, a Kaupapa and relationship-specific energy is engineered, the birth of a unique and special mauri (2011, p.12).

Merging both Pohatu (2011) and Marsden (2003), mauri is described here as a fluid process by which ideas and intentions are generated or charged, requiring a context, a place and a personal or collective commitment to achieve a specific purpose. Being interactive but unpredictable highlights that mauri is fluid by nature. Mauri is not necessarily fixed nor a permanent feature, but is often in flux, based on a process of ideas, ideals and consciousness, and agency or willing people. Yet mauri can also diminish when neglected or abused. Rose Pere explains that mauri 'waxes and wanes', for example, if a person is feeling accepted, she will have a mauri that waxes, but if feeling disrespected, her mauri will wane (1982). The waning that Pere describes shows that mauri can be violated or diminished through neglect or attack. Hence, consciousness charges mauri but neglect will see it diminish.

In sum, mauri is contextualised as a bonding element, showing how intentions and ideas become charged to form a particular consciousness, which is then given agency from like-minded people. Using mauri in this way enables an understanding of how ideas and ideologies are interpreted and processed into specific contexts. Alliances can be built through a shared consciousness, and charged within particular projects, but can also become phased out depending upon intent, agency or carelessness.

My purpose for using mauri is twofold. Firstly, mauri allows for me to explain the context of how things become forged or generated in a particular context. Mauri allows me to set the context through which I explain how the Black Women's Movement came to the fore with a life force associated with it. Remembering Pohatu (2011) who argues that mauri enables us to envision how and in what ways people's ideas and ideals are fused, mauri allows for an insight into the fluidity of Black Power ideologies as an influence among Māori and Pasifika activists in the early 1970s, to the eventual manifestation of Blackness within the within the Black Women's Movement in 1978. Specifically mauri illuminates how ideas become formulated into collective action, which also helps to understand Black identification in

Aotearoa. Ideologies are fluid in the sense of being like mauri, in that they are unable to be measured and pointed out as being absolute in terms of context, timing and meaning. Indeed, I do not argue that there was a direct uptake of Black Panther initiatives by the Black Women's Movement as seen by the Polynesian Panther Party. Rather, that there was a similarity of ideas between the groups, visible in Black identification, is the crux of my argument. In order to consider these influences and especially how these may have taken shape for Māori and Pasifika women within the Black Women's Movement in later years, the specifics of interwoven contexts as a foundation must first be presented, and I use mauri to show how these ideas took shape and agency.

Ngā Koru: unfurling the routes of identification

A metaphor of the koru is used to introduce the idea of 'roots and routes' in the process of identification (Gilroy, 1993, p.133; De Loughrey, 2007). The koru is an important symbol in Māori art forms particularly in tā moko and carving, symbolising transformation and new life. Margie Hohepa highlights the essential characteristics of the koru as being both the rootedness of the koru trunk but with an unfolding, shifting nature to the frond. She notes, 'the koru frond first circles back towards itself, then, unfurling from itself, spreads out in different directions while the koru trunk connects back through the strength and stability of its stalk into the nurture of Papatūānuku, our Earth Mother' (2006, p. 295). The unfurling of the koru is a process of development and transformation where there is an affirmed root of the koru, but where the unfurling is a process of seeking external sustenance from rain, heat, air and light in order to grow and sustain life. The koru, while rooted into Papatūānuku, also reaches out in relation to external energies in order to grow. Thus, the koru reflects a process of transformation, also part of a Kaupapa Māori framework, detailing the reassertions of self-determination within a colonised society.

This is further illustrated by the fact that the koru framework is described as an unfurling frond and is used to represent routes, highlighting the ways one might undertake a journey to arrive at a destination. Roots and routes have been linked to ideas within a diaspora consciousness (Gilroy, 1993; De Loughrey, 2007, Hall, 1990). For example, Stuart Hall suggests that diaspora is 'comprised of ever changing representations which provide an 'imaginary coherence for a set of malleable identities' (Hall, 1991 quoted in Vertovec &

Cohen, 1999, p.8). An awareness of *multi-locality* within a diaspora consciousness stimulates the need to conceptually connect oneself with others, both here and there, who share the same 'roots' and 'routes' (Hall, 1990, p.222). These ideas are developed further in this thesis in relation to 'identity and identification' as part of an 'unfurling koru'.

The important point about routes in this thesis is the transformation process that takes place as part of the journey, not the destination itself. Within these transformations, positions are occupied but then relinquished as one moves on, spreading out in different directions similar to the unfurling motion. The idea of routes is described here as a process of identification, which is a development or unfolding of something that is relative to an external other. It is for this reason I use *identification* to explain the uptake of Black from Māori and Pasifika women, instead of identity.

In order for me to present the concept of an unfurling koru, I must highlight the difference between identity and identification. Identity politics is where groups of people focus on aspects of identity in order to make political demands for a group of people. Evan Poata Smith discusses the inherent problems identity politics poses when considered as a form of cultural nationalism, which presents Māori as a homogenous, classless society, which problematically ignores the internal inequalities and differences within Māori communities (Poata-Smith, 2001, p.234). Kimberly Crenshaw argues that identity politics served a purpose for many people of colour; for gay and lesbian groups, and others, but the tendency became problematic given its inability to explain intragroup differences (1991). Alice Te Punga Somerville's critique of identity politics suggests that identification is more fluid, allowing for us to see multiple forms and multiple contexts of the way in which people grow, whereas identity tends to be individualistic and fixed (2010, p.42). Stuart Hall goes further to discuss identification as a 'challenge to the normative assumptions of identity being a stable core of self, unfolding from beginning to end through all the vicissitudes of history without change' (1996, p. 4). As discussed by Te Punga Somerville (2010) and Hall & du Gay (1996), identification provides an analytically richer lens of thinking through the transformations of self in relation to others, via a process rather than a fixed or rooted position. Also notable and through Hall & Du Gay, in particular, is the idea that identity must change and be flexible in order to self-determine (1996). Consequently, I do not argue that Māori and

Pasifika women *adopted a Black identity*. Rather, I suggest the uptake of Black from Māori women was a process of *identification* that enabled solidarity with Pasifika women. For this reason, the Black Women's Movement is better understood when considered within a koru framework. Using the koru framework, with its unfurling routes, means it is not necessary to work with identity as a concept. Rather, the process of identification, unfurling like a koru, is relative to an external other for growth and development. In addition, the koru, with its grounding but fertile root in the land explains an indigenous comprehension of mutable identification.

For Māori and Pasifika women, their identification with Black Power as an external influence clarifies the process of becoming politically Black, through which solidarity between Māori and Pasifika women was achieved, and self-determination asserted. In this respect, the notion of identification and its marked characteristic of fluidity are crucial to illuminating what may not be visible through a fixed identity. As such, the mauri of the Black Women's Movement is manifest as a koru of Black identification, enabling relationships to be fused in order to travel along routes based upon intent and a willing participation from people involved. The women's identification with Black facilitated a new time of women's activism in Aotearoa which was militant and radical in its reclamation of Māori and Pasifika women's self-determination in both public and private spheres.

Whanaungatanga: displacing the spheres

Whanaungatanga is a core concept in Te Ao Māori, in that it represents a holistic view of inter-relationships, kinship and family. Yet in a similar vein to mauri, whanaungatanga is a term that is used in association with other concepts in order for its meaning to emerge, rather than being defined through an explicit definition of its own. Scholars have debated whanaungatanga in a variety of ways. Barrett-Aranui argue that whanaungatanga is founded on complex inter-relationships that characterise a persons' situation, be they social, cultural, spiritual or ancestral (Barrett-Aranui, 1999 in McNatty and Roa, 2002, p.91). Rose Pere describes whanaungatanga as relating to kinship ties and extended whānau across the globe (1991). Pere's expansion of whānau to include a global kinship base provides insight into the historic tuākana-teina relationship of Māori and Pasifika peoples within the Pacific. Indeed,

when considered through Pere (1991) and Barrett-Aranui (2002), it becomes understandable how a complex but working solidarity might develop between Māori and Pasifika women during the time frame of 1978 – 1982 in Aotearoa.

But there are deeper meanings that can be gleaned from whanaungatanga alongside of solidarity, and it is these deeper meanings that are relevant in order to challenge the classic liberal public/private dichotomy. Western classificatory concepts of division and binarisms have been imposed on Māori epistemologies and ways of knowing and being (see Pihama 2001; Mikaere 2003). This is particularly so with the private/public dichotomy which renders invisible the political nature of women's specific experience and voices (see MacKenzie, 2010; Pateman, 1988). Yet when considered in a whanaungatanga framework, these dichotomies become displaced, allowing for voice and experience to be considered with regard to maintaining quality relationships within both public and private spaces.

McNatty and Roa (2002) describe whanaungatanga as having six strands attached, which highlight how inter-relations are interwoven within a holistic framework. These subsets are whakapapa or descent; wairuatanga as spiritual embodiment; manaakitanga as expressions of care and reciprocity; kotahitanga as a collective unity; rangatiratanga, the governance and leadership of iwi and hapū by being interconnected; and Kaupapa or topic (McNatty and Roa, 2002, p.92). These subsets allow for a deeper understanding of whanaungatanga as a holistic concept of inter-relationships that interwoven rather than opposed as is inherent to binaries. Each subset marks a level of responsibility within *all* social relationships, and posits that each is connected to the others, thus having divisions between spheres of life plainly does not fit into the interwoven nature of whanaungatanga. While some of these subsets may not be visible within certain models (note Bishop, 1996, who does not apply a wairua aspect within his analysis), they are nevertheless always present and part of any whanaungatanga model that represents the essence of the term (McNatty and Roa, 2002).

The notion of the quality should also be acknowledged as a crucial aspect in understanding the dynamics of whanaungatanga, which goes far deeper than claiming a relationship by way of whānau, kinship and/or solidarity. Rather, the mana and integrity associated with maintaining the *quality* of the relationship is also of utmost importance (Sykes in Bargh,

2007, p.117). Whanaungatanga is useful when understanding how relationships are formed but also, within its strands, the concepts of manaakitanga and kotahitanga allow for us to explore the spaces where Black women's activism took place.

Summarily, whanaungatanga, with its six values as a framework, allows for us to challenge and displace liberal notions of spaces being relegated along gender lines, or between public and private. The very notion of divides is irrelevant in this framework, given its holistic approach to relationships and contexts. Moreover, whanaungatanga allows for us to see these spaces as an overall political landscape, where self-determination is asserted, rather than one which is separated between public and private spaces. As a concept, whanaungatanga with its focus on maintaining *quality* relationships also provides an opportunity to envision the space where mauri is fused, for the koru – black identification adopted by Māori and Pasifika women unfurled into the political arena.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to weave together a tāniko kete from which I could draw multiple tools to explain and examine the context of self-determination as articulated by Black women in Aotearoa. Each concept plays a role in the following three chapters, although I deploy each one specifically for each chapter. Mauri is discussed in the next chapter, allowing us to consider how currents of Black Power galvanised oppressed peoples across the globe through the fusion of ideas and actions articulating both a stance against systemic racism and for empowerment of communities.

Chapter Four:

Transforming spaces of (un)belonging

Ideology is a comprehensive definition of a status quo that takes into account both the history and future of that status quo and serves as the social glue that holds a people together and through which a people relate to the world and other groups of people in that world. The correct ideology is an invincible weapon against the oppressor in our struggle for freedom and liberation.

Eldridge Cleaver, on the ideology of the Black Panther Party, 1969

This chapter engages with the entanglements of racism, sexism and urban migration as key contexts which opened space for a new mauri in both Māori and Pasifika activism in the early 1970's and as part of the Black Women's Movement. The chapter begins with a discussion of Black Power ideologies and how ideas of *self*-determination and decolonisation as articulated by the Black Panther Party among others, eventually came to resonate with Māori and Pasifika activists. Included is a discussion of the unique position of Black women within the Party, and their ideas of formulating an analysis of the intersections of race, class and gender which bear relationship to those of Māori and Pasifika women.

Following this, I proceed to sketch out the Aotearoa contexts that situated an identification of Black from both Māori and Pasifika activists in the early 1970s. Discussing two specific contexts will show why this Black identification was picked up in the way that it was. The first context sits within the dispossession and urbanisation of Māori to gain employment, which also corresponded with an influx of Pasifika migrants into Aotearoa. Closer living proximities with Pākehā Māori and Pasifika peoples saw an inflammation of racial tensions. Another significant factor forcing the second context is the intergenerational gap between Māori elders and youth as a new era of Māori political dissent unfolded in an urban context. Both generations had their own ideas of how to deal with the systemic theft and eradication of land, culture and language, which often clashed with ideas of Māori identity and claiming civil rights within an urban Aotearoa. Using a mauri framework will show how aspects of Black Power were adopted up by Māori and Pasifika activists in the early 1970s – by way of black identification - in order to challenge and ultimately reject a mono-cultural Aotearoa

while simultaneously building community pride in being both politically 'black' and Māori, or Pasifika.

Finally, this chapter focuses on the gendered aspect of Black identification in order to show the rise of 'Black women'. In particular, the two further contexts are presented, namely, an illustration of the patriarchal nature of anti-racist groups, and the tense relationships between Māori and Pasifika women and the Women's Liberation movement. Each context reveals a space in which the Black Women's Movement was not only important but necessary for Māori and Pasifika women's self-determination in Aotearoa, at that time.

Global currents of Black Power and the US Black Panther Party

Black Power ideology draws from the pluralistic foundation of group politics in American society, and encompasses the main ideas relevant to the Black struggle against racism, alongside the transformation of Black communities by way of economic and political self-determination. The first part of this chapter focuses on the articulations of Black Power as voiced by the Black Panther Party as an example of this ideology. Grappling with a fierce and unrelenting racism within their societies, the Black Panther Party had become globally visible during the 1960s through publications and televised media attention. The ideas, ideals and principles of Black Power, particularly from the Black Panther Party, resonated with other liberation movements across the world and were adopted in Aotearoa, most extensively by the Polynesian Panther Party but also by some Māori and Pasifika activists in general.

The global influence and uptake of Black Power in specific struggles has already been documented (Shilliam, 2012; Lothian, 2005; Clemons and Jones, 1999). Stokely Carmichael defines Black Power as being:

... a call for Black People in this country (United States of America) to unite, to recognise their heritage, to build a sense of community. It is a call for Black people to begin to define their own goals, to lead their own organisations and to support those organisations. It is a call to reject the racist institutions and values of this society (1968, p. 44).

The focus of self within self-determination was strongly articulated through the Black Panther Platform and 10 Step Programme. The Black Panthers demanded the power to

determine the destiny of Black communities; the rights to full employment and adequate housing; access to an education that reflected Black American history and roles of Black American peoples within American society, and a fair justice system, among other demands (Foner 1970). Some of these objectives were met by the Black Panthers who set up free breakfast programmes for Black children in the community, free education, literacy programmes and legal aid advice as initiatives that enabled Black people to define their own goals, and to lead or support their own organisations. The call of Black power, interpreted by the Black Panthers was for Black people to build their own communities and in effect, to advocate for a self-determining 'people power' over a racially discriminative structural power.

The second factor distinctive from this generation of activists was the need to examine the psychic impact of white supremacy upon the minds of the oppressed, thus building upon Malcolm X analysis of the need to undertake, and a means to do, the decolonising the minds and imaginations of oppressed peoples. These de-colonial messages within the Black Panther Party are seen in the slogans of 'Black pride' and 'Black is beautiful,' slogans which seek to promote self-love and self-esteem, an important aspect of the Black struggle. Moreover, Black Power advocates argued that colonisation was a condition that impacted on Black Americans. Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton for example, articulated the concept of 'internal colonialism' as a description for how the US government treated the Black population of the United States (1967, p.5-32). In a 1964 speech entitled *The Black Revolution* Malcolm X argued that "America is a colonial power. She has colonized 22 million Afro-Americans by depriving us of first class citizenship, by depriving us of civil rights, actually by depriving us of human rights" (Malcolm X, 1965, p.186). Internal colonisation was used as a basis to analyse experiences and structures of American society.^{xii}

Black women within the Black Panther Party were highly visible and active despite the Party being undoubtedly masculine in terms of image. Angela Davis, Erica Huggins, Kathleen Cleaver were among Black women prominent in The Black Panther Party, whose newsletters praised them as 'sisters in the struggle' (Foner, 1970). Yet despite these women being visible and active, a growing concern prevailed amongst Black women about the patriarchal nature of both the Black Panthers and Black Nationalist Groups. Black women involved in anti-racist movements, while inspired by the ideology of change for Black communities that Black

nationalists advocated, were dismayed at the apparent sexism that existed within these antiracist groups.

The emergence of a Black feminism pertinent to this particular timeframe was about recognizing that a politics of liberation were different for Black men and Black women, because of the patriarchal nature of American society. Black women, while struggling against racism alongside their men, were also fighting against sexist beliefs that relegated Black women to supportive rather than leadership roles. Therefore, a distinctive analysis was needed for the unique oppression of women of colour, albeit the 'triple oppression' of race, class, and gender or the 'double jeopardy' of being Black and female (Beal, 1970). The Combahee River Collective was a Black feminist group that organised to develop a politics that was "anti-racism unlike those of white women and anti-sexist, unlike those of Black and white men" (Moraga and Anzaldúa, 1983, p. 273). These women's writings were to become an important influence for Māori and Pasifika women during the 1970s, particularly those of Angela Davis. Although self-determination for Black American peoples sat at the forefront of the Black Panther Party's ideologies and actions, women within the Party, with their own analyses of self-determination began to highlight Black women's oppression and the ways in which differed from the oppression of Black men. Their analyses examined differences in a variety of ways and spaces, often points that were also identified by Māori and Pasifika women in Aotearoa within the anti-racist movements. Similar to Māori and Pasifika women's struggles of maintaining mutually respectful relationships between the sexes by way of 'whanaungatanga' which is discussed further in chapter six, Black men were not 'the enemy' but challenging sexism in all its forms was a crucial step in the struggle to eliminate all forms of oppression (hooks, 1984; 1981).

Yet while there were similar themes to these separate struggles, each struggle has its own mauri of ideas, ideals and principles which are unique to the people and places in which they unfold. One clear difference between the Black Panthers and Māori movements was the indigenous issues of land and language for the Māori struggle. As I discussed in chapter one with reference to Shilliam (2011; 2012) Black Power and Indigenous self-determination did not necessarily map smoothly onto each other; rather there were distinctions within both struggles. Nevertheless, Black Power as articulated by the Black Panthers resonated with both Māori and Pacifica activists during the 1970s. This is perhaps through their rhetoric and

practice of empowering communities through self-determination and the pursuit of social justice alongside their critique of white supremacy.

The Aotearoa Context

In what follows, I sketch out the specific contexts in which Black identification developed in Aotearoa. Particularly, increased Pākehā racism as a result of urbanisation provides a foundation, as arguably, Black identification was necessary to unite disenfranchised Māori and Pasifika youth against an overt racist pressure from Pākehā. This was a unity that informed particular aspects of an urbanised struggle, and a struggle that had different impacts upon, and a different meaning for, a younger generation. Likewise from earlier a generation of protagonists, as seen specifically with *Te Whiti o Rongomai* (Gordon, 1880), the use of the term Black was to make a clear distinction from a system that was discriminatory towards Māori and is another example of the lens of white supremacy being turned by the oppressed for their own purposes. Later I will unfold a discussion of how gender relates to these contexts, but to begin with, an examination of race is necessary.

According to Pohatu (2011) and Marsden (2003), mauri describes the fluid process of how ideas become generated and charged within particular contexts, which then gives rise to specific instances of mauri through the actions of peoples willing and committed to the ideas generated. This framework provides an opportunity to examine the reasons Māori and Pasifika activists had for engaging with Black identity as part of a strategy to combat urban systemic racism. In light of this, two specific contexts must be fleshed out to illustrate the space from which the emergence of Black identification takes place in the early 1970s.

The first context is a result of the migration of Māori into urban areas from the 1950s onwards. This move saw a rise in Pākehā racism, given the closer living proximity of Māori and Pākehā peoples (Howe, 1977). Intensified racial tension contradicted the myth of the 'best race relations in the world' (Sinclair, 1971, p.122) rhetoric which was a held and perhaps cherished notion from Pākehā, a notion also enforced by way of government policy. Given the high numbers of Māori relocating to cities, government policies at the time sought to 'integrate' Māori into Pākehā society as the quickest and surest way of dealing with the mass influx. Policies in housing reflected this myth by assimilating Māori and Pasifika into Pākehā society (Harris, 2004, 21), as did a universalist approach to education that did not

recognise the benefit of Māori and Pasifika knowledge, culture or language. Integration was the most ideal option for race relations policy according to the *1960 Hunn Report of the Department of Māori Affairs*. The report presented a new set of ideologies on race relations and reform that hinged upon the integration of Māori and Pākehā. Integration, as defined in the report was 'to combine (not fuse) the Māori and Pākehā elements to form one nation wherein Māori culture is distinct' (Hunn, 1960, p.15). Regardless of definition, the report did not recognise or acknowledge the desire of Māori to retain their cultural identity separate from Pakeha identity. Furthermore, Māori activists believed integration was similar to assimilation and would result in the same outcome, i.e. that Māori would become 'brown Pākehā' and many youth rejected this (Tamanui in Main and Thompson, 1983).

In addition to the influx of Māori migrants, cities also received Pasifika immigrants, arriving in Aotearoa to meet the demands of a labour shortage. Their presence added to the already tense race relations between Māori and Pākehā, and created a contestable but nevertheless integrated urban racism. Aotearoa born Pasifika youth suffered high instances of police discrimination, and the mono-cultural education curriculum encouraged both Māori and Pasifika to conform to Pākehā living. Nevertheless, migrant Pasifika parents encouraged their Aotearoa born children to 'not bite the hand that feeds them,' and to stay away from a Māori struggle which had no relevance to Pasifika in Aotearoa (Uta'i in Main and Thompson, 1983). That Pasifika children joined the struggle anyway shows the potential strain on Pasifika intergenerational relationships.

Such tensions were emerging within Māori activism too, particularly between older and younger generations of Māori activists. The intergenerational gap between some of the younger Māori activists and their elder counterparts saw a breakdown of communication over areas of resistance, which for some Māori youth were important aspects of an urban struggle. For instance, urban Māori political expression, such as street protesting was seen as too radical by some elders, but vital to the struggle by a younger generation. Another layer of complexity is added when considering the earlier Māori migration into the cities, which sometimes meant a dislocation of urban born Māori youth from their rural marae, land and language. Elder Māori activists could speak Te Reo but many of the younger urban generation of Māori could not. Elder Māori activists had a connection with their home in their memory but many of their younger generation did not share these memories or

experiences (Main & Thompson, 1983). This, coupled with an education curriculum that sought to absorb Māori culture as part of a government assimilation agenda, created a space where Māori youth, alongside Pasifika, began to look at international contexts in order to address the issues of structural racism within their environment. Consequently, ideas directed towards political change that resonated for a younger generation of Māori were sometimes dismissed by an elder generation whose approach focused upon letter writing and petitions.

This approach however did little to appease Māori and Pasifika activists, which partly stemmed from their increasing knowledge of the overwhelming fact that despite a variance of experiences between oppressed peoples, the outcomes of oppression, irrelevant of specific locations and histories were, in many ways, similar. Each of the aforementioned groups shared between them similar instances of high incarceration rates, inadequate housing, poor health statistics and educational outcomes amongst their peoples. Yet it is in these outcomes that activist groups, particularly (though not only) the Black Panthers, began to recognise that racial oppression produced something that could be deemed as a systemic issue, rather a specific group issue. In other words, for Māori and Pasifika activists it was not Māori, or Pasifika people, or Black Americans who were 'the problem' but the entire white system and white supremacy. The point of difference here between older Māori protagonists and the younger generation was how they confronted this issue of white supremacy within the system.

This shift in attitudes and its subsequent tension is illustrated by events of the 1970 Young Māori Leaders Conference (YMLC) at the University of Auckland, where the concept of Black Power was discussed and debated in relation to its relevance in Aotearoa. Interpretations ranged from 'any act that was positive from Māori was termed as Black Power' to 'being a term that media uses to sensationalise of Māori gangs' as well as 'something which implied Māori separatism' (YMLC, 1970, p.15). Conversely, kaumatua present did not engage with the question of Black Power, which according to the minutes was "due to kaumatua being more certain of their identity and secure in their culture" (YMLC, 1970, p.16).

The older generation's lack of engagement in a question so vital to Māori youth perhaps reveals a limited understanding of the different realities urban Māori youth were faced with.

Young Māori and Pasifika activists took the threat of becoming absorbed by Pākehā culture seriously in the early 1970s. For many, the systemic theft of land and eradication of language and culture was a very real threat in light of policy directives encouraging assimilation within an urban environment in order to become 'one people of New Zealand'.

The emergence of Black identification in urban Aotearoa

Several Māori activist groups came to the fore in response to these pressures, such as Māori Organisation of Human Rights and Ngā Tamatoa. In a similar vein, Pasifika youth alongside a few Māori organised the Polynesian Panther Party, which was modelled from the Black Panther Party, but with their distinctive Pasifika identity. Each of these groups formed community projects in order to address a mono-cultural education and the discriminative judicial system, but also carried ideologies that promoted self-determination within their communities (see Shilliam, 2012; Anae et al, 2006; Poata-Smith, 2001). A new mauri was being unleashed within the younger generations of Māori and Pasifika activism based upon ideas of decolonisation and self-determination within an urban Aotearoa.

These ideologies were central to why Māori and Pasifika began identifying with Blackness. The first was a language of oppression, a way to understand oppression within a global context, where identifying as Black was a rejection of a global systemic oppression upon oppressed peoples. I shall explore more of this as a 'koru effect of identification', which is also facilitated by mauri as an unfurling of self-determination when I focus on the Black Women's Movement in the following chapter. As Hana Te Hemara Jackson explains,

As Māori we see most of our oppression as Black and white. The oppression comes from white people (Jackson in Alston, 1973, p. 11).

It was important to these young activists to be part of a larger global resistance to a system that oppresses peoples, the majority of whom were non-white. Māori and Pasifika youth began to seek out international literature that provided an analysis of similar contexts of oppression (Smith, 1996). Buoyed by other international struggles against systemic racism, Māori and Pasifika activist groups sought to use international ideologies in order to progress political change.

The whole movement going on in the States, the anti-racism movement and the anti-apartheid movement too really helped us to crystallise our thinking around institutional racism and how that impacted on Māori and Pacific peoples... (Peta, personal interview, 2011).

Moreover, the ability to link to a wider global struggle was deemed as important for young activists as Josie notes,

If you just belong to this little group called Māori, you become very isolated, it becomes a lot more difficult to enter into a confrontation with the oppressor when you're on your own... Because when you have a global identification the issues become stronger, it becomes – you can then make those linkages to the States, to Australia, to Canada, to South America. In those days we also had links to East Timor and to West Papua and so you – you know it was not just about being in Aotearoa. ... We knew that we couldn't be isolated; we wanted to have an international context to a struggle at the time, what was termed a struggle. So the identification of being Black was about sharing a story with other oppressed minorities around the world and sharing the same story (Josie, personal interview, 2011).

As with other movements across the world, notably the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, the Black Nationalist Movements in the US, and the Black Power Movements organised by Indigenous Aboriginal Australians, Māori and Pasifika activists embraced Blackness, as an affinity to, and alliance with, other Black people in the Pacific and across globe.

As a result of connecting with international literature, a new mauri within Māori and Pasifika activism began to emerge. New ideas and action took shape as activists began to connecting their struggles with a wider, global struggle by way of a Black identification. Identifying as Black highlighted a distinctive articulation of oppression felt by urban Māori and Pasifika youth.

Josie Keelan describes this in relation to her involvement within Ngā Tamatoa, where she remembers when Māori activists began to identify as black,

I do know that when, like, in (Ngā) Tamatoa when we would talk ourselves as being Black because being Black was an identity thing with the oppressed around the world and at that time most of us were reading literature that came out of the States, you know, so we're reading Huey Newton and Angela Davis and we're doing a lot of that reading and the word Black became a normal part of our terminology. So, you know, we referred to ourselves as Black... (Josie, personal interview, 2011).

Similar to members of Black Power in the United States, in order to mitigate the psychic impact that colonialism had on oppressed peoples, one of the key themes was to promote an identity that was non-white in a positive manner. James Brown's 1968 hit '*Say it loud, I'm black and I'm proud*' is one example of a change in ideology and tactic that was sweeping across resistance movements across the world and fused with emotive intensity.

Maxine Ngata in the *Race against Time* documentary commented on this emotive energy, stating that Black identification was a feeling; it promoted a self-love alongside being Māori that had an international context.

... we are proud that we are Māori. Now somewhere along the line we have our own people telling us we are a percentage of this and a percentage of that but don't talk about what it feels like to be Māori. It's not as much to do with the colour, ok yes in some ways it is to do with the colour of your skin, true, but more than that, it's how you feel in here (*pointing to her heart*), the colour in here. Black is beautiful and I think it's about time Māori people started thinking in terms of Black right across the world, not just here in New Zealand, Māori people, Polynesian, you know, Samoan and so on, Aboriginal. We have to think in terms of a Black nation (Maxine Ngata in Main and Thompson, 1983).

Looking to international contexts was deemed as important, but that Māori youth aligned their struggles within a Black identification or considered themselves as oppressed was brushed aside by members of the wider public, as Josie Keelan highlights,

(It was said) “Well you’re not oppressed ... You are not, you know, Māoris – you had it good like in comparison to Native Americans, you had it good by comparison to the Aboriginal in Australia, you had it really good and look, things are really not bad for you in New Zealand by comparison to Black American, the Police don’t shoot at you in New Zealand”, you know.

So you’ve got all these comments about why are you identifying with something because your level of oppression is nowhere near their level of oppression but there are degrees of oppression and that’s actually what we were talking about was the degrees of oppression. When we talk in terms of being Black, it is about being oppressed Okay, yes, we may not have had the same experience (as Native Americans, Aboriginal Australia and Black Americans) but the outcome is no different. So the outcome’s still the same. The ways in which we were oppressed might have been different. We are still in prison in larger numbers, we still die earlier, we still have poorer educational attendance than Pakeha in the country (Josie, personal interview, 2011).

Josie’s point highlights some of the key rhetoric’s in Aotearoa during the 1970s that played into ideas of Aotearoa being home to the best race relations in the world and specifically promoting ideas of having the best race relations in the world by using the plight of other oppressed peoples to stress to Māori that they were not oppressed or that racism in Aotearoa did not exist. Indeed one of the main issues within the Springbok Tour of 1981 was to highlight that racism was not only an international issue but one that also existed in Aotearoa.

And while whānau members may have agreed that race relations in Aotearoa were far from being ‘the best’, the ideas of a younger generation in disputing such claims were just as foreign. For Josie, her parents and grandparents grappled with Black being used as an identification by their younger generation,

We referred to ourselves as Black, much to the horror of our parents and grandparents who, you know, they'd say, 'but you're not Black'. And so yeah, it was very difficult for a lot of our parents to hear their children referring to themselves as Black because they didn't certainly see themselves as being Black (Josie, personal interview, 2011).

Josie sums up exactly the point of intergenerational difference in the expressions of Tino Rangatiratanga and self-determination. While the issues remained the same throughout the generations, the persistent but careful and patient letter writing tactics of an elder generation gave way to a younger generations confrontational protest politics that identified with both global and local struggles. The younger generation's attempts to confront systemic racism was part a new mauri and was manifest in the cries of self-determination by a new generation of Māori and Pasifika activists.

In what follows I discuss how Black and women come together by addressing the issue of male dominance within anti-racist groups, and racism within the Women's Liberation movement which essentially meant a need of 'space' within activism that was distinctly for Māori and Pasifika women.

Resisting patriarchy and racism: carving a space within the activist landscape

Spaces for a new mauri within Māori and Pasifika women's activism were also being carved out as a result of male dominance within the anti-racism groups, which is a point that is discussed further in chapter six. Māori and Pasifika women began to challenge hegemonic colonial masculine ideas while making visible issues that were pertinent to their specific interests as women. For example, several women began to highlight the tendency of Māori and Pasifika men to take a lot of the credit for work that was done by Māori and Pasifika women and spoke out against it (Alston, 1973a; Alston, 1973b; Bogle, 1973).

Yet there were other deeper issues that needed urgent remedying for Black women, one in particular relates to voice within a contemporary environment. Many women, despite being articulate and intelligent in their own right, had lost confidence in speaking out in anti-racism meetings because of the potential ridicule from male members. According to

Ngahua (Volkering) Te Awēkotuku who, when addressing the issue of male chauvinism within Māori activism noted,

To me, too many women who are articulate and well educated hide behind the traditional shield of female muteness. In important tribal and political matters those few who do speak out too often are unprepared to encounter adequately the challenges and rebukes hurled at them by their male counterparts (Volkering in Alston, 1973b, p. 7).

Indeed, male activists brushed aside the issues of women finding voice within the anti-racist movements. Few men sympathised regarding issues of patriarchy arguing that such issues diverted attention away from the real problems sitting at the heart of the Māori struggle - Māori land rights; education; the judicial system, and the white status quo (Alston, 1973b, p.8). In this way, Black women could not and did not expect Māori or Pasifika men to allow them space to contribute as equal members of the anti-racist movement. Rather they had to create a foundation from which to confront issues of patriarchy and sexism. In other words, taking action was necessary for Māori and Pasifika women to confront colonial discourses of power within the anti-racist movement and importantly as part of a decolonising process.

Thus it was apparent that Māori and Pasifika women needed their own space within anti-racist groups so they began to organise from within in order to address the issue of male patriarchy. Some women confronted their men and reported their issues resolved once a confrontation had taken place (Ama and Lenora in Bogle, 1973) although such reports were far and few between, particularly in the early 1970s.

The Women's Liberation Movement started in New Zealand in 1970 and built a movement rallied by a range of issues pertaining to women's reproductive rights and health, as well as pay equity, and protection from violence, among others (Dann, 1985). Yet, there was little recognition of how differences in class and race affected the diversity of women's struggles. Many Māori and Pasifika women cited 'invisibility' as why they did not join the Women's Liberation Movement. Indeed, for Māori and Pasifika women, visibility and identity were key issues. The anti-colonial struggle against racism meant their men were also allies. Sam elaborates,

Because for Palagi women they saw society as patriarchal (but) it wasn't that hard and fast for us, as Samoan (Sam, personal interview, 2010).

The white women's movement were saying that woman is the key identity, but Black women were saying no, the fact for me was that I was a Samoan woman, not that I was Samoan first (Sam, personal interview, 2010).

Sam highlights a key point that while Māori and Pasifika women struggled against sexism from Māori and Pasifika men – they were, nevertheless, allies in the struggle against racism, a point that was unconsidered within Women's Liberation. Other critiques were that the use of the term 'liberation' was misguided – in that women who needed liberating the most were not Pākehā middle class women who seemed 'out of touch' with the struggles of working class Pākehā, Māori and Pasifika women (Ama and Lenora in Bogle, 1973). Even so, by the late 1970s the Women's Liberation Movement was beginning to implode. The Piha Conference in 1978, for example, saw Māori women challenge Pākehā women to acknowledge white privilege; working class women challenge middle class women to acknowledge class privilege and lesbian women challenge heterosexual to acknowledge heterosexual privilege (Dann, 1985, pp.33-35).

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku gives a first-hand account of how she recalls the split within the Women's Liberation Movement but also attributes the timeframe that she recalls as being the first stages of the Black Women's Movement.^{xiii}

At the Piha Women's Congress in January 1978 ... they had a gathering of Women's Liberation of feminist women; it was split between the lesbians and heterosexuals. The heterosexuals were called breeders, cocksuckers, traitors, and apologists for the patriarchy. It was extreme, it was hardcore. ... For me, as I recall, the real beginnings of the Black Dyke and Black feminist stuff came out of the Piha Congress (Ngahuia, personal interview, 2011).

One of the key points Ngahuia describes is similar to a hierarchy of oppression^{xiv} that would become an issue also for the Black Women's Movement years later. Yet as Te Awekotuku discusses, due to internal problems, the Women's Liberation Movement imploded from 1978 onwards. Māori women however, were at the forefront of several Māori struggles and

movements, such as Ngā Tamatoa from 1975 and began to organise groups specifically for women. 1978 marks the progressive stages of Māori women's organising although they developed several years earlier.

Also important to note is why Māori women within the Black Women's Movement chose not to participate in the Māori Women's Welfare League, a reflection of differing strategies alongside generational tension. While the Māori Women's Welfare League undertook work that would have in some respects overlapped with the interests of Black women (Māori health and education were both issues for the Māori Women's Welfare League as well as Black Women), there was a marked ideological difference between the two groups. Hana Te Hemera Jackson articulates these differences at a Pacific women's conference in 1976. She argues that while the Māori Women's Welfare League had cared for the young, elderly and the sick, there was a belief by a younger generation of Māori women that the league was focused on 'patchwork welfare aid instead of pressing for political change' (Jackson, 1976, p.82). Ngahuia Te Awekotuku expresses similar frustrations,

... the Māori Women's Welfare League were ... going on overseas trips and representing Aotearoa at Copenhagen and Nairobi and all the international stuff with non-feminist analysis, but going as well manicured and over-dressed government agents to dribble nonsense about their New Zealand. And I know I am criticizing women I respect a lot but ... they went overseas constantly and yet did they support us, did they care about us, did they even bother talking to us? No, not at all. As far as they were concerned, I was poison because I was like that – lesbian, unnatural (Ngahuia, personal interview, 2012).

Above, Ngahuia highlights some intergenerational differences between an older and younger generation of Māori feminists. She articulates the frustration of a younger generation, the League appearing to represent Aotearoa, New Zealand in a manner that was out of touch with the issues pertaining to a younger generation of urban Māori women. Moreover, the League did not support young Māori lesbian women, a point that Ngahuia makes strongly. Finally, as noted by Josie, the Māori Women's Welfare League was

unrepresentative of the 'energy' that a younger generation of Māori women were seeking. As Josie explained it,

We just couldn't see ourselves as being part of the Māori Women's Welfare League. ... for us at the time, it didn't excite us, it didn't draw us in, we couldn't see the purpose (Josie, personal interview, 2011).

Josie's description of energy sums up this strand of my thesis exactly; Māori women did not feel their interests were represented within the Māori Women's Welfare League, or by the Women's Liberation Movement, which Black women also found to be unrepresentative of their interests.

Rather Black women, as a new mauri within activism, arose with a distinct agency - to analyse their personal relationships; discuss issues related to health and education, while simultaneously raising awareness of the Māori struggle through a black feminist, Marxist lens. While it is important to note that Māori and Pasifika women creating 'women's spaces' in political contexts had existed before the Black Women's Movement came to the fore, and that Black women were not born solely as a response to white feminism and gender issues within antiracist groups - it is also apparent that these issues influenced the movement's forming. Indeed, the particular style of politics within the Black Women's Movement were interestingly different from other times

In other words, the Black Women's Movement emerged as a space for women's time, issues and thoughts in a way that provided specific room for the shared experiences of Māori, Pasifika and other self-identified Black Women in a new global context, and a new time. There, they were able to address women's health, roles in the home, personalised spaces, and formulate an analysis of the impacts of both sexism and racism more comfortably, and more radically, than the Women's Liberation Movement had allowed. As Donna Awatere put it in 1976 when reflecting on white feminism, she preferred "Black unity with Māori sisters before Black- white unity with Pākehā sisters" (Awatere, 1976). In the Black Women's Movement, Black was used by women to highlight core power relations in broader society, alongside enabling solidarity for Māori women, who could also reach out to Pasifika women. Their solidarity was an important step in creating a space where Black women could jointly analyse their unique oppression that was not possible within Pākehā feminist or antiracist

groups. In this respect, Black provided a colour of solidarity across the lines of differences of ethnicity and culture.

Conclusion

'Spaces of (un)belonging' (Minto, 2008) is a metaphor that highlights Māori and Pasifika urban migration into spaces of assimilation during the late 1950s. Yet by the early 1970s, a new generation of urban Māori and Pasifika activists asserted identities and politics that represented their voices and ideologies that challenged and ultimately transformed this un-belonging. Included within Māori and Pasifika activist rhetoric were articulations of Black Power, generalised through a sense of Black identification, a tendency common in the earlier 1970s to highlight Māori and Pasifika resistance to assimilation. Indeed, transforming spaces of un-belonging held a mauri that fused ideas of decolonisation, self-pride, and visibility within a colonised society into action, similar to that within the US Black Power Movement among others. Both Māori and Pasifika activists in the early 1970s identified with Black Power ideologies to a certain extent. Yet by the late 1970s, some Māori and Pasifika women had adopted Black identification and radicalised it like no other feminist group within Aotearoa during that era. In the next chapter, I show how Māori and Pasifika women unfurled a mix of Black feminist, Marxist and Māori nationalist politics as a route to express their activism. The final chapter will look at whanaungatanga as a politics that sought to cultivate spaces of belonging whilst simultaneously decolonising patriarchal relationships.

Chapter Five:

Hine Tū, Hine Ora: The rise of the Black Women's Movement

Our unity is our strength. Our oppression as Indigenous and Black people is what unites us with other Black people and movements of Black consciousness. It is our consciousness of being Black and wanting our own Black power that will take us forward.

Ripeka Evans, the Politics of Blackness, 1982

So it (the Black Women's Movement) had a value at the time around thinking and bringing together some kind of excitement ... basically getting Māori and Pacific Island feminists united around common issues ... around being part of a wider reference group in terms of raising their consciousness about women; about feminism ...

Ripeka Evans, personal interview, 2011

Māori and Pasifika women identifying as Black is one of the least understood phenomena in Aotearoa activist history. Questions arise as to why women would choose to identify with an identity that is argued to have no history in Aotearoa and furthermore, is not Indigenous. Particularly when the anti-racist struggle for Māori activists so frequently hinges on recognition of their indigeneity. Yet, as I have argued, Black identification (as distinct from identity) was a powerful process for forging a political solidarity between Māori and Pasifika women, in a space in which it was necessary.

But in order to write about Black women's self-determination, it is first necessary to define the term as laid out by the women themselves. The quote above by Evans in 1980 sketches out that definition and what follows will expand upon that sketch within a transformative framework. In particular, the concept I will focus on in this chapter is the koru. As I have discussed in previous chapters, the koru as a critical concept, represents the idea that both roots and routes can explain the process and function of Black identification for Māori and Pasifika women within the Black Women's Movement. In particular, while the roots of the koru are grounded yet fertile, the unfurling koru frond reveals what might be described a spiralled series of routes as it spreads out in different directions. This is analogous to the

process of Black identification for Māori and Pasifika women; importantly, the koru needs sustenance from both its rooted position in the earth, and from external elements such as water, sunlight and air. Consequently, the koru as metaphor describes the process of identification, as a series of routes taken from a fixed root.

The politicisation and construction of Blackness in Aotearoa shows a development or unfolding of something that is relative to external influences, as well as to its own rooted position of location and history. It is both particular to Aotearoa, and dependent on a wider world, emergent from the women involved, and conferred upon them. In other words, the Black Women's Movement possessed a transformative dynamic, by way of routes which here are described as a Black identification.

As such, this chapter will detail the development of the movement as a phenomenon within Māori and Pasifika activism that had its own mauri and characteristics, and in particular its own relationship to Blackness. I will detail some of the external elements that charged the unfurling routes of the koru for the Black Women's Movement: identification with Black feminism, with Black Power and with Marxist socialist ideologies, and explore the ways in which these elements were embedded within the Black identification that characterised and constituted the movement. Two themes are mapped out in order to show how this Black identification was a process by which a politicisation took place and become manifest in the calls for self-determination from Black women. These themes relate to the construction of identification by way of an unfurling koru and solidarity by way of whanaungatanga which is mapped out in more detail in the next chapter.

Black women unite!

Before discussing the routes of Black identification, it is necessary to highlight the empirical details of the movement. In the last chapter, I explored the urgency of forming an all-women's group for Māori, Pasifika and other Black women. I also detailed the ways in which the movement found its roots from Māori women's involvement within anti-racist activist groups during the early to mid-1970s. The emergence of all women sections in Ngā Tamatoa, Whakahou, and Te Matakite Aotearoa occurred several years before the Black Women's Movement came to the fore. However, while Māori and Pasifika activist groups at the time had a focus on both class and race oppression, there was little time for analysis of

oppression that happened within the antiracist groups themselves, especially for women. In addition to this, Māori and Pasifika women had earlier expressed dissatisfaction at their experiences in Pākehā feminist groups who promoted gender as being most pivotal to the struggle, hence stirrings for a movement that could address sexism within anti-racist movements without ignoring anti-racist concerns. As such, a core of Māori and Pasifika women had already begun to radicalise within the anti-racism groups they belonged to, including Ngā Tamatoa and the Polynesian Panther Party, but were seeking a framework within which to articulate their specific discontent with society, and to collectively analyse the unique oppression of Māori, Pasifika and other Black Women.

From this, it is apparent that members of the Black Women's Movement had developed their analysis and actions from activist groups they were previously or alternatively involved in, but also, they took their work a step further by adamantly laying claim to gender as a major part of their identity within activism. According to Awatere, the movement was a collective of "true consciousness raising groups who take an active feminist stance. An anti-racist, Marxist analysis is an integral part of their politics (1980)." Josie Keelan explains this further,

The decision was to actually look at ways and means that we could organise Māori, and particularly Māori women, along the socialist path to Māori liberation really ... and at some point, because we also have close working relationships with Pacific women and Pacific peoples, particularly here in Auckland, it became a combined Māori Pacific women's movement that was then called the Black Women's Movement. And for a while we sort of went together, we found a pathway (Josie, personal interview, 2011).

As Josie's comment suggests, the Black Women's Movement was led by Māori women, although not exclusively. Pasifika women also held leadership roles. Ngā Tuahine in Wellington, for example, was led by Samoan Peta Si'ulepa. Most of the collectives were based in Auckland, as Auckland was already home to strong networks between Māori and Pasifika women, but the idea was to expand upon these networks as an organised collective against oppression relevant to Black women specifically, not only in Auckland but across the country. Because of this, diversity of leadership was emphasized, and when internal tensions

built in other areas as Auckland became the hub of the movement's activities, some women implored that the organisation of Black women not be restricted to one geographical area (Si'ulepa in Broadsheet, 1980). Thus in order to gain membership, the movement spread out, across the North Island particularly, but also to the South as far as Dunedin.

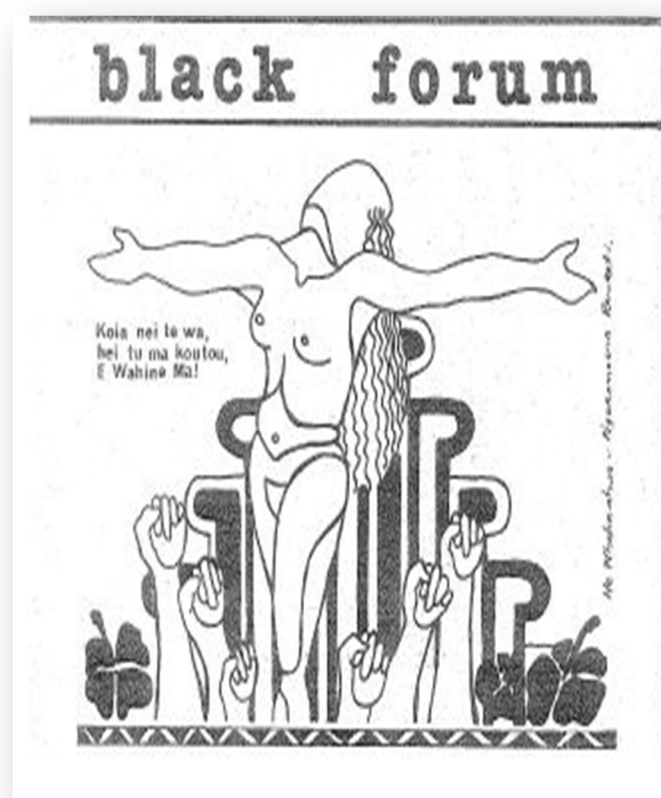
The groups set up within the movement were, the Auckland Black Women's Group, the Otara Black Women's Group, The Black Feminist Collective; Grey Lynn and Ponsonby Black Women's Collective; Ngā Tuahine from Wellington - inclusive of a prison collective; the Otepoti Black Women's Group from Dunedin; and Hine Tū Kaha - location unknown. These were all consciousness raising groups that identified themselves as being Black women. Smaller groups were based in both Tauranga and Rotorua. Exact numbers of members are unknown but were thought to have been relatively small - the entirety of the movement somewhere in the vicinity of 150-250 women (Josie, personal interview, 2010).

Collectives met both regionally and nationally to host workshops and raise consciousness, and recruit new members. The first national Black women's hui was held in Ngāti-Otara marae in Otara, Auckland in 1980, with the theme of "Black Women Together," and with the intention of forming a United Congress for Māori and Pasifika women. Over 70 Black women attended, including rural and urban workers, mothers, unemployed women, young women, lesbian women, ex-prisoners, and ex or present gang affiliates. The purpose of the congress was to enable representatives from each of the Black Women's groups across the country to meet as a planning committee for both regional and national hui. A second national hui was held in 1981, with the theme of 'Unity for Survival' which ran workshops on assertiveness, sexuality and discussed themes such as capitalism, sexism and racism (Black Forum, 1981, p.17). Additionally, Black women's health was seen as a priority throughout the national hui. A subgroup from the hui 'Te Hauora', a Black Women's health collective, rallied around promoting healthy lifestyle choices, given the high rates of Māori cancer and obesity for women (Halkyard, 1984). Attendees at the Black Women's hui were served with healthy food while alcohol was prohibited and smoking was restricted.

Many of the themes within the hui related to 'personal is political' ideas, which will be discussed further in the next chapter, and specifically pertained to Black women's health and education as a form of consciousness raising. 'Personal is political consciousness raising

included debate on issues, such women speaking on the marae, and reading and study groups. Several of the women confirmed reading Angela Davis especially, but also other Black American and third world women writers, such as Tony Morrison, Audre Lorde, and Gloria Anzaldua alongside Malcolm X and Martinique born Frantz Fanon, thus revealing an international influence on the development of Black feminist and nationalist ideas. Engaging with this literature was not the sole source of radicalization for Aotearoa Black women but as I demonstrate in this chapter and the next; it was part an unfolding politicization process; providing awareness of other struggles that sat within the intersection of race, gender and nationalisms that was similar to the context of struggle in Aotearoa.

Table Three: Black Forum cover in Bitches Witches and Dykes Liberation Magazine, May 1981, page 3



Routes of identification: constructing Blackness

Māori and Pasifika women's initial commitment to a process of identification at a point where it intersected with the unfurling of the movement enabled them to construct Blackness relevant to themselves. Because of this, it is necessary to reflect on Blackness as a concept, one that while already being in Aotearoa via those who used the term in anti-racist movements, took on additional constructions in the Black Women's Movement. While Māori and Pasifika women encountered Blackness intellectually by way of Black feminist, Black Nationalist and Black consciousness literature, and resonated with ideas of an identification that linked to a global movement against antiracism, Māori and Pasifika women also drew on an identification of Blackness that had roots in the colonial history of Aotearoa and the Pacific.

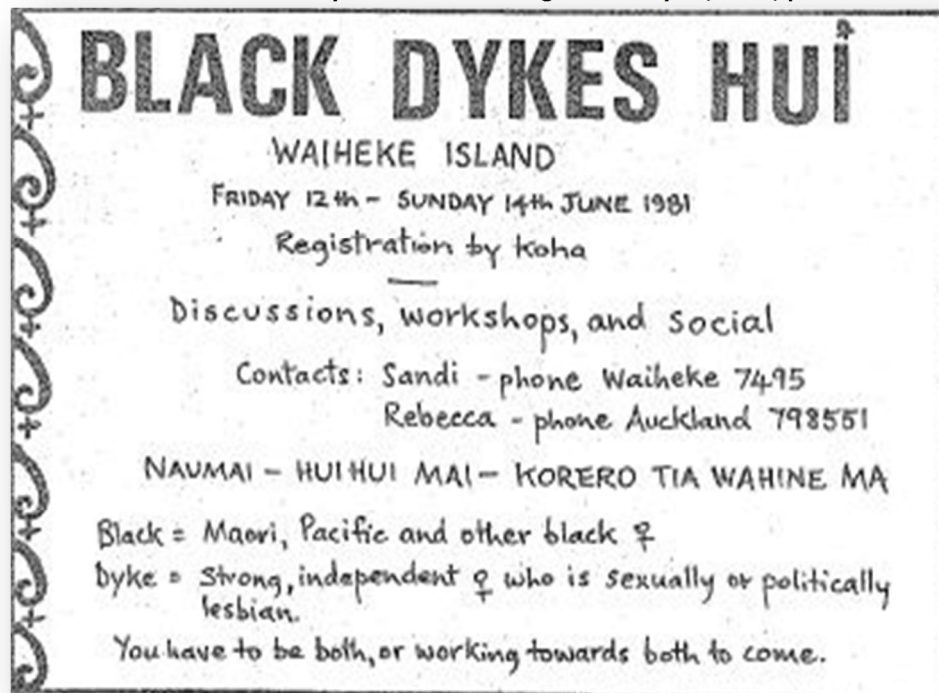
The Politics of Blackness, written by Ripeka Evans in 1980, provides insight into this history and into the construction of Blackness in Aotearoa in general. She discusses Black identification in terms of its relevance to the Māori struggle, and shows why Māori and Pasifika women might choose to identify as Black women as opposed to being brown, or Polynesian. In this article, Evans revisits an aspect of colonial and imperial history by which the British colonists ascribed the identification of 'noble savage' to Māori, in recognition of their highly structured pre-colonial societies. Because of this perceived 'nobility' in tandem with 'savagery,' when comparing Māori to other Indigenous Peoples in the Pacific, Māori were labelled as 'brown,' meaning Māori could be redeemable and saveable.^{xv} As Evans outlines, Māori were told they were a lighter shade of Black by being brown thus were not as bad as Black; for where brown peoples could become 'civilised', Black peoples were irredeemable, un-saveable and in complete contrast to all that was deemed civilised (thus, white). Talking about degrees of colour link to hierarchical notions of race used by 19th century racists to justify racist practices and reaffirm their own sense of superiority. Hence the role of Black identification as noted by Evans in a contemporary sense articulated a rejection of both brown-ness and of mono-cultural Pākehā society. This history, and this contrast, gave the identification of Blackness a particular power. Activists used this power. As with other movements across the world Māori and Pasifika women embraced Blackness, as an affinity to, and alliance with, other Black people in the Pacific and across the globe (Evans, 1980).

Avenues for forging solidarity that came with Blackness were found in a publication forum within the *Bitches, Witches and Dykes* Women's Liberation Newsletter known as the Black Forum. The forum provided space for Black women to articulate their own issues, and mobilised women across the country. Articles that sought to raise the consciousness of Black women featured alongside material relating to Māori Land Rights, Māori Sovereignty and protests in Aotearoa and abroad, particularly in the Pacific. Much of the militancy and anger of the movement was expressed by way of publications and writings in the Black Forum and in *Broadsheet* magazine. Many of the writings were from a Māori perspective and hinted at a mix of both Black feminist and Māori nationalist ideologies, and importantly, the articles consistently promoted the identification of Blackness in association with Māori.

The blanket of Black skin is like a whariki – a cloak of dignity, self-respect, and racial pride which you let no-one put you down for or take away. That identity you assert with pride and dignity – proud to be a Black, proud to be a Māori, proud to be a Black woman, proud to be a Māori woman (Evans, 1980).

Evans' points here have a strong relationship to ideas of race pride which is the self-affirmation and legitimating an identification that is non-white. As Evans shows, this dual identification process of being both Māori and Black was done to develop a pride that was lacking from women who often referred to themselves as 'being at the bottom of the shit heap' (Black Women's Manifesto, 1980, p.2).

Table Two: Advertisement for a Black Dykes Hui in the Black Forum, Bitches Witches and Dykes Liberation Magazine. May 19, 1980, p.16.



In this, a part of the unfurling routes of identification becomes visible. Black identification, in the context of the Black Women's Movement, is both a reconstruction and a transformation process, both altering a pre-existing Blackness, and forging a new one. As Sam put it,

I guess Black was about a developing our ideas and not really thought of as an identity, it was more like we used the word to turn a negative into a positive (Sam, personal interview, 2011).

The Black Women's Manifesto produced a novel form of Black women's subjectivity by highlighting a radical and angry rhetoric of words expressing both Black Women's oppression and solidarity. The opportunity to express emotive anger particularly in the public realm was novel in that it allowed an expression of anger and mobilisation of women who perceived themselves as being the most oppressed in society.

Table Three: The Black Women's Manifesto, Black Forum, Bitches Witches and Dykes, 1980, p.2

Black Women's Manifesto:

We have come together as Black Women,
Māori, Pacific Island and other Black Women,
To fight whites in Aotearoa, who are exploiting our labour to increase
to increase their own white wealth.
Black women together, collectively have more power than as individuals.
We can make an accurate analysis of our oppression.
Together we can decide and take action to challenge and change the very structure of this society

A Black Woman taught by whites how to be white, learns to hate her Blackness
A Black Woman because of white conditioning prefers to be brown
So she can feel comfortable and close
even closer to being white
just like cream in a shade of pale you can still make it while playing brown
Because Black is the positive statement of not being white
You can suck up the white arsehole and shit on those of the darker shade who can't pass for brown
and have to shoulder the oppression of being black

We're Black sisters together
Gonna share with all our Black sisters
The right to be black
The right that was taken from us like the land
Refuse to be at the bottom of the shit heap anymore

Gonna rise up
Stand tall and fight
Ain't got nothing to lose
Black Women Unite

Notably from the manifesto above, adopting and adapting a Black identification within Aotearoa had a particular effect for Māori and Pasifika women within the movement. Firstly, it enabled them to construct a movement that outwardly rejected assimilationist ideas of having the 'best race relations in the world' (Sinclair, 1971, p.122) but also it provided a place to build solidarity across ethnicities. Solidarity through Blackness was dependant on commitment to the cause of Black Women's self-determination, rather than on individual ethnic identity. Secondly, the identification in a radicalised sense, rejected others less committed to the cause of Black Women's self-determination, who were deemed as 'brown' (in reference to the historical use of the categorization), or who were less radical. In order to be a Black woman, one would need to be politically radical. Those who were not were

dismissed despite being Māori or Pasifika – ethnicity was deemed second to political commitment and perhaps a sign of the internal hierarchical tendencies, which would eventually dominate the politics of Black women in general.

Nevertheless, as seen in the manifesto, Black identification could make a political statement that could be used as a marker of solidarity for those with similar political outlooks, not based on ethnicity but on a shared political viewpoint. Moreover it shows the fluidity of Black identification, that it fed into a political consciousness rather than a fixed categorical identity. As shown in the aforementioned quote from Evans, Black women utilised Māori, Pasifika and Black interchangeably in order to unite on issues that were pertinent to them. Black identification, however, was the particular marker of both oppression and unity.

Black identification was a marker, but it was not itself the sole source of momentum for the movement. Rather, it represented, or stood in for solidarity between marginalized women, which found expression in the Black Women's Movement, and was consolidated through an emotional dynamic and energy. This is a key point, that Josie Keelan refers to as the 'mauri' of the movement, and that other members of the movement have described in similar ways, if not the exact wording. The recognition of mutual awareness of a shared politicisation was powerful. Take, for example, the following points from women involved in Black women's gathering which focus on tapping Black women's energy:

When Black women get together there is an inquisitive intensity about what we are going to get up to next (Awatere, 1980, p.10).

How can you describe the spontaneous and continual welling up of a Black volcano? (Awatere, 1980, p.10).

These statements are indicative of the fact that while Black identification was taken up by a movement, the identification served the movement, rather than the other way around. Black identification was constructed, contested, and expressed through media forums, in colonial history, and through a unifying momentum for women who attended hui across the country. But however *unifying*, it is essential to note that the meaning of the term was not *unified*. Instead, it took on different meanings and inflections at both local and national levels. Communication from the groups that represented the Black Women's Movement

across the country was left to the leaders of those respective groups (Siu'lepa, personal interview, 2011), and groups did not require each other to take a unified stance on the identification. This is an important component of the identification's relationship to self-determination. For Sam Uta'i, Black identification within Ngā Tuahine the Wellington collective of the movement represented a gradual politicisation process for women rather than the result of a pre-planned and meditated political idea or identity and one that was still questioned within the group itself.

It wasn't like someone just came in one day and said, we're going to set up a Black women's group, it was because we were involved in advocacy, social justice and social services ... and from there we came to this notion that we as women needed time and space to discuss and talk about our own things

...

... but at that stage there were those of us who had conflicting views about the use of the word black, because we didn't understand what it meant, because it was a whole politicisation process that was happening gradually (Sam, personal interview, 2010).

Additionally, it is important to note that not all were comfortable with Black identification, and that there were often debates as to its relevance within Aotearoa. These debates too, are central to both the Black Women's Movement and the complexity of Blackness, and to the reassertion of self-determination for the women in question. As Ripeka explains,

So the kind of Black identity and the Black women's label and stuff like that, was a label that was uncomfortable for a number of Māori women and even some Pacific women that sat within it (Ripeka, personal interview, 2011).

That Ripeka identifies Black as a 'label,' and one that can be comfortable or uncomfortable, depending on who wears it and when, exactly sums up the process of identification that I am discussing here, and gets to the heart of the Black Women's Movement. The movement was built on a momentum, unfurling as it went. The construction of a Black identification in Aotearoa unfolded as a result of a need for space as a result of sexism in the anti-racism movement, and racism within feminist movements. The movement was constructed

through media outputs, but also gained momentum through a collective awareness of cognitive and moral unity (Collins, 2001, p.28), and a politicisation process. And while Black identification was contested, it was also consolidated in order to provide space for Māori and Pasifika women to articulate aspects of their oppression but also, to an extent, transformation.

Conclusion

Black identifications for Māori and Pasifika women articulated three important points. The first was to make a political statement about hierarchies of power within a society that discriminated against Black women. The second was to engender a working local solidarity between Māori and Pasifika women, and a global solidarity with struggles of oppressed peoples, an important aspect for self-determination in relation to relative others. The third was to mobilise a movement where there could be an analysis of two primary sites of struggle for Māori and Pasifika women, namely racism and sexism. The koru, representing identification as fluid process of routes that highlight articulation's and constructions of self-determination relevant to the people expressing them explains; in short, the space to make these points was an essential part of these women's expression of self-determination, and that space was provided by identification with Blackness.

Chapter Six:

The personal is political

Envisioning whanaungatanga

The 'personal is political' was the theme of the era.

Sam Uta'i, personal interview, 2010

Who feels it, knows it.

Rita Marley, 1980

The purpose of this chapter is to address inadequacies within the existing body of Māori activist literature, and specifically to respond to literature that while illuminating in crucial ways, nevertheless downplays the significance of a 'personal is political' framework of the Black Women's Movement (Greenland, 1991; Poata-Smith, 2002). I argue that in order to understand the contributing factors of the Black Women's Movement to Māori activism, an analysis of the spaces in which Black women's activism took place is necessary. This analysis has so far been overlooked. The spaces, however, remain, and the work done there exemplifies Māori activism as a whole.

In particular, as mentioned above, the Black Women's Movement reflects the idea that the 'personal is political.' This is a phase that came out of radical feminist ideologies unfolding in the United States during the late 1960s, in support of consciousness-raising as a part of feminism as being a legitimate form of political action whereby women could re-interpret private experiences of exploitation in a shared, social and political space (Hanisch, 1969). Consciousness raising was a form of political thought first used by Mao Tse-tung in the Red Army mobilisations during the Cultural Revolution 'speaking bitterness campaign' of the 1920s but also influenced feminist political organising during the late 1960's. The founding idea of the personal as political as discussed by Hanisch identifies and rejects the public/private dichotomy as a tool by which women are excluded from public participation, while the daily tyrannies of men are protected from public scrutiny (Hurtado, 2004 p.18).

Interpretations of the idea of the personal is political vary, according to Hurtado; she suggests that gender subordination and political solidarity should be examined in the framework of culture and socio-economic context (Hurtado, 2004). Consequently, as feminists of colour argue, while 'the personal is political' is a useful framework, white feminism has applied it largely in its own service, and as such it has done so in insufficient reflection of the cultural contexts for women of colour, and insufficiently for women of colour's needs.

This insufficiency is one of the spaces the Black Women's Movement inhabited, and that this chapter addresses. This chapter examines the so-called dichotomy of the public and private spheres with reference to the framework of whanaungatanga, which broadly relates to maintaining a *quality* relationship through kinship, solidarity, or spiritual connections (McNatty and Roa, 2002). Using a whanaungatanga framework means the binaries of the public/private dichotomy become displaced in order to make visible a holistic environment from where whanaungatanga can be recognized and spaces of self - determination cultivated. The framework has also been chosen because of its focus on relationships which most of the women discussed in hindsight as being a driver within their assertions of 'the personal is political' - relationships of solidarity and relationships with their respective partners.

I argue that 'the personal is political' was a response taken by Black women upon the positions that they found themselves in when faced within the confines and binarism of the public/private dichotomy – not only at experiencing it, but also at having the dichotomy itself as the only tool through which it could be addressed. Consequently, 'the personal is political' as adopted by the Black Women's Movement highlighted issues pertinent to women in activism, but was also an attempt to highlight and address issues within relationships particularly between Black women and their male partners.

In order to show the significance of the 'personal is political' response, it is first necessary to highlight that Māori women have been acknowledged as leaders within the Māori activist movement from the 1970s and 1980s in the identifiable public sphere of Māori activism (note Walker, 2004; Poata-Smith, 2001). Yet these women, and many others, were also active in the private sphere and their contributions within this "personal" space were no less

political than their actions in public. Although it is unlikely that women would have seen one sphere as being more politically 'active' than the other, given the private/public dichotomy was imposed by a colonial patriarchal discourse, Black women had to operate in and across both. Being active in this sense was to assert self-determination and address issues of sexism in public and private. Indeed, in a patriarchal society, where the public/private/dichotomy depoliticizes women's issues, Māori alongside Pasifika women's issues were ignored and overlooked within the anti-racist or Tino Rangatiratanga movements. Issues pertinent to women were deemed irrelevant to the wider struggle. In other words, within these movements, women's concerns were 'the personal,' and thus had no place within the public political struggle.

In this chapter, I will work through whanaungatanga, and the particular subsets of the term as described by McNatty and Roa (2002) - these are wairua, whakapapa, manaakitanga and kotahitanga. This chapter will also discuss the relationships between Māori and Pasifika women and examine the tensions that eventually saw an internal fragmentation develop within the movement. An afterword is added where the women discuss the end of the movement in their own words and show the progression of their activism into new projects. This is an important aspect of the unfurling koru, the progression and transformation of self-determining projects as a result of resistance politics. As already discussed in chapter four – the mauri of Black power within Aotearoa was to have self-pride, self-determine and essentially decolonizing the colonized mind. For Black women, addressing issues of sexism within a patriarchal society included decolonizing relationships. It is important to note that I use the term whanaungatanga in both in a normative sense as well as a tool to explicate an empirical situation. Thus whanaungatanga is used as a tool of resistance to colonial patriarchal discourses and as a way to understand that resistance.

Wairua and whakapapa of whanaungatanga for Black women

As argued by McNatty and Roa (2002), in order to utilize a whanaungatanga framework, one must acknowledge the wairua aspect of the term. Wairua is essential to whanaungatanga as it highlights the holistic nature of Māori ways of knowing and seeing the world. This is doubly useful in the context of my thesis as it again displaces notions of binaries in general and public/private spheres in particular. From this, the philosophical connection the Black

Women's Movement made with 'the personal is political' strand of white feminism is explicable, and the personal, political inflections the movement made upon the idea are explicable too. Particularly, for the context of this thesis, mauri represents the wairua element or strand of whanaungatanga in terms of Black women.

Placing mauri with whanaungatanga in relation to the Black Women's Movement is to note how mauri might reignite ancestral whakapapa ties that Māori have to the Pacific via a tuākana-teina relationship. The tuākana-teina relationship highlights ancestral whakapapa ties between Māori and Pasifika peoples that literally connect both as peoples of the Pacific. Re-fusing this pre-existing tuākana-teina relationship is based upon the recognition of similar purposes, goals and ideals for Māori and Pasifika women who identified as Black. But importantly, instead of reverting to the traditional label of tuākana-teina in order to highlight their relationship, Māori and Pasifika women utilized a Black identification, an identification of being 'Black women' within urban Aotearoa.

However, 'Black women' were not in *opposition* to the relationship forged by tuākana-teina, but rather an expression of the fact that the concept naming the relationship between Māori and Pasifika peoples – tuākana-teina - existed as part of an idea that had a broader use and application than this one instance and an idea that was vital to the context that the Black Women's Movement was in. Rose Pere's explanation of whanaungatanga meaning 'global kinship ties' enables 'relative others' to be included within Black women's solidarity, not as tuākana-teina but as a case of relative others (Pere, 1982), and this was essential, as other Black women shared some of the same oppressions. In the case of the Black Women's Movement, Māori, Pasifika and other Black women worked as a collective, thus an understanding of self-determination with 'relative others' is recognized through whanaungatanga. In addition, working with relatives others requires care and reciprocity which is another subset within the whanaungatanga framework.

Manaakitanga – the mana of reciprocity

Manaakitanga may be understood as expressions of care and reciprocity within a whanaungatanga framework (McNatty and Roa, 2002). Paying attention to experiences of manaakitanga provides an insight into how reciprocity was a source of mana for Black women. Reciprocity was recognized at Black Women's Hui; local meetings and study groups

where personal political consciousness raising unfurled. Attendees at the First National Black Women's hui noted that through discussions of personal experiences, women found strength in others' stories, both through the solidarity found in the similarity of experiences, and also the space to recognize the systemic way that Black women were treated in their society (Awatere, 1980, p.4). Through the sharing of their stories women discovered the political nature of their private lives and relationships. Moreover, this discovery removed the isolation that some of the women highlighted but also provided an opportunity to analyze their individual experiences and issues as a collective,

You could say that there were workshops like the politics of the vagina or the politics of housework, you know, because I think that was important for us at the time to actually examine those issues because then Māori men never – they would work at the marae then they'd come back home and then it was like "okay, we're home now and it's all your business." You know, you've got to look after the house and all the rest of it, and yet there they were down at the marae cooking the kai, cleaning, and doing all of those things – do you think they could do that at home? Not on your nelly! So it was really useful for the women of the time to actually do workshops on the politics of housework. And the whole thing around the politics of the vagina was really about women's health. That's what that was about; it was to teach women how to actually look after themselves (Josie, personal interview, 2011).

In a normal Samoan household, women or girls would do everything, including cleaning up after their brothers, it was totally normal. But because in Samoa the guys cook, the girls don't, so the girls did the domestics stuff, the weaving, and clean up after the men. In the cooking house it's usually the men. But what happened when they got to New Zealand was that all the girls did everything inside the house, and the notion [remained] that all the boys did everything outside of the house. So of course, the boys did nothing. I mean come on, mowing the lawn? Please, spear me! (Sam, personal interview, 2010).

Arguably Black women used the workshops to analyze and discuss the ways in which the spheres were already subverted. Yet in order to see the significance of the movement, perhaps a more pertinent point is what they brought to the public realm for debate. In this regard, what is most noticeable are the ways in which the women sought to take care of the relationships they had with each other (this is especially highlighted by Miriama below on page 86).

The mana of reciprocity also happens within the private. While it is important to note for example, that the private can be a site of oppression but is also as a realm of cultural reproduction, care and family - opposite to the public. While the private can be a site of oppression, it can also be a site of reciprocity; family and cultural reproduction (see hooks, 1984). This is an important dialectic in that it brings to light the private as a site of oppression and empowerment which is often dependent upon mutually respectful relationships.

Thus the direction and anticipated outcome of bringing the personal into the political particularly for the Tino Rangatiratanga movement would require both Māori men and women to recognize the worth of non-oppressive relationships within the private spheres of the home or within relationships. While sexism within Māori activism could be attributed to 'colonial patriarchal discourses' (Mikaere, 1995), some Māori and Pasifika women within the Black Women's Movement sought to build mutually complementary relationships with men in the face of an extreme sexism (as demonstrated below) rather than remain within a binary relationship where one is privileged and the other is marginalized as a result of gender.

Women supported each other through a process that was twofold: building upon solidarity, and highlighting issues with male or female partners in the home and seeking ways to address them. Both were important to the wider struggle of Tino Rangatiratanga in terms of addressing colonial patriarchy.

Kotahitanga: no one is free until everyone is free

Kotahitanga refers to a collective unity (McNatty and Roa, 2002) and is used alongside the quote, 'nobody is free until everyone is free' by Fannie Lou Hamer to highlight the

oppression of African American's people against racism during the civil rights movement (Kay, 1993). For this thesis, kotahitanga is used to demonstrate that while Black women struggled alongside their men in the anti-racist struggle, they also struggled against them or at least, their attitudes in terms of sexism, whether this be within the anti-racist struggles or in the personal homes of women involved. Yet what is important to note here is the efforts women made in highlighting and addressing these issues of sexism. One of the key points that came from the interviews which summed up the women's position of kotahitanga is aptly stated by Black American feminist Barbara Smith,

Acknowledging the sexism of Black men does not mean we become man haters or necessarily eliminate them from our lives. What it does mean, is that we must struggle for a different basis of interaction with them (Smith, 1979, p.123).

One such interaction that the women spoke of in relation to male sexism is highlighted by Miriama:

you know like in the Black Women's Movement we had a men's group, we did, we insisted and we told the men to get their shit together, have a men's group, sort out your crap, sort out your attitudes because we were no longer, the women were no longer putting up with it (Miriama, personal interview, 2011).

Miriama makes an important point which deserves recognition; self-determination was not only sought after by women for women. Men too were encouraged to engage with other men to address issues pertaining to men's position within a colonial patriarchal society. Several women mentioned Māori men's groups in action around the same time as the Black Women's Movement. Josie acknowledged the Whakahoe men's group for cooking food and caring for children during the Black Women's Hui, and the formation of Tane Kaha in Auckland. Sam notes that in the Wellington region, parallel to Nga Tuahine was BROS: Brothers against Racism, Oppression, and Sexism. Noting the existence of men's groups in parallel to the women's groups is important; not only is this an under-reported phenomenon in scholarship discussing Māori activist groups of the era, but also, it highlights one of the more positive aspects of a mutual space where both men's and women's groups could

simultaneously address issues pertinent to them. The main point to make here is that while the Black Women's Movement in the media (see Awatere, 1980) spoke of a separatism from men, or where women would lead men, the interviews from women here show that in parallel to women's only groups, were men's only groups.

Yet another theme to emerge was the women's self-determination against violence in the whanau as noted by Sam,

Then there was my older brother, I found out he gave his partner at the time a hiding, so I went around there and went ape, and so, because it wasn't the sort of thing you spoke about in the family, just having that awareness in the women's thing, made it easier to address those issues. Because if people in your whānau saw that it wasn't acceptable, then it meant that it wasn't accepted and could [then] ask, why the hell was it happening, why are we condoning it? (Sam, personal interview, 2010).

Sam reflected that it was completely "off the wall" to confront her brother in the manner that she had. But claiming the space of confronting violence in the home – particularly from a partner or an elder is an aspect of the self-determination that Black women encompassed. Again it is important to reflect upon Hamer's quote (in Kay, 1993) 'a group cannot be liberated if half of their peoples are oppressed.'

In this respect, Miriama raises another important point of their self-determination - the recognition of violence being seen on others; recognizing that violence was an aspect of some of these women's lives and being 'there' to support,

And always just, you know, cover each other's backs was the other thing. Because there was so many of our sisters that were getting it and some of them were too scared to even speak about it ... (Miriama, personal interview, 2011).

Supporting women was not only for the women who personally experienced violence but for Black women as a group that sought to address issues of battering and violence of Māori and Pasifika women as an issue of sexism. In some cases; alongside of their men:

And I remember the men's group, if anyone mistreated their women ... which did happen a few times ... our men would go out there [South Auckland] and deal to them. If it happened with us, their men would come in and deal to our men. Which our men did go out to one of the guy's out there that mistreated his lady, beat her up ... our men went out there and knocked him out (Miriamā, personal interview, 2011).

There is a sense of irony here in that there is a tacit acceptance that violence is a way to deal with violence. Of course the Black Women's Movement was not a passive or non-violence resistance movement, but Miriamā's comments show perhaps the internal violence that both women and men were exposed to, and dealing with.

Black women were also in confronting sexual violence within the whānau or within intimate relationships (see Awatere, 1980, p.4). An Auckland Black Women's group spoke of setting up a Black Women's Refuge (Rankine, 1983, p. 18). Sam noted that,

it's probably because we didn't have a term, but the sexual abuse thing ... no one knew what to call it, because if you look back then, the whole notion of sexual abuse in the whānau, was huge back in the day (Sam, personal interview, 2010).

Sexual violence was discussed at the first Black Women's National Hui and in particular, the gang rape of women (see Awatere, 1980, p.4). Sam comments on her recollection of supporting a discussion with Black women from Ngā Tuahine approaching the Black Power gang in Wellington to stop gang rape as part of their initiation process:

It was a big issue for gangs as it was a common initiation practice from the Black Power and the (Mongrel) Mob (Sam, personal interview, 2010).

In sum Miriamā notes self-determination was asserted, alongside relative others because no one was going to give them power to self-determine,

There was nothing that we couldn't and we did not do, you know, to stand up for our own rights. And we did it ourselves. No-one else, you know, no

palagi (Samoan word for European) people, or palagi women or whatever did it for us. We did it ourselves (Miriam, personal interview, 2011).

Hence, within whanaungatanga, the subset of kotahitanga and its relationship to personal political consciousness-raising explains the centrality and importance of Black women's decisions and actions in confronting sexism in the spaces that were unseen in the public, but oppressive within the private. This was leadership; guiding community attitudes, as Sam's experience illustrates, and it was self-determination; confronting sexism and determining the self as one who will not accept it. Essentially, as Miriam acknowledges, "we did it ourselves."

Politics are personal – the waxing and waning of mauri

In Alison Jones' article *Radical Feminism; a critique*, Jones focuses on the 'Hierarchy of Oppressions' where radical feminist groups could apply a framework which both reinforced the basic certainty of women's shared oppression *and* encompass its diversity (1992, p.306). Jones argues that within this framework was the idea that while all women were oppressed within a patriarchal system, there were some who were more so than others (1992). Such ideas eventually began to take shape within the Black Women's Movement. Despite ideas of solidarity for Māori and Pasifika as Black women, tensions rose to the fore as a result of different understandings of the politics of Black women. Indeed a notable factor of an evolving fluid political base is sure to create tensions over what is prioritized or deemed as the political basis for women involved. Within the unfolding movement Peta and Josie stated that internal hierarchies began to develop from within and a hardening of identification into fixed identities began to appear,

... that was the intensity of the Movement, that to be absolutely true and staunch to the politics, you know, like true, true, true to the politics, you had to be a Black lesbian feminist. So of course, you can imagine what that meant for those who might have been in relationships with Pākehā, or in relationships with men (Peta, personal interview, 2011).

Yeah, I think at the time a lot of women's rights got confused with gender, or, no sexuality, sorry. ... The whole thing was that if you were really into

women's rights then you would love women in all ways, so you would give up your relationship with a man if you were heterosexual. You would change and become homosexual. You'd become a lesbian. It just didn't make any sense. The whole thing just did not make sense. You could understand the political rhetoric and you could appreciate it but there was just no way that those of us who were heterosexual were going to move to become lesbian. It just was not going to happen (Josie, personal interview, 2011).

In addition, the relationship between Māori and Pasifika women within the movement was respectively empowering for both but was also filled with tensions. Difference was highlighted as one of the main issues within the movement and became a fragmenting point between Māori and Pasifika women.

I think the Pacific women found the Māori women too serious and the Māori women found the Pacific women too frivolous about the issues and hence the splitting of ways again. That doesn't mean to say that some of the things that the Māori women were doing weren't also done by Pacific women, so they did the same sorts of things, just a little bit more light hearted than the Māori women, cause us Māori women, we were just so deadly serious about things (Josie, personal interview, 2011).

For Māori women, the issues of language and land loss were keenly felt, given the context of Aotearoa being a colonised country, and the intergenerational disconnect between elders and youth in the broader Māori activist movement working to retain aspects of Māori culture that were threatened. These issues were not necessarily as urgent for Pasifika women, despite their sympathizing with the cause. As Peta explains:

We started to look at ourselves in relation to each other and what our roles were and so, the whole movement was a Māori led movement, as it should be, and that for Pacific peoples while we were dealing with civil rights issues of migrant peoples, like people getting done over in their jobs and housing issues, but Māori women, because the Māori women were preoccupied issues with around Māori land and Māori language and so, you know. We had a common struggle but we were different (Peta, personal interview, 2011).

Ultimately, a defining point of the unfurling koru of Black identification was its dialectical nature. On the one hand, the movement enabled women to come together across ethnic, cultural differences in order to build solidarity, in order to build a voice and construct an identification that could empower those involved. Yet on the other hand, foundational differences of long-term politics and the process of identification nevertheless threw into sharper relief the hierarchies of oppression between the women, effectively leading to identity politics.

But perhaps another way to think about such politics relates to the concept of *mauri*, how it waxes and wanes dependent on context and a collective or personal willingness – it waxes at its height but wanes when feelings of disrespect or neglect unfold (Pere, 1982). The hardening of identification to an identity shows the waning of *mauri* as opposed to its waxing within the movement's early beginnings.^{xvi} As ideas, ideals and politics changed, so too did the *mauri* that sustained the movement. Yet importantly for Black lesbian activists involved, such waning may have been considered as waxing; a new *mauri* for Black lesbians. The same might be said for those who chose another route from which to assert their self-determination. Indeed, such is the nature of the unfurling koru and the power of transformation within a colonial society.

According to Dann, Māori and Pasifika women's groups were meeting separately by the end of 1982 and in 1983 the first Māori Women's National Hui was held (1985, p.37). Both groups of women set up separate working groups in their respective communities. But, in hindsight and as Josie recalls, the intensity of Black Women's movement was swift, 'it had its own *mauri*, it had its own time, it did what it needed to do at that time and then when its time was over, it was gone' (Josie, personal interview, 2011).

Afterword - Unfurling routes of self-determination

The unfurling routes of self-determination for the women interviewed for this thesis is clear from their own words, but also the fact that their journeys continued onto other projects, such as the revitalization of Te Reo Māori and the emergence of the Twelve Tribes of Israel Rastafarian faith in Aotearoa. Hence, self-determination is described here as fertile, a transformative continuation of ideas as they emerge dependant on context and people. But, like the spiral of the koru, the transformation process is both a part of the journey itself, and

a result of the journey; where the self-determining consciousness or subject transforms into something else as a result of where one has been. Consequently, it is important to this thesis to consider the voices of the women who highlight some of their own progressions onto other 'routes' from which they continued to assert their self-determination and Tino Rangatiratanga.

As Josie said,

So, you know, the movement served a purpose and the women who grew out of that movement, they went on to be involved and engaged and to serve elsewhere, like Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa (Josie, personal interview, 2011).^{xvii}

Sam addresses the same phenomenon:

I think Nga Tuahine sort of died a natural death when the Pacific Island Women's Project (PIWP) came up, because PIWP was set up basically so that government would have a specific response to family violence (Sam, personal interview, 2010).^{xviii}

As does Miriama:

And most of us then at that time, all of us, we became Rastas. So we were on our way out anyway. On our way out in the sense of that, you know ... we'd gone one better (Miriama, personal interview, 2011).^{xix}

And Ripeka:

Then we morphed into a wider kind of informal Black unity movement as part of the Springbok Tour effort. From the time of the Springbok Tour then what clearly emerged was a really much stronger and invigorated issues based Māori Sovereignty and Tino Rangatiratanga movement. So that's how I see the passage from my perspective anyway (Ripeka, personal interview, 2011).^{xx}

And Peta:

So we reached the destination and end point with Black where we could no longer rationalise a Black movement. ... So for me, the logical extension of that was I needed to go home. For me as a first generation Samoan who was born in New Zealand, I needed to go home ... and learn my language ... stand on my land and understand who I am as a Samoan. In order for me to be effective and in order for me to make a difference I had to go home and learn from my elders. So that was an inevitable part of my journey as well (Peta, personal interview, 2011).

Conclusion

This chapter is informed largely by participant's voices and experiences of the 'personal is political' in relation to the Black Women's Movement. The first part of this chapter focuses on specific strands of whanaungatanga (McNatty and Roa, 2002) as a holistic framework that intellectually displaces the public/private dichotomy provided by colonial patriarchy, and practically enhances 'the personal is political' as a political tool for consciousness-raising and community building amongst Black women. Making the personal political meant creating a sense of community and solidarity, while removing sources of social isolation. It was this sense of community that created a source of empowerment for political action in personal spaces. An important aspect of this political action was the fact that these Black women had a voice in how to politicize their personal lives. Moreover it promoted opportunities to confront sexism whilst simultaneously building mutually complimentary relationships with respective male partners and whānau members. This chapter has offered an insight into Māori and Pasifika women's understandings and experiences of the Black Women's Movement from 1978 – 1982, and moreover, their progression onwards as women working within and for their respective communities. This much is apparent in their own words.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

When I think back to the Black Women's Movement, I honestly think that that's the way forward. ... that we build on our ancestral links.

Peta Si'ulepa, personal interview, 2011

This thesis has provided an examination of the Black Women's Movement, highlighting how Māori and Pasifika women unfurled a politics of self-determination within an urban Aotearoa during the late 1970s, early 1980s. It has attempted to challenge two assumptions; the first within Māori activist literature, that personal political consciousness-raising has limited value within descriptions of the wider struggles of Tino Rangatiratanga; and the second, that Black identification is an evasion of Indigenous struggle, and an identification that has no history within Aotearoa. In critiquing these assumptions, this thesis provides new understandings of the spaces where Māori and Pasifika women's activism takes place, and of how identification rather than identity provides an insight into the relational journeys of self-determination that are fluid, responsive and fertile, rather than fixed, set and immobile. In this closing section of the thesis, I will conclude by briefly reiterating the empirical studies I have employed, and reinforcing the key arguments I have presented throughout. Finally, I highlight potential areas where future research on the topic of this thesis could lead.

The first chapter highlighted themes within the Black Women's Movement that current Māori activist literature has retrospectively overlooked. These themes relate specifically to personal political organising and seeking self-determination in relation to relative others. The second and third chapters highlighted the methodological and theoretical threads that are weaved together for this enquiry and presented as a tāniko kete. I drew from both semi-structured in-depth interviews with four Māori and two Samoan women, and archival documents and records of the era. The research design of this thesis entwined Kaupapa Māori, mana wāhine, Indigenous, Black and Western feminist ideas in order to examine Māori and Pasifika women's identification as Black women during 1978 – 1982. I was careful and reflexive in my consideration of methodologies for this research, as the act of research itself is a political process. My subjectivity as the researcher was presented as a point of

difference in light of objective, rational and scientific ways of collating information. Indigenous concepts of mauri, koru and whanaungatanga were presented as the tools of enquiry in order to explicate the global currents and influences of Black Power, Māori and Pasifika women's self-determining Black identification, and the personal is political as a challenge to colonial patriarchal public/private dichotomies.

Mauri explained the fluid process of how ideas become generated and charged within particular contexts, which then gives rise to specific instances of mauri through the actions of peoples willing and committed to the ideas generated. In the context of US articulations of Black Power of the 1960's, ideas and themes of *self*-determination decolonisation and self-pride resonated with oppressed peoples across world. These themes became manifest in Aotearoa by way of a Black identification as one strategy that connected Māori and Pasifika activists to a global struggle against racism alongside publically challenging notions of 'great race relationships' in a mono-cultural Aotearoa; essentially bringing race relations to the forefront of debate. By the late 1970's Black identification was intensely adopted by Māori and Pasifika women who used the term to form solidarity but to articulate their unique voices in the struggle that were different from those in the Women's Liberation Movement and the Māori Women's Welfare League.

Presenting 'routes as part of an unfurling koru' enabled me to discuss Black identification as a process, which was not oppositional to Indigenous affirmations of self-determination but rather, an unfurling of multiple positions of self in relation to relative others. Routes were presented here as self-determining actions taken by Black women that unfolded in a fluid and dynamic manner. Yet this fluidity was indicative for the development of hierarchies to also unfold. Notably those who were 'brown', heterosexual or in relationships with Pākehā were eventually considered as less committed to the politics of Black women and were shaken out of the movement. This hardening of identity is explained here as a waning of mauri; that the change in politics from the movements inception also meant a change in the mauri that sustained it. Yet, as I have argued, this implosion should not be the defining factor of the movement nor presented to highlight that personalised politics have limited relevance in a nationalist struggle. The personal is political had value for the women who used it which is presented here through their own voices within the whanaungatanga framework.

What is important about activism that takes place concurrently within the public and private spaces is the notion of community and relationships which I have explored using a whanaungatanga framework. While the Black Women's Movement appeared to address two binary oppositions: black against white and men against women; *quality relationships* were highlighted from the interview data as being a key driver of the personal political consciousness-raising within the movement. In other words, Black women's analysis focused on the reclaiming of Māori and Pasifika understandings of the power and status of women, *and* creating mutually complimentary relationships between the sexes rather than having relationships as being fixed within a binarism of privilege and marginalisation based on gender. As I have demonstrated, the personal is political served as a powerful tool for women who used it in order to analyse aspects of their own oppression, to build solidarity with relative others and to address issues relative to their personal experiences.

Whanaungatanga provided a space from which the public/private dichotomy were intellectually displaced in order to create spaces of solidarity through manaakitanga amongst the women, but to also challenge sexism in the private lives of the women. Kotahitanga was used to highlight the spaces of women's and men's groups as positive steps in analysing gendered relationships within a colonised society. This relates to challenging spaces where one gender is oppressed because of a patriarchal society. It relates to the koru unfurling a politics that were used to address the issues of being an oppressed gender within a colonised society.

But more importantly, using whanaungatanga as a concept allowed for the women's voices to dispel the way in which colonial patriarchal public/private dichotomy exorcises the political from the personal – in that the private as a place of love, care and reciprocity is also a space of politics. It is within the Black Women's Movement (among other women's groups) that the issues of politics in the private were reflected upon, and confronted. Using whanaungatanga allows for us to see then how the Black Women's Movement was exemplary of - not derivative of or secondary to - the mauri and koru of Māori activism in general.

Legacy of Black women

The focus of this thesis indicates that the legacy of the Black Women's Movement sits within their ideas of self-determination in relation to 'relative others', namely their solidarity as Black women. As I have demonstrated, their shared collective and individual lived experiences bought forth ideas and insights for establishing strategies to resist racism and sexism within their communities. Their focus on building and maintaining quality relationships, however, was challenged by notions of internal hierarchies of oppression, which eventually fed into an internal unravelling of the movement.

Perhaps then the legacy of the Black Women's Movement exemplifies both some of the key challenges and creative responses of Māori and Pasifika activism of this period rather than being derivative or secondary to the mainstream of Māori and Pasifika activist groups such as Ngā Tamatoa, Waitangi Action Committee and the Polynesian Panthers. These key challenges were found in confronting personal relationships where sexist attitudes limited the success of relationships within the mutual struggle for Tino Rangatiratanga within a colonised Aotearoa.

Nevertheless Peta's statement above alludes to 'building upon ancestral ties' as one way to move forward within a colonising society. Western notions of individualism and dichotomous ways of seeing and being in the world have, in part, changed the fabric of Māori and Pasifika communities. Building and maintaining ancestral ties as Indigenous Māori and Pasifika challenges these Western constructs within colonising societies.

Future research

The confines of a master's thesis have restricted the scope of this research. As such there is a variety of ways in which future research of the Black Women's Movement could be further explored. For example, the women interviewed for this thesis provide context for specific aspects of their experiences of the movement in two locations, namely Auckland and Wellington. An engagement with Black women's subjectivity in relation to other regions, such as Dunedin, Northland, and Tauranga is beyond the scope of this thesis but presents an important opportunity for future research in order to understand the fluid nature of Black

identification as interpreted by the women in locations that were out of the main centres of Aotearoa. Other areas that could provide a deeper and fuller context of the overall significance of the movement would be to source interviews with Indian and other 'Black' women involved. Additionally, the perspective of male and female partners and lesbian women within the Black Dykes would enable a deeper analysis of the gendered aspects within the movement.

Conclusion

There has been no easy way to determine an end to this research, based upon the reassertions of self-determination articulated by Black women in urban Aotearoa. Perhaps this is because self-determination within colonised societies is on-going, but imaginative and transformative, as seen in the interviewee's progression to and involvement with, other community, language and social justice projects.

This thesis gives space to the voices of the women from the Black Women's Movement because, importantly, as Peta acknowledges,

It's not just our story. It's your story. It's my moko's story, you know. It's our story. We just started the journey. But it doesn't mean ... we don't own that story. It's a story to be continued and I'm hoping that this is a story that engenders hope and inspiration to young people as they come through (Peta, personal interview, 2010).

To conclude I return to the concept of mauri, as it waxes and wanes dependent on a willingness of people and context, perhaps currently in flux, waiting for the next resurgence of Black identification within Māori and Pasifika women's spaces of self-determination and Tino Rangatiratanga.

GLOSSARY

Aotearoa - New Zealand

Hapū – sub tribe, be pregnant

Hine tū, hine ora - she stands, she lives (Awatere, Broadsheet).

Iwi - tribe, human bone

Kanohi ki te kanohi - face to face, in person

Kaitiaki - trustee, guardian, caretaker

Kaupapa - topic, subject, theme

Kete - basket, kit

Koha – custom of giving gifts

Kōhanga Reo - Māori language preschool

Kotahitanga – a collective unity

Kōrero - talk, to speak, narrative

Koru – a plant, or fern

Kura Kaupapa - School operating under Māori custom or using Māori as the method of instruction

Mana - prestige, authority, control, power, influence

Mokopuna - grandchild (ren)

Pākehā – European New Zealanders

Papatūānuku – Earth Mother

Raupo – a plant, used in weaving

Rangatiratanga – the governance and leadership of iwi and hapū by being interconnected.

Taonga - treasure, goods, possession

Tā Moko – traditional Māori tattooing, all symbols having meaning, usually of tribal links

Tāniko – to finger weave, embroider, often seen on the boarder of cloaks

Tangata Whenua - people of the land

Te Ao Māori - Māori world

Teina - younger sister of a female, or younger brother of a male

Tino Rangatiratanga - self-determination, sovereignty, right to exercise authority, ownership

Tuākana - older sibling

Tupuna- ancestor

Tūrangawaewae place to stand, place where one has rights of residence

Manaakitanga – expressions of care and reciprocity

Mana Motuhake - a Māori Political Party which was founded in 1980 by Matiu Rata.

Marae - open area in front of meeting house, also refers to general complex of buildings and land

Mauri – life force

Wairuatanga – spiritual embodiment

Wāhine - women

Whakapapa- genealogy, descent lines

Whakataukī- proverb, saying

Whānau - family, to be born, give birth

The translations used in this glossary were sourced from a variety of sources *The Reed Dictionary of modern Māori* (Ryan 1995); *Whanaungatanga: an illustration of the importance of cultural context* (McNatty and Roa, 2002) and *Te Aka Māori-English; English-Māori Dictionary and Index* (Moorfield, 2011). It is important to note that there can and are various different meanings for these words depending on the context used or geographical locale of the speaker/ reader. I have presented the most common translation(s) of the word.

APPENDIX ONE:

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

JOSIE KEELAN

Why were Māori women so deadly serious about the Black Women's Movement as opposed to Pacifica women?

How many women were involved and how many hui were there?

Where did the term 'black' come from?

Were the men identifying as Black in Ngā Tamatoa?

Was there a Māori men's movement?

Do you think the movement may have lasted longer had there not had been as violent as it became?

MIRIAMA RAUHIHI-NESS

How did you become involved in the Black Women's Movement?

Did the Black Women's Movement and the Māori women's movement exist at the same time? Were there overlaps between women involved in both movements?

What did you do after the movement ended?

How did the movement end?

SAM UTA'I

How old were you when you became involved in the Black Women's Movement?

What was the relationship between Ngā Tuahine and other groups within the movement?

How long did Ngā Tuahine go on for as a group?

Was there a lot of communication between Ngā Tuahine and say the groups in Tamaki?

RIPEKA EVANS

What sort of relationship did Black women have with the Māori Women's Welfare League?

Do you have any comments about why the movement was called the Black Women's Movement and not the Polynesian Movement, for example?

How did the movement start?

What sort of opportunities were there to network with other Black women internationally?

PETA SI'ULEPA:

How did you become to be involved in Ngā Tuahine?

What sort of work did Ngā Tuahine do with the Prison Collective?

Who was involved in the Black Women's Movement?

You did a speaking tour with Ripeka Evans, can you please tell me a bit more about that?

NGAHUIA TE AWEKOTUKU

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku gave her life story in this interview and I did not need to ask questions.

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END NOTES

ⁱ Like Naomi Simmonds (2009) and Leonie Pihama (2001), I use the term Māori in this thesis but I wish to problematise its use. It is argued that the term Māori is a convenient colonial construction used to classify and categorise the Tangata Whenua of Aotearoa. I use the term not as a generalisation or homogenising term but “as a political concept that identifies collectively the Indigenous Peoples of this land” (Pihama 2001, 1).

ⁱⁱ I use Tino Rangatiratanga in relation to *Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi* (see Orange, 1987) although I am aware of the conceptualisations of Tino Rangatiratanga that different authors have discussed. For example see Durie, M. (1998) *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self Determination*, and Kawharau, I. (1989). *Waitangi: Māori and Pākehā Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Also, for a discussion on Mana Motuhake see Paroa, Tuiono and Flavell, (2011), *Tino Rangatiratanga and mana motuhake: Nation state and self-determination in Aotearoa, New Zealand*.

ⁱⁱⁱ Similar to the term Māori – I acknowledge that Pasifika is also a problematic term in that it homogenises a wider diverse group of Indigenous Peoples of the Pacific into one category. In order to clarify, for the purposes of this thesis the term Pasifika refers to women of Samoan, Cook Island, Tongan, Fijian, Tokelauan, Niuean and Tuvaluan descent (Teaiwa et al, 2005, p.208).

^{iv} On the topic of Black and Indigenous Peoples political alliances and tensions in North America, see bell hooks. (1994). *Revolutionary Renegades: Native Americans, African Americans and Black Indians*; Zainab Amadahy & Bonita Lawrence, (2009), *Indigenous Peoples and Black People in Canada: Settlers or Allies?* For an Aotearoa context of Māori and Black translations of self-determination, see Shilliam, R. (2011), *Keskidee Aroha: Translation on the Colonial Stage*.

^v In 2003, Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi were recognised posthumously by an international delegation of representatives of Martin Luther King Jnr, Mahatma Gandhi, and Daisaku Ikeda for their foundational work and sacrifice as fathers of non-violent action. See the History of Parihaka (<http://www.parihaka.com>).

^{vi} Pioneers of negritude include Aime Cesaire (1950) *Discourse on colonialism* although some of his work was considered to represent a ‘masculinist view of Blackness’ that ignored the internal unequal relations of gender (McLeod, 2010, p. 93-101).

^{vii} For recent commentary on Kaupapa Māori responses to struggles within the academy in general see, *Kei Tua o te Pae Hui Proceedings – the challenges of Kaupapa Māori research in the 21st century* (2011), in particular, Jackson (p. 71-81) and Mikaere (p. 29-38); and Edwards, S. (2010) *The Academic Addiction: the Western Academy as an Intimate Enemy of Mātauranga Wānanga*.

^{viii} For an example of a Pasifika methodological model see, Anae, M. (2010). *Research for better Pacific schooling in New Zealand: Teu le va – a Samoan perspective*, (p.2). Also see

Vaioleti, T. (2006). *Talanoa Research Methodology: A Developing Position on Pacific Research*.

^{ix} This table has been reprinted with permission of Dr Jessica Hutchings who asked that Linda Tuhiwai Smith's authorship of the agenda also be acknowledged (Smith, 1999, p.115-118).

^x Mauri has been used by a variety of scholars within various disciplines, for example, Mason Durie (2001) in the field of Māori health; Kepa Morgan (2004) in the context of environmental science and engineering sustainability; and Josie Keelan (2009) in relation to Māori entrepreneurship.

^{xi} The political 'Mauri Pacific Party' which formed in 1998 was another attempt at bringing Māori and Pasifika people together as a united political front. For more information on the Mauri Pacific Party see Cook, H. (2008). *Pacific People in Parliament - a case study of minority representation in New Zealand*. (p. 65-70).

^{xii} The internal colonial metaphor is used by a variety of different political actors in order to discuss structural oppression, for example see Brent de Bary (1997). *Sanya: Japan's internal colony* and Alberta Palloni, (1979). *Internal colonialism or clientelistic politics? The case of southern Italy*.

^{xiii} In this passage, I interpret Ngahuia as speaking from her recollections of the era, rather than as someone who was directly involved in the movement.

^{xiv} See Jones, A. (1992). Radical feminism – a critique. In R. Du Plessis, P. Bunkle, K. Irwin, A. Laurie, S. Middleton, (Ed.), *Feminists Voices: Women's studies texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand* (pp. 300-317).

^{xv} Other examples of Eurocentric ideas pertaining to Māori during early colonial settlement in Aotearoa include Edward Tregear, (1885). *The Aryan Māori*.

^{xvi} Another example of the waxing and waning of mauri and the Black Women's Movement is notable during an interview with Ripeka Evans who perceived Blackness in Aotearoa to be a misnomer:

... the issue around black consciousness is that it's something artificial. You know, it's a transplanted consciousness that doesn't come from this land and this experience and this is what has made the difference to whether or not it sustained as a consciousness, and clearly it hasn't (Ripeka, personal interview, 2011).

Ripeka's comments might be seen as a demonstration of the waxing and waning of mauri that underlines how Black women could form an intense solidarity and connection with Blackness but then eventually dis-band onto other projects -later dismissing ideas behind what once claimed to be a 'statement of pride' (see p.74).

^{xvii} For a discussion on the Kura Kaupapa Movement, see Fleras, A. (1987).

Re-defining the Politics over Aboriginal Language Renewal: Māori Language Preschools as Agents of Social Change.

^{xviii} Information on the Pacific Islands Women Project can be found in Peteru, C. (1993). Pacific Island Women's Organisations Aotearoa 1983 in A. Else (ed). *Women Together. A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand. Ngā Rōpu Wāhine o te Motu.*

^{xix} Miriama Rauhihi-Ness's comment of "gone one better" is sketched out by Tigilau Ness in 'Rasta in Aotearoa' from 1981; "we haven't time to fight this black/white thing. It wearies you. Rasta is an alternative way." (Ness in Campbell, 1981, p.18-19). For a recent commentary of the Rastafarian movement in Aotearoa which features Miriama Rauhihi-Ness, see Rauhihi-Ness, M. (2011). *Twelve Tribes of Israel Outernational* and Shilliam, R. (2014 – forth coming). *The Black Pacific: Anticolonial Struggles and Oceanic Connections.*

^{xx} For a commentary on the 1981 Springbok Tour, see Mita, M. (1983). *Patu!* (Film/Documentary). New Zealand: New Zealand on Air. For a discussion on Black Unity and the union movement, see Locke, C. (2012). Māori Sovereignty, Black Feminism and the New Zealand Trade Union Movement. in Williams C. *Indigenous Women and Work: From Labour to Activism.* University of Illinois Press, (p.254-268).