

# HIST480

## Race relations in New Zealand Through an Analysis of *Broadsheet* Magazine 1972-1989

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*'This dissertation is submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of BA Honours in History at the University of Canterbury. This dissertation is the result of my own work. Material from the published or unpublished work of other historians used in the dissertation is credited to the author in the footnote references. The dissertation is approximately 10, 881 words in length'*

# Abstract

This research essay addresses race relations within the context of New Zealand second wave feminism, 1972-1989. The 1970s and 1980s are decades recognised for the increased tension in the relationship between Maori and Pakeha society. I argue that race relations were a crucial aspect of second wave feminism in New Zealand at this time. This history is signified by an important primary source, the New Zealand feminist magazine *Broadsheet*. I argue that the progression that Maori women made over time to gain a space within New Zealand second wave feminism reflected deeper issues of race relations in wider New Zealand society. Themes that emerge from a close analysis of *Broadsheet* magazine include Maori women's questioning of the relevance of New Zealand second wave feminism for them, the important contribution that Maori women made to New Zealand second wave feminism, and the growing but necessary confrontation between Maori and Pakeha women.

# Table of Contents

Introduction .....	3
Chapter One.....	5
Relevance Questioned Early .....	5
The United Women’s Conventions.....	10
Chapter Two .....	14
Donna Awatere.....	14
<i>Maori Sovereignty</i> .....	16
Response.....	19
‘Oppression(s)?’ .....	22
Chapter Three .....	26
Maori Women Contribute .....	26
New Zealand Race Relations .....	31
Conclusion.....	36
Bibliography .....	37

# Introduction

New Zealand second wave feminism was a pivotal movement that challenged the position that women held within society. In New Zealand, race relations and the relationship between Maori and Pakeha was of high importance during the 1970s and 1980s, and occurred in parallel to second wave feminism. The relationship between Maori and Pakeha women within second wave feminism, demonstrated the nature of discontent between Maori and Pakeha in wider New Zealand society. *Broadsheet* magazine represented such issues from a feminist perspective. This perspective is important because women, and especially Maori women, played a key role in challenging dominant ideas in regards to race relations in New Zealand.

Secondary sources, often written by feminists themselves, regularly discuss the positive impact that Maori women had on the direction of New Zealand second wave feminism. Evidently it was the greater attention that was placed on the concerns with New Zealand race relations by Maori women that was significant, with the result being an increased awareness of such issues for Pakeha women.<sup>1</sup>

Maori women being able to have a voice in *Broadsheet* was an aspect that increased as New Zealand second wave feminism progressed. Therefore, what instigated this progression is a thought-provoking question. *Broadsheet* was directly related to New Zealand women. Church noted that this was 'New Zealand's own particular brand of feminism,' therefore reflecting New Zealand feminist uniqueness.<sup>2</sup> As *Broadsheet* can be understood as an illustration of the movement itself, it gives an insight into the space made for Maori women within New Zealand second wave feminism. Race relations themes are interwoven as an integral part of New Zealand second wave feminism. The major themes identified and discussed in this essay are the perceived relevance of second wave feminism for Maori women, the important contribution that Maori women made to New Zealand second wave feminism, and the growing but necessary confrontation between Maori and Pakeha women.

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<sup>1</sup> Christine Dann, *Up From Under: Women and Liberation in New Zealand, 1970-1985* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin : Port Nicholson Press, 1985), pp. 37-38.

<sup>2</sup> Toni Church, 'A stage of tolerance and understanding', *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 38. 'Broadsheet' was typed in bold in the original article, which emphasised the name of the magazine.

This research paper includes three chapters which draw on aspects that illustrate the importance of New Zealand race relations within second wave feminism. Chapter One begins with the early identification of the lack of relevance of dominant narratives in second wave feminism for Maori women, and how the United Women's Conventions acted as a symbol of the growing discontent of Maori women. Chapter Two conveys the influence of Donna Awatere and her momentous text *Maori Sovereignty*, the initial responses to *Maori Sovereignty*, and the questioning of the focus of New Zealand second wave feminism. Chapter Three pays attention to the significant contribution of Maori women, and the connection between second wave feminism and wider New Zealand race relations.

The key argument and contribution of this research essay is that how *Broadsheet* portrayed the attitudes of, and the relationship between, Maori and Pakeha women reveals an important part of the history of second wave feminism and race relations in New Zealand at the time. I demonstrate that race matters were specifically central to New Zealand second wave feminism, and that the concerns and achievements were an important component in New Zealand race relations more generally.

# Chapter One

## Relevance Questioned Early

The origins of Pakeha interpretations of second wave feminism conveyed an assortment of feminist approaches and demonstrated that Pakeha perspectives had been influenced by the ‘United Kingdom and America.’<sup>3</sup> Phillida Bunkle provided an overview of different feminist approaches which had influenced Pakeha perspectives in New Zealand, within an informative series of articles published in *Broadsheet* in 1979 and 1980.<sup>4</sup> Different approaches demonstrated conflicting ideas. For example, Marxist feminists believed that ‘sex oppression grew historically out of class oppression,’ whereas radical feminists believed ‘class inequality grew out of sex inequality.’<sup>5</sup> Radical feminists emphasised both the idea of ‘the personal is a legitimate political issue’ and the use of consciousness-raising.<sup>6</sup> Feminists involved in Women’s Rights groups emphasised a liberal objective of ‘equal opportunity’ with men.<sup>7</sup> In contrast, cultural feminism suggested a ‘separate’ arena for women and the ‘superiority of female values.’<sup>8</sup> Bunkle believed that ‘we must know where these ideas come from if we are to select and naturalise what is appropriate for ourselves,’ within a New Zealand context.<sup>9</sup> The ideas that Pakeha feminists engaged with, suggested that they were challenged to understand the perspective of Maori women from a basis that was not unique to New Zealand.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Charlotte MacDonald, ‘Women’s Liberation, 1970s. Introduction’ in *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1993), p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> Phillida Bunkle, ‘A History of the Women’s Movement –Part 1’, *Broadsheet*, September (1979), 24-25; Phillida Bunkle, ‘A History of the Women’s Movement –Part 2’, *Broadsheet*, October (1979), 26-28; Phillida Bunkle, ‘A History of the Women’s Movement –Part 3’, *Broadsheet*, November (1979), 26-28; Phillida Bunkle, ‘A History of the Women’s Movement –Part 4’, *Broadsheet*, December (1979), 28-31; Phillida Bunkle, ‘A History of the Women’s Movement –Part 5’, *Broadsheet*, January/February (1980), 30-33.

<sup>5</sup> Phillida Bunkle, ‘A History of the Women’s Movement –Part 4’, *Broadsheet*, December (1979), 29.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>7</sup> Phillida Bunkle, ‘A History of the Women’s Movement –Part 2’, *Broadsheet*, October (1979), 27.

<sup>8</sup> Phillida Bunkle, ‘A History of the Women’s Movement –Part 5’, *Broadsheet*, January/February (1980), 30.

<sup>9</sup> Phillida Bunkle, ‘A History of the Women’s Movement –Part 1’, *Broadsheet*, September (1979), 24.

<sup>10</sup> Sue Middleton, ‘Towards an Indigenous University Women’s Studies for Aotearoa: A Pakeha Educationist’s Perspective’ in *Feminist Voices: Women’s Studies Text for Aotearoa/New Zealand*, eds. Rosemary Du Plessis et al (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 33-34.

Early contributions made by Maori women within *Broadsheet* reveal a noticeable lack of relevance in the early stages of second wave feminism for Maori women. As *Broadsheet* is reflective of New Zealand second wave feminism, the inclusion and representation of Maori women is highly relevant. Rosier noted that ‘the voices of Maori women and women from the Pacific Islands are first heard in the early issues’ of *Broadsheet*.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the extent of relevance of second wave feminism for Maori women and whether this was a fair representation requires examination. In 1973, *Broadsheet* published a series of interviews, Part One and Part Two of ‘Talking to Polynesian Women.’ Maori women were represented under the umbrella of ‘Polynesian women’ and positioned within a framework that did not allow a great degree of authority.<sup>12</sup> Pakeha feminists directed or mediated Maori and other Polynesian women’s thoughts in early editions of *Broadsheet*, although Maori women did express their concerns when they were given the opportunity.

The lack of relevance was an issue that was identified at early stage of New Zealand second wave feminism. The direct question of whether second wave feminism was relevant was asked by of Maori women included in the 1973 collection of interviews.<sup>13</sup> Sharon Alston asked Ngahuia Volkering ‘What meaning does the women’s liberation movement have to you now?’ Volkering replied that it ‘doesn’t mean much to me now. Mainly because I see myself as a Maori first and my gender is largely irrelevant.’<sup>14</sup> Tilly Reedy was asked a similar question about relevance and responded ‘speaking as a Maori and from my impressions of the movement from the media – that you want equal rights in every sphere and you think women shouldn’t be cabbages - I would say none for myself.’<sup>15</sup> Alston also inquired as to whether Hana Jackson considered second wave feminism as ‘a white, middle class, liberal movement?’ Jackson agreed with this generalisation and wondered why Pakeha feminists were not taking the opportunity to ‘learn more about us, get involved and build up with Maori women who have been working for a long time into building a New Zealand way of life?’<sup>16</sup> Mere Penfold agreed with the general label of ‘white middle-class movement’, although her opinion was that ‘sometimes I think this can be a good thing. You women are more articulate

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<sup>11</sup> Pat Rosier, ‘Introduction’ in *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine* (Auckland: New Women’s Press, 1992), p. 9.

<sup>12</sup> ‘Talking to polynesian women part I’, *Broadsheet*, August (1973), 7-12: ‘Talking to polynesian women part II’, *Broadsheet*, September (1973), 7-13.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Ngahuia Volkering interviewed by Sharon Alston, ‘Talking to polynesian women part I’, 7.

<sup>15</sup> Tilly Reedy, ‘Talking to polynesian women part II’, 7.

<sup>16</sup> Hana Jackson interviewed by Sharon Alston, ‘Talking to polynesian women part I’, 11.

and have more confidence to speak out for the rights of women. Maori women are perhaps doubly handicapped by the tribal taboos on a woman having the right to speak.<sup>17</sup> The questioning of relevance and who asked this question conveyed the early interest that Pakeha women had taken in regards to Maori women, but the situation was not improved instantaneously.

Maori women demonstrated individual perspectives which suggested that relevance was not merely a simplistic case of Maori women verses Pakeha women. Volkering discussed how hard it was to question patriarchy within Maori society because ‘few Maori men are in sympathy with this situation and regard our resultant grievance as a diversion from the real issues such as Maori land rights, education, the judicial system, the white status quo.’<sup>18</sup> Contraception and abortion were discussed within the context of Maori urbanisation and large families now in the urban setting.<sup>19</sup> Overall Volkering supported ‘women’s choice.’<sup>20</sup> Penfold, a member of the Maori Women’s Welfare League and involved with education, recognised the curiosity in relation to abortion and contraception issues by Maori women, and having to make a decision within a close family situation.<sup>21</sup> She considered the importance of equal pay, employment and education.<sup>22</sup> Penfold did not have the view that she herself had been oppressed for being Maori.<sup>23</sup> Second wave feminism, Penfold believed, ‘has more relevance to the young Maori woman than to the older generation; perhaps it is more important that the young Maori woman first has to be liberated from the traditional taboos of her culture before she can compete within the Pakeha society as well.’<sup>24</sup> Reedy in contrast to the importance Penfold placed on marae-speaking believed ‘male dominance in leadership’ was not such an issue because it was considered tradition and Maori women had alternative spaces for leadership.<sup>25</sup> Maori women were central to the family and therefore education was important.<sup>26</sup> The stance that Reedy took from a Maori cultural base meant she ‘would never feel upset if I were treated differently from our men in a Maori situation, because I expect it

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<sup>17</sup> Mere Penfold interviewed by Barbara Morris, ‘Talking to polynesian women part I’, 10.

<sup>18</sup> Ngahuia Volkering interviewed by Sharon Alston, ‘Talking to polynesian women part I’, 8.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10.

<sup>22</sup> Mere Penfold interviewed by Barbara Morris, ‘Talking to polynesian women part I’, 10.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>25</sup> Tilly Reedy, ‘Talking to polynesian women part II’, 7.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.



to be like that.<sup>27</sup> Hana Jackson, also involved with education suggested that ‘as Maoris we see most of our oppression as black and white. The oppression comes from white people.’<sup>28</sup> Within Maori society ‘male chauvinism’ existed within the movements Jackson was part of, where ‘the women should take the credit.’ Jackson was against ‘abortion on demand,’ but noted this as a ‘personal opinion.’<sup>29</sup> These interviews reflect a diversity of opinion, but a striking feature is the directed focus in asking of whether, and in which ways second wave feminism was relevant, and how the backgrounds of these Maori women contributed to their outlook.

The consideration of Maori culture within the beliefs that Maori women had, was conveyed through the attitude of Maori women within *Broadsheet* and discussed within secondary sources. Maori women considered their concerns from a different world view to Pakeha feminists, such as Reedy who noted, ‘I have always said that I am a Maori first, and this influences my whole attitude.’<sup>30</sup> The abortion campaign, which was certainly a central issue for Pakeha feminists, was viewed differently by some Maori women who took into account the effects on Maori society specifically. A possible reason identified was the concern that ‘liberalising New Zealand’s abortion laws would reduce their population even further.’<sup>31</sup> Attitudes towards Maori women speaking on the marae also differed, as this was determined by the rules of individual tribes and Maori women had other important roles.<sup>32</sup> Irwin suggested that ‘for many Maori, having the right to speak on the marae is not an issue, and never has been. It is viewed as a Pākehā women’s preoccupation, which is irrelevant for Māori. For a growing number, however, it is becoming a matter of importance, and needs to be carefully worked through.’<sup>33</sup> Mira Szaszy, who was influential in terms of women speaking on the marae, suggested ‘the women’s liberation movement seemed somewhat alien to most Maori women, even though they were conscious of the basic issues of discrimination

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>28</sup> Hana Jackson interviewed by Sharon Alston, ‘Talking to polynesian women part I’, 11.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>30</sup> Tilly Reedy, ‘Talking to Polynesian women part II’, 7.

<sup>31</sup> Charlotte M Parkes, ‘Maori Women and Abortion’ in *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote*, ed. Sandra Coney (Auckland: Penguin, 1993), p. 75.

<sup>32</sup> Kathie Irwin, ‘Towards Theories of Maori Feminisms’ in *Feminist Voices: a Women’s Studies Texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand*, eds, Rosemary Du Plessis with Phillida Bunkle et al. (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.12.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 12.

and the sexism of Maori men.’<sup>34</sup> Attempting to understand where attitudes originated from is important when interpreting the attitudes that were expressed in *Broadsheet*.

Emphasis was placed on difference between Maori and Pakeha women which highlighted their conflicted positions. In 1976, ‘Maori women on the move,’ an interview with Awatere and mediated through Dann, Maori women were positioned as a ‘minority,’ a label commonly given to those who do not fit the dominant and in this case Pakeha and middle-class.<sup>35</sup> Awatere depicted a situation where Maori women were central to oppression and that ‘feminist organisations are largely made up of Pakeha women with middle-class backgrounds. The reasons why are not hard to find.’<sup>36</sup> Education was cited as key issue, alongside employment and health.<sup>37</sup> Dann revealed that at this stage Awatere believed ‘Pakeha women have no concept of Maori values and feelings, and even the feminists, who should be supportive, often show little sympathy.’<sup>38</sup> Having identified the ‘the double oppression – racism and sexism,’ Dann also noted ‘white women must gain the awareness and knowledge which Donna speaks of to cross the racial boundaries which separate us and affirm our sisterhood.’<sup>39</sup> Pakeha feminists had not made second wave feminism relevant to Maori women during the early 1970s, and Maori women were in a situation where they needed to become self-sufficient in terms of change.

Furthermore, a significant question was posed within the same article in 1976, where Dann asked ‘how many Pakeha women are fighting for the needs of Maori women?’<sup>40</sup> Te Awekotuku in her work *Mana Wahine Maori* 1991 asked:

Why did so few Maori women join women’s liberation in its earliest days? Because there were so many other consuming struggles: the urgency of land issues, cultural issues, language issues, and the overwhelming need to deal with what is coming at you from *outside* the whanau, such as institutional and individual racism, rather than looking *inward*, to the stresses and horror stories happening in one’s own home or extended family.’<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Mira Szaszy, ‘Opening My Mouth’ in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit: and Other Tales From the Feminist Revolution*, eds. Sue Kedgley and Mary Varnham (Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates Press, 1993), p. 80.

<sup>35</sup> Christine Dann and Donna Awatere, ‘Maori women on the move’, *Broadsheet*, November (1976), 6.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>41</sup> Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, *Mana Wahine Maori: Selected Writing on Maori Women’s Art, Culture and Politics* (Auckland: New Women’s Press, 1991), pp. 10-11.

The concerns of Maori were a priority for Maori women, and second wave feminism at this stage did not extend itself towards such concerns. Maori women had the supposed priorities of everyday ‘realities’ and ‘she will rarely if ever bother to be concerned with the new feminist movement, which, if anything, she distrusts and discards as pakeha, middle class, and irrelevant. However, such issues as equal pay and childcare she may consider, but overriding all are the pressures, the realities, of the moment.’<sup>42</sup> The involvement of Maori women within a strictly second wave feminism framework meant questioning Maori traditions.<sup>43</sup> Maori needed to be a central focus in regards to Maori women’s involvement in second wave feminism.

## The United Women’s Conventions

*Broadsheet* placed great emphasis on the New Zealand United Women’s Conventions, and these conventions act as a symbol of the growing divisions between Maori and Pakeha women within second wave feminism. Reflection on the four United Women’s Conventions that took place during the 1970s allow for the opportunity to observe the nature of these central second wave feminist events and the type of contribution Maori women made within the conventions. By 1979, the United Women’s Conventions had ended.<sup>44</sup> Coverage of the United Women’s Convention was published in *Broadsheet*, with an additional full report published separately.

The 1973 and 1975 United Women’s Conventions demonstrated that Pakeha women had aimed to include Maori women within this event. The first United Women’s Convention was held in Auckland in 1973, and ‘a national set of priorities was canvassed,’ although ‘differences of direction’ were evident.<sup>45</sup> Advertised in April 1973, the target audience

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<sup>42</sup> Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, ‘He Wahine, he Whenua, e Ngaro ait e Tangata: By Women, by Land, Men are Lost, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku’ in *Mana Wahine Maori: Selected Writing on Maori Women’s Art, Culture and Politics* (Auckland: New Women’s Press, 1991), p. 46. This was noted as written in 1971, published in *Craccum*, 14 September (1972) Vol.46, Issue 22.

<sup>43</sup> Sandra Coney, ‘Women’s Liberation Movement’ in *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote*, p. 143.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>45</sup> Charlotte MacDonald, ‘Women’s Liberation, 1970s. Introduction’ in *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink*, pp. 162-163.

appeared vast, a national audience, ‘all organisation[s] and walks of life.’<sup>46</sup> Maori contributions announced included a ‘Traditional Maori welcome (Mere Penfold)’ and “‘Maori Women in Pakeha society’” (Mira Szaszy).<sup>47</sup> Mira Szaszy, during her speech, stated that ‘if Pakeha women and Maoris generally are second class citizens, then Maori women are third or, rather, fourth class citizens.’<sup>48</sup> Maori women were recognised as ‘a powerful force for social progress in their own society,’ although ‘it is difficult to inspire women bowed down with misery and insecurity to look upwards at what appears to be middle-class based aspirations of Pakeha women, although many Maori women see the relevance of these to women everywhere.’<sup>49</sup> Maori women used the space they were given to voice their concerns, but this contribution needed attention by Pakeha feminists in terms of action in New Zealand society.

Similarly, the Wellington United Women’s Convention of 1975 was illustrated as ‘a meeting point for all kinds of individuals, issues and ideas, ranging from radical women’s liberationists to traditional women’s groups.’<sup>50</sup> Aims included, ‘this convention will increase the participation of women themselves in improving their own status and increasing public awareness of women as people.’<sup>51</sup> ‘Maori Women’ was a workshop topic. It is noticeable how there was no Pakeha category, clearly taken as the norm.<sup>52</sup> ‘Maori Women in a Changing World’ was a particular workshop. There was hopefulness about the relationship between Maori and Pakeha women, and ‘this workshop and the Convention made a stepping stone for Maori and Pakeha women. We crossed it and met one another.’ Improved knowledge of ‘Maoritanga,’ however, was noted as a recommendation.<sup>53</sup> Brookes described the relationship between Maori and Pakeha women as a ‘fragile unit’ throughout the primary stages of second wave feminism.<sup>54</sup> This idea was conveyed through the earlier United Women’s Conventions. Pakeha feminists had attempted to include Maori women, although

<sup>46</sup> ‘Coming events’, *Broadsheet*, April (1973), 14.

<sup>47</sup> ‘United Women’s Convention’, *Broadsheet*, July (1973), 12.

<sup>48</sup> Mira Szaszy, ‘Maori Women in Pakeha Society’, in *United Womens [sic] Convention* ed. Sandra Coney, assisted by Anne Parson et al. (Auckland: United Women’s Convention Committee, 1973), p. 23. The United Women’s Convention booklet offered greater insight into the situation of Maori women than the extracts from this speech, which were included in *Broadsheet* in October 1973.

<sup>49</sup> Mira Szaszy, ‘Maori Women in Pakeha Society’, in *United Womens [sic] Convention*, p. 24.

<sup>50</sup> Charlotte MacDonald, *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink*, p. 163.

<sup>51</sup> Rae Julian, Sharon Ranby and Mary Sinclair, ‘Convention 1975’, November (1974), 3.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>53</sup> ‘Maori Women in a Changing World’, in *United Women’s Convention, 1975*, ed. Phoebe Meikle (Wellington: United Women’s Convention, 1976), p. 124.

<sup>54</sup> Barbara L. Brookes, ‘A Germaine Moment: style, language and audience’ in *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand’s Pasts*, eds. Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2006), p. 200.

the degree of inclusion was debatable because of the nominal way Maori women were included.

The subsequent United Women's Conventions represented more obviously the distant relationship between Maori and Pakeha. By 1977, both a greater number of women and emergent divisions within second wave feminism were noticeable at the Christchurch United Women's Convention.<sup>55</sup> In March 1977, Sandi Hall wrote that 'one of the worst things that could happen to the feminist movement would be a division of women from women.'<sup>56</sup> The relationship between Pakeha and Maori women at this Convention represented significance, as 'fewer than twenty Maori women attended the United Women's Convention.'<sup>57</sup> Anna Rauhihi and Vapi Kupenga gave their perspective, and questioning the relevance of second wave feminism to Maori women seemed appropriate.<sup>58</sup> A workshop called 'New Perspectives on Race' took place. A racist accusation was made against a Maori woman at this convention, for stealing some clothing, and this was noted as a 'very sour episode.'<sup>59</sup> Even so, Rauhihi and Kupenga suggested a relationship between Maori and Pakeha women of 'feminists together.'<sup>60</sup> Dann, suggested that the 'Women's Liberation Movement,' needed to get back to its radical roots, the ones which could influence fundamental shifts for women in New Zealand society. The United Women's Conventions were central to the ambitions of radical feminists, but were judged as not feminist enough.<sup>61</sup> Hints of confrontation had started to become clearer during the 1977 Christchurch United Women's Convention.

The 1979 Hamilton United Women's Convention remained the most significant Convention because the confrontation between Maori and Pakeha women was more noticeable. Dann reflected that 'the signs that Maori women were getting organised as a separate force became evident that year when black women made a strong statement on racism at the 1979 United Women's Convention.'<sup>62</sup> Evidently much thought had gone into the planning stages of this Convention, yet it was the one that was most remembered for its turmoil. Jill Ranstead

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<sup>55</sup> Christine Dann, *Up From Under*, p. 19.

<sup>56</sup> Sandi Hall, 'Convention committee challenge', *Broadsheet*, March (1977), 39.

<sup>57</sup> *Broadsheet*, Ama Rauhihi and Vapi Kupenga, 'Prayers,' 'Stolen Cardigans' and Fiery Speeches', *Broadsheet*, July (1977), 19.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> Christine Dann, 'Editorial. Will the real women's liberation movement please stand up', *Broadsheet*, October (1977), 14-17.

<sup>62</sup> Christine Dann, *Up From Under*, p. 35.

depicted the changes over time of the United Women's Conventions, where '*radical changes have been made to its programme, structure and policies, for the openly-stated reason of bringing the event back from where it has drifted in the course of the last few years.*' The preparation expressed hopefulness that it would have a positive impact.<sup>63</sup> Coney's commentary described the situation with Charlotte Bunch, an American feminist, who gave '5 minutes of her time to Rebecca Evans, as spokeswoman for Maori and Pacific Island women, who quite rightfully have felt invisible and patronised by the Convention; a feeling intensified by the use of a token black woman on the UWC poster.'<sup>64</sup> This suggested that aspects which may have been interpreted as inclusiveness in prior United Women's Conventions were now recognised for their 'tokenism' nature.

*Broadsheet* published an extensive report on this 1979 Convention, which conveyed confrontation between Maori and Pakeha women.<sup>65</sup> Juliet Seule noted, in terms of those offended by racism at the Convention, 'their anger was uncompromising yet dignified, and right on target. I felt ashamed of my ignorance of their cause. While my attention has been diverted by lesbian vandalism, I had neglected the genuine oppressed minority group of the convention.'<sup>66</sup> Nancy Peterson stated 'as a CR [Consciousness-Raising] event, the UWC was successful. As a political arena, where our differences could be explored and confronted, it was a failure.'<sup>67</sup> Rebecca Evans did not feel as though Maori and Pacific women were given enough space.<sup>68</sup> The convention organisers appear to have had a great degree of control over the proceedings and Evans noted, 'to say to us to go away and organise our own convention is indeed what we can and have done – but in a convention, and more importantly in a movement purporting to represent United Women, Maori and Pacific Island women must be there and fully participating.'<sup>69</sup> The relationship between Maori and Pakeha was to get worse before they got to a stage where those who were labelled as a minority would feel like they could be a part of the movement. Therefore the United Women's Conventions acts as a symbol of the growing conflict that occurred within second wave feminism, when paradoxically they were aimed at bringing women together.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Jill Ranstead, 'the performance and the promise', *Broadsheet*, December (1978), 16-19.

<sup>64</sup> Sandra Coney, "'The Joy of Feminism' Room is cancelled", *Broadsheet*, May (1979), 7.

<sup>65</sup> *Broadsheet*, 'Reports on the United Women's Convention 1979', *Broadsheet*, June (1979), 20-26.

<sup>66</sup> Juliet Seule, 'Reports on the United Women's Convention 1979', *Broadsheet*, June (1979), 22.

<sup>67</sup> Nancy Peterson, 'Reports on the United Women's Convention 1979', *Broadsheet*, June (1979), 23.

<sup>68</sup> Rebecca Evans, 'Reports on the United Women's Convention 1979', *Broadsheet*, June (1979), 24.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>70</sup> Sandi Hall, 'Convention committee challenge', *Broadsheet*, March (1977), 39.

# Chapter Two

## Donna Awatere

Although a number of Maori women attempted to change the situation that Maori society faced, Awatere made a stimulating contribution during the 1970s and 1980s. Awatere was undoubtedly involved in a range of aspects such as contributing articles to *Broadsheet*, *Nga Tomatoa*, *Maori Sovereignty* and protests, which demonstrated that Awatere's contribution was immense, as she brought the issues of Maori women to the surface. The space she was able to occupy in *Broadsheet* was significant and her attitude towards second wave feminism was influential. Spender described Awatere as 'endeavouring always to bring together her Maori and feminist ideals, she is an inspiration to all who claim justice—and pay a price.'<sup>71</sup> The ideas and attitude that came through in the work of Awatere highlighted this view.

Awatere acted as a point of contact for other Maori women to have a voice in *Broadsheet*. In 1979 she contributed a collection of articles that are noteworthy because she was the interviewer of Maori women, in contrast to Pakeha mediating contributions.<sup>72</sup> In January/February 1980, *Broadsheet* published Awatere's speech, 'I want a New Zealand where it is safe to be born a Maori child.'<sup>73</sup> Awatere explained the relationship between Maori and Pacific Island women, who were often grouped together, which reflected how people were named and represented. Awatere explained that 'although most of my comments are applicable to Pacific Island women, I've concentrated on related aspects of Maori women's experience because, historically, the paths are different, although we have all arrived at the same end result.'<sup>74</sup> Racism, sexism and capitalism were identified as the three key factors of oppression.<sup>75</sup> Awatere's article highlighted central issues in regards to Maori

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<sup>71</sup> Dale Spender, 'Introduction: Shifting the Goalposts' in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit: and Other Tales From the Feminist Revolution*, p. 10.

<sup>72</sup> Donna Awatere and Kara Karahana, 'Woman of the Revolution', *Broadsheet*, November (1979), 22-24.

<sup>73</sup> Donna Awatere, 'I want a New Zealand where it is safe to be born a Maori child', *Broadsheet*, January/February (1980), 18-23.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

women which included ‘employment or unemployment,’ ‘justice or lack of it,’ ‘health and how bad it is,’ and ‘mental health, domestic violence and rape,’ and linked these to the key factors of oppression.<sup>76</sup>

Additionally, in March 1980, *Broadsheet* reflected on the past decade, in an article called ‘Looking Back at the Seventies.’ Awatere wrote on the topic ‘Maori women,’ and this was the only Maori women’s voice.<sup>77</sup> Awatere suggested that ‘while there has been little change for Maori women in general, over the past ten years the feminist awareness of some Maori women on issues like equal pay, abortion, contraception, child care, and health issues, particularly smoking and alcohol consumption, has risen markedly.’<sup>78</sup> Consciousness-raising was being taken up by Maori women and Marxist ideas were influential for these Maori women.<sup>79</sup> At this point, Awatere noted that ‘significantly in the past few years Maori feminists are more “up-front” than before in the anti-racist movement. No longer content to merely prop up a male mate or male colleague, they take themselves seriously and are acknowledged to be real leaders.’<sup>80</sup> Ten years after *Broadsheet* had been established, it was suggested that as a result of Awatere’s influence, ‘other Maori women are beginning to write for the magazine, lending encouragement to the hope that **Broadsheet** can begin to address the concerns of all New Zealand women, not just some of them.’<sup>81</sup> This conveyed how inclusion in *Broadsheet* was important. It also demonstrated how Awatere was a catalyst for the inclusion of Maori women in the magazine. Rosier noted that ‘by the early 1980s the publication of writing and interviews by and about Maori women had become extremely important.’<sup>82</sup> Awatere had been a role model for fellow Maori women to voice their perspectives about issues that were central concerns for Maori women.

Awatere’s reflections at a later stage offer insight into her attitude towards second wave feminism. Awatere revealed, ‘I hadn’t thought of myself as a feminist and I’d never read anything feminist, but I found I was on the same wavelength. I hadn’t been brought up to think that I was a lesser being, or that someone ought to get more money or better treatment

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>77</sup> Donna Awatere, ‘Looking Back at the Seventies’, *Broadsheet*, March (1980), 12.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Sandra Coney, ‘Broadsheet 10 Years On’, July/August (1982), 19.

<sup>82</sup> Pat Rosier, ‘Introduction’ in *Broadsheet : Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine*, p. 9.



than me simply because of their sex.’<sup>83</sup> Involvement in the feminist arena was related to her mother’s experience with unequal pay.<sup>84</sup> Awatere had ‘expected the feminist movement to be more understanding and supportive of Maori issues,’ but Maori women had to be self-sufficient in dealing with Maori men. Therefore, Maori women demonstrated a proactive attitude.<sup>85</sup> Awatere critiqued Pakeha feminists in regards to the concept of “the personal is the political,” because ‘they were obsessed with themselves and their own lives,’ and not political enough.<sup>86</sup> It would seem that there were certainly motivating factors and reasons why Awatere became interested in second wave feminism, but more importantly it is interesting to observe how Awatere became influential within a movement that was noted as initially Pakeha.<sup>87</sup>

## *Maori Sovereignty*

In New Zealand, Awatere is renowned for her work *Maori Sovereignty*. Within a New Zealand second wave feminist framework, the ideas within *Maori Sovereignty* were influential. Significantly, these articles were initially published (and advertised frequently) in *Broadsheet*, in what was considered a feminist space. The Broadsheet Collective could be described as innovative, as ‘*Broadsheet*, a Pakeha feminist magazine, was the only place this material was being published at this time.’<sup>88</sup> Dann also noted that ‘these articles were an extremely important summation of the analysis and goals of Maori radicals. It is significant that the first Pakeha to hear of them (and in some cases to appreciate them) were female radicals.’<sup>89</sup> The first three *Maori Sovereignty* articles were published in three different *Broadsheet* issues, in June 1982, October 1982 and January/February 1983.

The *Maori Sovereignty* articles, through *Broadsheet*, brought to the surface issues that raised awareness of the concerns within Maori society, in a direct and confronting manner. This

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<sup>83</sup> Donna Awatere Huata, ‘Walking on Eggs’ in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, p. 121.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 120-121.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Sandra Coney, ‘Women’s Liberation Movement’ in *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote*, p. 143.

<sup>88</sup> Pat Rosier, ‘Introduction’ in *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine*, p. 10.

<sup>89</sup> Christine Dann, *Up From Under*, p. 37.

provided an insight into the Maori perspective of race relations in New Zealand at this time. In 'The Death Machine,' Awatere defined Maori Sovereignty as 'the Maori ability to determine our own destiny and to do so from the basis of our land and fisheries.'<sup>90</sup> With the Treaty central to her discussion, Awatere identified that 'the name of this game is cultural imperialism and it means the total exclusion of Maoritanga from the physical, economic, political, and philosophical development of this country.'<sup>91</sup> New Zealand society had failed Maori. Oppression was suffered by Maori in regards to unemployment, low wages and inadequate housing. They had been let-down in regards to the education and justice systems.<sup>92</sup> The 'aim of Maori Sovereignty is *not* to achieve equality in white terms, but in Maori terms' and 'it is not sovereignty or no sovereignty. It is sovereignty or nothing. We have no choice.'<sup>93</sup>

In October 1982, *Maori sovereignty* was further elaborated on with attention on 'alliances,' and Awatere brought Pakeha women into the discussion more directly.<sup>94</sup> Awatere stated 'for white women their "oppression" as women is more important than the fact that Maori have been forced to live in a culture not our own.'<sup>95</sup> White women supported the white system, they 'do this by defining "feminism" for this country and by using their white power, status and privilege to ensure that their definition of "feminism" supercedes [sic] that of Maori women.' Furthermore, Awatere stated 'when individual white women succeed they wrongly believe they are spearheading changes for *all* women, that their success represents a real challenge to the patriarchy,' and such methods meant that 'you will never achieve real changes for *all* women.'<sup>96</sup> Awatere summarised an important attitude that encapsulated the feelings towards second wave feminism from a Maori women's perspective, which shaped the direction of the movement, that 'the Maori language is a feminist issue, the Land is a feminist issue, Separate Development is a feminist issue, the venomous hatred of the Maori by the Pakeha is a feminist issue.' Awatere had contributed ideas that were necessary for Pakeha feminists to consider, in order for them to understand why second wave feminism needed to develop its focus.

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<sup>90</sup> Donna Awatere, *Broadsheet*, June (1982), 38. Mistake made with title in *Broadsheet*. Titled 'The Death Machine', in Awatere, Donna, *Maori Sovereignty* (Auckland: Broadsheet, 1984), pp. 10-32.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 39-41.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>94</sup> Donna Awatere, 'Maori Sovereignty part two', *Broadsheet*, October (1982), 24-29. Titled 'Alliances' in Awatere, Donna, *Maori Sovereignty*, pp. 33-55.

<sup>95</sup> Donna Awatere, 'Maori Sovereignty part two', 25.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

Maori women were specifically brought into focus in regards to Awatere's article in *Broadsheet* January/February 1983, which looked further at the negative impact white society had had on Maori society.<sup>97</sup> Biculturalism as an aim for New Zealand society had passed in her view.<sup>98</sup> Challengingly, Awatere argued 'some see how they are oppressed by their own culture, such as the working class, gays, and women, but they don't see the way the very culture and the people they are, oppress and are an affront to Maori Sovereignty in this, our land.'<sup>99</sup> The position of Maori women within society, the dissatisfaction with where they were and what they had to deal with were central issues. Awatere argued:

Maori women bear the brunt of white hatred and separate development. They are the largest alienated group in *New Zealand*. Too often rejected by our men as mates. Too often used in the family as dogsbodies. All Maori with white privilege owe a special debt to these Maori women who have the least.<sup>100</sup>

Maori women were represented in such a way by Awatere, that combatting racism *and* sexism appeared especially relevant for Maori women.

In 'Exodus,' an additional article published in the book *Maori Sovereignty* in 1985, Awatere described a recent phase of 'withdrawal from the mainstream of white culture' and paid attention to making plans, having aims, and which directions to go in.<sup>101</sup> Awatere reflected that 'the goal is to have all time and all space Maori.'<sup>102</sup> *Maori Sovereignty* had to be re-printed because of its popularity and *Broadsheet* emphasised this popularity through frequent advertisements.<sup>103</sup> *Maori Sovereignty* overall drew on themes that were stimulating to consider. As Awatere made a point to mention women within this work, this created a stronger link between *Maori Sovereignty* and second wave feminism.

The story behind the creation of *Maori Sovereignty* provided context for what Awatere wrote. In November 1984, *Broadsheet* published an interview between Debbie Rewhiti, Donna

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<sup>97</sup> Donna Awatere, 'Part Three, Beyond the Noble Savage', *Broadsheet*, January/February (1983), 12-19. Titled 'Beyond The Noble Savage' in Awatere, Donna, *Maori Sovereignty*, 56-91.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-19.

<sup>101</sup> Donna Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty* (Auckland: Broadsheet, 1984), pp. 92-94.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>103</sup> 'Maori Sovereignty advertisement', *Broadsheet*, October (1985), 48.

Awatere and Merata Mita.<sup>104</sup> Mita conveyed the important nature of *Maori Sovereignty*, it ‘has outdone the bible in this country in terms of providing a focal point and a point of reference for our people.’<sup>105</sup> Donna discussed the origins of her project – ‘it started out as an attempt to simply figure out where we were as a people in relation to Pakeha people and their culture and it developed from that as an argument for Maori Sovereignty.’<sup>106</sup> Awatere had not expressed her ideas spontaneously; they had been thought about and contemplated, and connected to the Springbok Tour.<sup>107</sup> Awatere needed direction and her reflections revealed:

I sat down and poured all my thoughts into an article about Maori sovereignty. I wrote it and didn’t think any more about it until one night when Sandra Coney came round for dinner. We started arguing about Maori issues and I said, ‘Hang on, I’ll go and get this thing I’ve written.’ It was very rough but Sandra asked whether she could publish it in *Broadsheet*. She took it away and edited into three articles which *Broadsheet* published in 1981 and subsequently as a book.<sup>108</sup>

Awatere realised how vital *Maori Sovereignty* was in terms of ‘Maoridom’ and it allowed for the ability of a more directed focus for Maori in terms of their work.<sup>109</sup> In *My Journey*, Awatere stated, ‘I wrote myself a three-page letter spelling out my aims, objectives. Those notes became my book *Maori Sovereignty*. Books can change lives. I had many letters and calls saying so. It changed my life.’<sup>110</sup> An important retrospective judgement by Awatere was made in 1996, that ‘*Maori Sovereignty* did capture the spirit of the times. There are parts of it I regret now but it did give a direction to the Maori movement.’<sup>111</sup>

## Response

*Maori Sovereignty* became a topic of debate within the pages of *Broadsheet* and illustrated the relationship between race relations and second wave feminism.<sup>112</sup> This was evidenced in letters to the editor, and an occasional article on the subject. *Broadsheet’s* letters to the editor

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<sup>104</sup> Debbie Rewhiti, Donna Awatere and Merata Mita, ‘About the impact of Maori Sovereignty’, *Broadsheet*, November (1984), 12-15.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Donna Awatere Huata, ‘Walking on Eggs’ in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, p. 126.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> Donna Awatere Huata, *My Journey* (Auckland: Seaview Press, 1996), p. 79.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>112</sup> Charlotte MacDonald, ‘Women’s Liberation, 1970s. Introduction’ in *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink*, p. 209. See also Camille Guy, ‘Not Charlie’s Angels’, *Broadsheet*, April (1983), 6.

and articles in the early 1980s, showed a diversity of opinions in regards to *Maori Sovereignty*. These opinions fit into two broad categories of giving positive recognition for *Maori Sovereignty* and negative opposition to *Maori Sovereignty*. Such divisiveness suggested that *Maori Sovereignty* was a timely issue that related to *Broadsheet* as a magazine, readers of *Broadsheet*, New Zealand society and second wave feminism. The nature of these views expressed and the differing perspectives that came to light uncover how Pakeha women thought about New Zealand society and themselves. In discussing *Maori Sovereignty*, Guy observed that, ‘Maori women stand out as the most articulate and politically sophisticated. If Pakeha feminists want to assert a feminist perspective on the revolutionary political change that the struggle for *Maori Sovereignty* will bring about, if we want to be more than camp followers, then we must get our act together fast.’<sup>113</sup> A crucial element was being able to understand Awatere’s provocative point of view.

Positive recognition of Maori Sovereignty reflected an understanding of the situation or a desire to increase personal knowledge about a situation that clearly needed recognition. Diane Bell had come to the realisation that ‘how deeply white supremacy is implanted in me that it came initially as such a strange proposal to acknowledge Maori sovereignty over Aotearoa. It seems no longer strange to me, indeed it seems by far the most promising starting point for change in our society.’<sup>114</sup> Considering Maori Sovereignty as unique to New Zealand, a specific Maori Sovereignty discussion group suggested ‘we cannot turn to overseas experts for our answers; we must develop our own theory.’ Also, in talking of the Maori and female alliance they suggested that ‘no alliance is possible until we feminists understand that Maori sovereignty is not just another issue.’<sup>115</sup> In regards to the confrontation from Maori women, Jill Martel recognised it was crucial that attention be given to this issue at this time because ‘they won’t keep doing it forever.’<sup>116</sup> Lyn Crossley remarked, ‘Donna Awatere has given us an ideal society in *Aotearoa* to aim for.’<sup>117</sup> Maori Sovereignty was needed so that the work women were doing would be ‘an effective political force.’<sup>118</sup> The *Broadsheet* article ‘Pakeha Women respond to Maori Sovereignty’ by the ‘Women for Aotearoa’ organisation members, whose existence came into being due to Awatere’s articles, illustrated various opinions such

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<sup>113</sup> Camille Guy, ‘Not Charlie’s Angels’, *Broadsheet*, April (1983), 6.

<sup>114</sup> Diane Bell, ‘Letter’, *Broadsheet*, January/February (1983), 2.

<sup>115</sup> Alison Jones and Camille Guy et al, ‘Letter’, *Broadsheet*, January/February (1983), 2.

<sup>116</sup> Jill Martel, ‘Letter’, *Broadsheet*, January/February (1983), 2-3.

<sup>117</sup> Lyn Crossley, ‘Letter’, *Broadsheet*, March (1983), 2.

<sup>118</sup> Sue Fitchett, ‘Letter’, *Broadsheet*, April (1983), 2.

as how hard it was within the system to look at the situation from a Maori perspective.<sup>119</sup> Awatere's ideas were what second wave feminism needed, and 'the struggle led by Maori women gives it its feminist potential.'<sup>120</sup> The potential of what Awatere had articulated was evidently considered to have major benefits for second wave feminism and New Zealand society in general in regards to these positive interpretations.

In contrast are examples which highlight aversion to Awatere's ideas. Often these counter-arguments centred round *Broadsheet* itself, which addresses the centrality of *Broadsheet* to *Maori Sovereignty*. Anne Small believed that by publishing this material would put *Broadsheet* in jeopardy and how 'the extreme element seem to be so whipped up into a frenetic hatred they want absolutely nothing of us and **Broadsheet** is prepared to publish a watered-down version of this poison.'<sup>121</sup> Jean Rhodes had rethought her commitment to her *Broadsheet* subscription because of what had been published and stated that 'my feeling is that **Broadsheet** has become less the feminist magazine that it professes to be and is now a socialist platform for racist activists who use the magazine to spit hate, filth and revolution, anti-feminist and anti-white.'<sup>122</sup> Mary Thomas discussed the 'role' of *Broadsheet* and how there needed to be a clearer role description, she was against 'the forum for single issues be it lesbianism, elitism, Maori Sovereignty or what have you. It must embrace our whole sisterhood.' In reality these issues were important for the whole sisterhood.<sup>123</sup> Liane Meredith asked the question 'why is **Broadsheet** bending over backwards to add token articles appealing to the Maori minority, when it's an otherwise very useful and non-discriminatory magazine?'<sup>124</sup> Kate was 'dismayed as issue after issue of **Broadsheet** keeps arriving filled to overflowing with the subject of Maori Sovereignty, Maori rights, etc. etc. etc., and I am amazed. Are we expected to go along with all this? Do you really believe all this stuff you keep printing?'<sup>125</sup> A lack of awareness of the situation which Maori society was in, evidently contributed to these critical views. This demonstrated the need for a greater understanding of what Maori women had voiced in *Broadsheet*, and perhaps further demonstrated the need for such Maori contributions to be published.

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<sup>119</sup> Jill, 'Pakeha Women Respond to Maori Sovereignty', *Broadsheet*, June (1983), 16.

<sup>120</sup> Alison, 'Pakeha Women Respond to Maori Sovereignty', *Broadsheet*, June 1983, 17.

<sup>121</sup> Anne Small, 'Letter', *Broadsheet*, January/February (1983), 3.

<sup>122</sup> Jean Rhodes, 'Letter', *Broadsheet*, January/February (1983), 3.

<sup>123</sup> Mary Thomas, 'Letter', *Broadsheet*, March (1983), 2.

<sup>124</sup> Liane Meredith, 'Letter', *Broadsheet*, March (1983), 2.

<sup>125</sup> Kate, 'Letter', *Broadsheet*, April (1983), 2.

## ‘Oppression(s)?’

Questioning where the oppression of ‘racism’ fitted in relation to ‘sexism’ became more significant to second wave feminism in New Zealand because of the relationship between Maori and Pakeha feminists. That the ‘voicing of a different set of grievances forced other women’s organisations to re-examine their assumptions about oppression, equality and social justice’ was influenced by Maori women.<sup>126</sup> As Dalziel suggested, ‘feminism was never one movement or ideology’ and therefore not static in terms of the development of feminist ideas.<sup>127</sup> New Zealand racism had evidently been an on-going issue for Maori women, but *Broadsheet* conveyed how it was not till the late 1970s that Pakeha feminists reflected on racism in this second wave feminist context. Racism was discussed at the 1978 Piha Women’s Liberation Congress.<sup>128</sup> Dann stated that it was the ‘first time this tricky topic had been so deliberately broached at a Women’s Liberation gathering in New Zealand,’ whereas prior to this the issue came up far more unexpectedly for Pakeha feminists.<sup>129</sup> Looking at oppressions other than just sexism would have made Pakeha question what second wave feminism was about. By second wave feminism emphasising a ‘sisterhood’ and that ‘women were a ‘class’ with common interests,’ this concealed the ‘differing experiences of oppression’ within second wave feminism.<sup>130</sup> *Broadsheet* clearly gave space for the oppression of sexism from the start, but it was the consideration of racism in this feminist framework which demonstrated broader thinking, but created apprehension for some.<sup>131</sup>

The emphasis on the idea that there was a connection between oppressions, allowed for stimulating discussions in regards to what second wave feminism consisted of. In 1980, Awatere attended the NGO forum in Copenhagen, amongst a culturally diverse group of

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<sup>126</sup> Raewyn Dalziel, ‘Political Organisations’ in *Women Together: A History of Women’s Organisations in New Zealand: nga ropu wahine o te motu*, ed. Anne Else (Wellington: Historical Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs : Daphne Brasell Associates Press, 1993), p. 67.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>128</sup> Christine Dann, *Up From Under*, p. 35.

<sup>129</sup> Christine Dann, ‘1978 WLM CONGRESS’, *Broadsheet*, March (1978), 10.

<sup>130</sup> Sandra Coney, ‘Why the women’s movement ran out of steam’ in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, p. 62.

<sup>131</sup> Pat Rosier, ‘Introduction’ in *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine*, p. 10.

women.<sup>132</sup> Awatere noted that ‘without exception, all had an analysis in which racism, sexism and capitalism is merely the bottom line.’<sup>133</sup> In contrast ‘NZ feminists suffering from parochial myopia seems to find it difficult to integrate the facts of racism, which is staring them in the face here into a conceptual framework which includes feminism, let alone capitalism which is the economic reality of all our lives.’<sup>134</sup> Furthermore, Mona Papali’i in a report on the ‘First National Black Women’s Hui,’ found that second wave feminism was contradictory because while it paid attention to sexism, ‘other’ oppressions were not given the same importance.<sup>135</sup> Papali’i’s discussion identified a point of difference between Maori and Pakeha women, the idea that the awareness of Maori women of sexism needed to grow because ‘sexism is often seen as a Pakeha problem.’ So too did the connection between sexism and racism need to grow for Pakeha feminists.<sup>136</sup>

Various Pakeha feminists, who were involved with the production of *Broadsheet*, appeared to have understood that Maori women were attempting to widen the focus of second wave feminism. A notable Pakeha feminist Coney, was acquainted with, understood and supported Awatere.<sup>137</sup> Awatere mentioned that Maori women stressed, at a 1979 conference, that they ‘had allied with Pakeha on feminist issues and they should ally with us on Treaty issues. Sandra Coney was the only one who didn’t resist this.’<sup>138</sup> Coney had acknowledged the ‘narrow’ label of second wave feminism and stated ‘feminism is a world view and must provide a perspective on all issues, and radical feminism must also include opposition to racism, capitalism and any other form of oppression.’<sup>139</sup> Coney recognised the appeal of ‘non-feminist groups,’ such as the ‘labour movement, the anti-nuclear movement, the left, the gay liberation movement.’<sup>140</sup> Coney drew on the work of Awatere, and stated Awatere:

sees racism, capitalism and sexism as three sides of a prism oppressing women, and especially Maori women. Thus, to her, attacking on any one of these fronts is an integral part of fighting for feminist revolution. She stressed, however, that feminists must not make the mistake of the male Left, trusting that the other sides of the prism will collapse if one is smashed. All must be attacked simultaneously.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Donna Awatere, ‘Awatere at Copenhagen’, *Broadsheet*, October (1980), 10.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>135</sup> Mona Papali’i and Donna Awatere, ‘Korero-Tia Wahine Ma!’ , *Broadsheet*, November (1980), 14.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>137</sup> Donna Awatere Huata, ‘Walking on Eggs’ in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, p. 124.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 124

<sup>139</sup> Sandra Coney, ‘Coalition Politics’, *Broadsheet*, September (1981), 26.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.



Clearly Coney is one example of a Pakeha feminist who demonstrated support for what Maori women were presenting. Reflecting specifically on Coney, however, is important because her central role as long-time editor of *Broadsheet*, gives the impression that she was in an influential position in regards to other Pakeha feminists.<sup>142</sup>

Arguments against the widening of the ‘feminist’ framework to take into consideration ‘other’ political movements received criticism in *Broadsheet* as the message that Maori women projected was understood by Pakeha women. For instance, a letter to the editor in May 1982 by Sarah Calvert suggested:

giving women’s energy, money and time to other struggles however worthy and important, diverts us from the essential. That women throughout the world are oppressed by men and by patriarchy, that is the first and the primary oppression.<sup>143</sup>

*Broadsheet* published responses which illustrated a degree of concern with Calvert’s view.<sup>144</sup> Sue Fitchett viewed issues as ‘other’ and separate, with feminism more dominant, yet she was concerned about no attention on ‘other’ issues.<sup>145</sup> Doreen Suddens believed that all issues were ‘partners in crime with the patriarchy’ and feminism ‘has to be linked with the other realities of the world’ and Mari Hancock agreed, ‘let’s have a united battle – not a fragmented one.’<sup>146</sup> Lyn Schnauer praised *Broadsheet* for their wider political focus with its articles.<sup>147</sup> Hilda Halkyard thought that ‘each and everyone [sic] of the issues is interconnected and consequently overlaps.’<sup>148</sup> Coney recognised that ‘changing and growing politically, embracing new ideas, confronting your own part in others’ oppression is never, never easy,’ although ‘if our movement is to be strong, and truly a movement of all women, we must listen to what women tell us are the crucial issues for them.’<sup>149</sup> Diversity was reflected by these responses, but they also signified a similar perspective that it was more than just sexism that needed to be taken into consideration and that narrow perspectives were no longer accepted so readily.

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<sup>142</sup> Sandra Coney, ‘Broadsheet 10 Years On’, *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 19.

<sup>143</sup> Sarah Calvert, ‘Letter’, *Broadsheet*, May (1982), 2-3.

<sup>144</sup> See letters to the editor *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 2-3.

<sup>145</sup> Sue Fitchett, ‘Letter’, *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 2.

<sup>146</sup> Doreen Suddens ‘Letter’, *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 2; Mari Hancock, ‘Letter’, *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 2.

<sup>147</sup> Lyn Schnauer, ‘Letter’, *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 2-3.

<sup>148</sup> Hilda Halkyard, ‘Letter’, *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 3.

<sup>149</sup> Sandra Coney, ‘Letter’, *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 3.

The Broadsheet Collective demonstrated support for Maori women and considered racism an important issue which needed to be addressed. In November 1982, the Broadsheet Collective published a statement in *Broadsheet* specifically about racism.<sup>150</sup> An important element of *Broadsheet* was the freedom to voice opinions, nevertheless the Collective were worried about the racist views being expressed within letters.<sup>151</sup> They made their stance particularly clear with their assertion that ‘the **Broadsheet** collective contends that feminism must embrace opposition to all forms of oppression. Fighting racism includes fighting it within ourselves and our movement.’<sup>152</sup> Drawing on what Maori and Pacific Island women had said over the past four years about the lack of relevance of Second Wave feminism, racism was a timely issue to address.<sup>153</sup> The Broadsheet Collective’s statement concluded that ‘feminism is not a fixed philosophy. Growth through struggle can bring to the movement a new depth and maturity, the strength of unity rather than disunity – if we accept the challenge.’<sup>154</sup> As Daly suggested, ‘sometimes the collective ran ahead of readers’ because of the space made for discussions about racism.<sup>155</sup> The statement made by the Broadsheet collective reflected this suggestion.

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<sup>150</sup> Broadsheet Collective, ‘A Statement from the Collective’, November (1982), 43.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> Carmel Daly, ‘Broadsheet Collective 1972 -’ in *Women Together*, p. 101.

# Chapter Three

## Maori Women Contribute

Maori women were given an increased space in *Broadsheet* from the late 1970s and especially in the 1980s. The longevity of the effort by Maori women with their work was conveyed by Te Awekotuku who stated ‘what these women did preceded feminism, or women’s liberation, in the Maori world.’<sup>156</sup> This had not been given the credit it deserved in earlier issues of *Broadsheet*. The 1980s are acknowledged as a time when Maori women made a strong impact with ‘the challenge made by Maori feminists to the priorities and political agendas of Pakeha feminists.’<sup>157</sup> Although depicted as starting from an oppressive position, Awatere believed it demonstrated the overall strength of Maori women in the face of adversity because ‘Maori women have many opportunities that Pakeha women don’t have. We have management opportunities through marae management and organising huge hui. Hundreds of ordinary Maori women have started kohanga reo from nothing, for example. They have fundraised, done the lot.’<sup>158</sup> The Maori Women’s Welfare League (MWWL) and the Maori women within Nga Tomatoa were prominent examples. Although not a clear-cut split, *Broadsheet* reflected a contrast of the attitudes and approaches between these two important groups. Both groups, however, shared concern with Maori men, and Maori women were seen as the answer to influence beneficial change.<sup>159</sup>

The MWWL, established in 1951, demonstrated that at an early stage there was a necessity for a space to be made for Maori women within Maori society.<sup>160</sup> Mira Szaszy, in *Broadsheet* 1983, discussed how the MWWL primarily provided a space for Maori women ‘because the men on marae committees weren’t dealing with the problems of women and children. The

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<sup>156</sup> Te Awekotuku, Ngahuia, ‘Mana Wahine Maori’ in *Mana Wahine Maori*, p. 10.

<sup>157</sup> Charlotte MacDonald, *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink*, p. 208.

<sup>158</sup> Donna Awatere Huata, ‘Walking on Eggs’ in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, p. 130.

<sup>159</sup> Mira Szaszy interviewed by Sharon Hawke, ‘Mira Szaszy’, *Broadsheet*, September (1983), 34; Linda Tuhiwai Smith, ‘Nga Tomatoa’ in *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote*, pp. 144-145.

<sup>160</sup> Mira Szaszy interviewed by Sharon Hawke, ‘Mira Szaszy’, *Broadsheet*, September (1983), 34.

league was formed so that women could handle situations that concerned them greatly.’<sup>161</sup> Szaszy compared the MWWL generation to those women who were judged as radical, ‘the basic principles are the same. It is the methods used in attempting to change the structures which are different.’<sup>162</sup> A MWWL Conference was reported in 1982 by Peggy Ashton, noted as Pakeha, who suggested ‘Maori women have always been a powerful force for social progress in their own society.’<sup>163</sup> Ashton noted that the conservative nature of the group was recognised by MWWL President Violet Pou, but ‘the issues of language, land and social justice evoke strong reactions in the traditionalist equally with the radical.’<sup>164</sup> Szaszy, who is well-known for her focus on marae-speaking rights, declared in her MWWL Conference speech which was published in *Broadsheet*, ‘sexism and racism are blood-brothers’ and how the ‘denial of speaking rights, in itself, appears on the surface to be harmless, and acceptable to many women, because the custom is said to be traditional. But, like education in our school system, it is the “unwritten curriculum” with its hidden messages, that is so corrosive.’<sup>165</sup> Sexism was portrayed as an important element of the MWWL amongst their campaign for a better Maori society.

Nga Tomatoa reflected a more radical approach, with Maori women who had strong personalities.<sup>166</sup> A significant change was made to Nga Tomatoa in 1976, with a ‘re-form’ as Awatere noted, ‘no men wanted to join so we ended up as an all-woman group by default. Naturally we looked at women’s issues and attracted more women members. Until this time nobody in Nga Tomatoa had had a feminist perspective.’<sup>167</sup> Halkyard and Evans are identified as Maori women who instigated this restructure.<sup>168</sup> ‘Sexism’ was as relevant to Nga Tomatoa, as race issues. For instance, Maori women were offended by Maori men preferring Pakeha women because they felt personally let down.<sup>169</sup> Importantly within Nga Tomatoa ‘it was often noted that while Maori men were very aware of Maori oppression, they could not

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<sup>161</sup> Mira Szaszy interviewed by Sharon Hawke, ‘Mira Szaszy’, *Broadsheet*, September (1983), 34.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>163</sup> Peggy Ashton, ‘From the Flax Roots’, *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 10.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>165</sup> Mira Szaszy, ‘Pay Heed to the Dignity of Women’, *Broadsheet*, November (1983), 15-16. This was a speech given during the 1983 MWWL National Conference.

<sup>166</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, ‘Nga Tomatoa’ in *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote*, p. 144.

<sup>167</sup> Awatere Huata, Donna, ‘Walking on Eggs’ in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, p. 122.

<sup>168</sup> Christine Dann and Donna Awatere, ‘Maori women on the move’, *Broadsheet*, November (1976), 7.

<sup>169</sup> Awatere Huata, Donna, ‘Walking on Eggs’ in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, p. 123.

see a similar oppression occurring for Maori women.’<sup>170</sup> The idea of ‘double oppression’ was alluded to by the concerns of Nga Tomatoa because of the relevance of both racism and sexism. Therefore, this demonstrated that Maori women were not happy with the situation they were in and perhaps the roots of their determination came from this discontent.

A closer analysis of Maori women, who came to have prominence during the 1970s and 1980s is essential in gaining a sense of the attitudes they had in terms of second wave feminism. Some of these women became quite familiar within *Broadsheet* for voicing their opinions. In *Broadsheet*’s 10<sup>th</sup> Birthday special edition, the Broadsheet Collective decided to include full page articles on Maori women involved in the movement, who were introduced by Awatere.<sup>171</sup> The amount of content from a Maori perspective stands out when compared to past issues of *Broadsheet*. Awatere made a bold statement that Maori women were an essential element to the struggle for the Maori cause, in her introduction to the published conversations she had with ‘**Hana Jackson, Eva Rickard and Titewhai Harawira.**’<sup>172</sup> The goals of each woman reflected a consensus on the importance of land and language, although they ‘didn’t always agree on the plan, but as to the goal, always agreement.’<sup>173</sup>

The background of each woman was important in understanding where the women came from in terms of attitudes and beliefs. Jackson, who from the early 1970s was involved with Halt All Racist Tours (HALT) and Maori language, stated ‘the women were more than the strength of Tomatoa, we were Tomatoa.’<sup>174</sup> Jackson depicted a complex situation of Maori women attempting to make positive changes for Maori society such as the teaching of Maori language in schools. Women were disliked by Maori men, who for example ‘said that no-one would follow the Land March because it was led by a woman.’<sup>175</sup> Eva Rickard, who is well-known through the Maori land issue at Raglan, ‘spent between 1972 and 74 writing countless letters, making endless enquiries and struggling to understand the white man’s rules and regulations so I could figure out how they had stolen our land.’<sup>176</sup> Rickard labelled the MWWL as a ‘sell-out.’<sup>177</sup> Similar to Jackson, Rickard argued, ‘I believe the Maori women

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<sup>170</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, ‘Nga Tomatoa’ in *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote*, p. 145.

<sup>171</sup> Donna Awatere, ‘Wahine Ma Korerotia’, *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 23.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 23. Bold used in original article.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> Hana Jackson and Donna Awatere, ‘Hana Jackson’, *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 24-25.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>176</sup> Eva Rickard and Donna Awatere, ‘Eva Rickard’, *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 26.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

are going to make the impact that will make whites sit up and take note. Right throughout the struggle it's been the men who have wanted to sell us out at Raglan.'<sup>178</sup> Titewhai Harawira also represented a similar attitude towards the MWWL, as she recollected that 'the League in my day was into positive stuff. Not this cup of tea stuff.'<sup>179</sup> The League was represented as a central organisation to be a part of early on, but perhaps an approach that was not considered relevant for this time. Nga Tomatoa appeared to have taken up the challenge for relevance in a radical way.<sup>180</sup> Halkyard, who had Maori language high on her agenda and was a member of Nga Tomatoa, expressed her opinion of Nga Tomatoa, where 'it made me strong to be with a whole lot of other Maori people who had had the same experiences as I had.'<sup>181</sup> The style of this group was noted as different to before, and one which 'whites can't ignore.'<sup>182</sup> Initially, Halkyard 'found it hard to look at women's issues at first because it meant challenging Maori institutions,' but when she had acquired a leadership role as 'President of University Maori Club in 1976 and 1977' she found this was required because the men were not supportive.<sup>183</sup> Halkyard, however, was positive about a group called Tama Tu who supported anti-sexism.<sup>184</sup>

Evidence of influential Maori women and writings is noted in additional issues of *Broadsheet* during the 1980s, with attention paid to Nga Tomatoa. Evans, a central member of Nga Tomatoa, noted that 'it seems old news to say that in Nga Tomatoa the women did all the shit while the men did all the star turns.'<sup>185</sup> The key role for Maori women was 'organisation' and Evans stated 'the women did it all' and then they were faced with having 'to listen to all the blood and guts turns of the men.'<sup>186</sup> Within her personal account, Te Awekotuku suggested that 'Tomatoa was really important because through our extremely noisy and radiant and enthusiastic attention-seeking we actually brought to the public eye a number of issues that had been either ignored or dismissed or shelved for many, many decades.'<sup>187</sup> From 1972 Te Awekotuku was involved with Maori language.<sup>188</sup> Looking back in 1989, she believed that in regards to Nga Tomatoa, speaking Maori language was an issue even with these activists

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Titewhai Harawira and Donna Awatere, 'Titewhai Harawira', *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 27.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>181</sup> Hilda Halkyard and Donna Awatere, 'Hilda Halkyard', *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 29.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Rebecca Evans, 'Rebecca Evans', *Broadsheet*, October (1982), 12.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>187</sup> Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, 'Ngahuia Te Awekotuku', *Broadsheet*, December (1989), 17.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 18.

themselves, which made it a challenge to link to ‘traditional sources of protests’ because ‘we didn’t have native speakers.’<sup>189</sup> The ability for Maori women to be able to tell their own story appeared to have been realised by the *Broadsheet* Collective. There was a sense of depth and passion in what these women were saying, the relationship they had with Maori men, the struggle for the recognition of Maori culture, their relation to second wave feminism and being Maori women.

An expression of working independently from Pakeha women was evident in relation to proceedings that were organised by Maori women. As a general observation but simultaneously significant in terms of timing, *Broadsheet* began publishing reports on conferences organised by Maori women from the early 1980s. The focus of Maori women’s hui included Maori language, the Treaty of Waitangi, Maori women’s centres, Pacific concerns, Rape crisis, Maori women’s union and health. A noteworthy hui was the ‘Second National Maori Women’s Hui’ and the planning stages of this hui were discussed in the article ‘National Hui Wahine Maori.’<sup>190</sup> The group Tautoko Wahine Whanau, were central to this planning, and ‘major focusses for the hui will include the marae, employment, street survival, health, recreation, Te Kohanga Reo and arts and crafts.’<sup>191</sup> Furthermore, reportage of this hui was undertaken by Evans who interviewed event organisers.<sup>192</sup> In terms of content, there was emphasis on ‘our aspirations and struggle to be as one with our own people, our children, our land, our marae, our language.’<sup>193</sup> An important observation on marae-speaking was made, ‘it is only one small part of the uprising of Maori women. If you give too much emphasis to one aspect of our struggle it may seem that we seek only narrow and cosmetic changes. That is not true. Women are involved throughout the leadership and direction of the Maori struggle.’<sup>194</sup> Dann recognised that at this hui ‘there was a big effort by older and younger Maori women to listen and learn from each other in their different areas of experience and expertise.’<sup>195</sup> Although this was just one of many hui that were included in *Broadsheet* during the 1980s, this example allows an in-depth insight into the nature of the independent work that Maori women achieved and what was important to them.

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<sup>189</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>190</sup> Sandra Coney, ‘National Hui Wahine Maori’, *Broadsheet*, March (1984), 10.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>192</sup> Ripeka Evans and Tautoko Wahine, ‘Nga Puawaitanga O Nga Wahine’, *Broadsheet*, June (1984), 20-22.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> Christine Dann, *Up From Under*, p. 37.

## New Zealand Race Relations

Moments of the disarray in New Zealand race relations occurred during the 1970s and 1980s, as Maori challenged the idea of New Zealand's 'great' race relations.<sup>196</sup> This was a time of challenge. For Pakeha 'a large and urbanised Maori population was less easily ignored than a small a rural one.'<sup>197</sup> Pakeha were influenced by this protest era to in terms of events such as the Vietnam War and 1981 Springbok rugby tour on an international level, but the importance laid in the awareness of Pakeha that racism existed in New Zealand.<sup>198</sup> From the late 1970s, *Broadsheet* articles paid attention to events such as Bastion Point land struggles, Springbok Tour racism and protests against the annual Waitangi Day 'celebrations.' Maori women played an important part in having these important issues given attention.<sup>199</sup> Dann recognised that 'Maori feminists have made a significant new contribution to the political analysis and progress of their own people, and to New Zealand as a whole.'<sup>200</sup> The feminist framework of *Broadsheet* contributed to women being made the centre from where New Zealand race relation issues were interpreted in the articles published. This focus also increased the relevance of second wave feminism for Maori women because it addressed the struggles they had fought for.

An intriguing suggestion was raised by Paul Moon which contrasts with what an analysis of *Broadsheet* has revealed in regards to the leaders of these race relations events. Moon suggested:

For all the stereotypes about Maori society being overbearingly patriarchal, Nga Tomatoa, the Land March and the Bastion Point occupation brought Maori women to the fore, not out of any self-conscious demand for gender equality, but because it was the testing environment of protesting, the best people were needed for various leadership functions – and if the best person for a particular role

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<sup>196</sup> Michael King, 'Return of Mana Maori,' in *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (North Shore: Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd, 2003), p. 47.

<sup>197</sup> James Belich, 'Resurgent Maori,' in *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*, (Auckland: Allen Lane: Penguin Press, 2001), p. 475.

<sup>198</sup> Jock Phillips, 'A Nation of Two Halves', *NZ Listener*, 8-14 July 2006, pp. 13, 19.

<sup>199</sup> Barbara L. Brookes, 'A Germaine Moment: style, language and audience' in *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand's Pasts*, p. 200.

<sup>200</sup> Christine Dann, *Up From Under*, p. 39.



happened to be a woman, that was purely incidental to advancing whatever cause the activists were advancing.<sup>201</sup>

The credit that Maori women should have received is downplayed by Moon. The fact that Maori women were ‘women’ was a crucial aspect because of their position. While Maori women were evidently fighting for Maori society as a whole, this fight was not solely racism-based because sexism was also highly relevant in regards to leaders. Therefore, this conclusion would not fit with the evidence that was conveyed within *Broadsheet*. Maori women were central leaders during the occupation at Bastion Point and ‘we gain our place in the movement only because we fight for it. Women are active on the committees, on the marches, in the courts. Our worth as leaders can not [sic] be disputed.’<sup>202</sup> Coney discussed an event with the women from Bastion Point, which was central to women taking a strong role at Bastion Point. This was a ‘re-occupation’ of the land and judged as a ‘women’s’ decision.<sup>203</sup> The attitude of Evans is reflected in her statement, ‘we decided that rather than get the issue debated by the whole group it was better to do it with a group that was committed to staying on the land, and prepared to face the possibility of being arrested.’<sup>204</sup> Coney asked ‘how did it become a women’s protest?’ in which Evans responded by stating ‘our closest allies are all women.’<sup>205</sup> The effort of Maori women was recognised within *Broadsheet*, but most importantly Maori women recognised their own leadership skills, which would not have been hard to recognise given the nature of their work and the determination in their attitude.

The public visibility of Maori women during protests conveyed this central position. For instance, Springbok Tour coverage in an article called ‘Women against the Tour’ where the title signified the subject, conveyed that it was ‘timely to look at the role of women in the struggles.’<sup>206</sup> The realisation of self-belief was conveyed as important, as:

regular marchers have got used to seeing Maori women in a literally up-front role in the anti-tour campaign. New Zealanders watching the latest incredible episode of the Tour Troubles unfolding on their tellies can’t have missed the fact that the marshalling the marches, facing the batons, and directing the invasions of jet planes, motorways and rugby pitches are women. For women, and especially Maori women, form the backbone of the anti-tour movement.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Moon, Paul, ‘The 1970s’ in *New Zealand in the Twentieth Century: The Nation, The People* (Auckland: HarperCollins, 2011), p. 484.

<sup>202</sup> Jan Farr, ‘Bastion Point’, *Broadsheet*, September (1978), 22.

<sup>203</sup> Sandra Coney, Rebecca Evans, Sharon Hawke and Lyn Schnauer, ‘The Bastion Point Thirteen’, *Broadsheet*, April (1982), 6-8.

<sup>204</sup> Rebecca Evans and Sandra Coney, ‘The Bastion Point Thirteen’, *Broadsheet*, April (1982), 6.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>206</sup> Sandra Coney, ‘Women Against the Tour’, *Broadsheet*, September (1981), 8.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

Although this leadership was recognised at the time, Awatere believed that Maori women as leaders had only become more visible.<sup>208</sup> Awatere also noted that ‘Maori women bring to the anti-racist struggle a killer attitude that comes from being more determined.’<sup>209</sup> It was the evident progress made during years of organisation and the closeness between the Maori women themselves.<sup>210</sup> Maori women judged as a threat, was based upon the large number of Maori women arrested.<sup>211</sup> An article titled ‘Women Lead at Waitangi 1980,’ conveyed a similar leadership idea and there was something powerful about the way ‘every woman who stood up and spoke at Waitangi created her own right to speak.’<sup>212</sup> Evans wrote ‘to speak, to chant, to marshal [sic], to organise, to analyse, to dare - this was the role taken by Maori women.’<sup>213</sup> Evans also noted in an article about Bastion Point that ‘black men won’t give up their power that easily, so we actively take power away from them and take [sic] decisions for ourselves.’<sup>214</sup> The ‘traditional male dominance’ at Bastion Point had been an issue that needed attention, where one method was to ‘shift him out of the way as you would any piece of furniture that is a hindrance.’<sup>215</sup> Maori women were conveyed as a source of strength, and in looking at a reason why they had decided to take this initiative alluded to the idea that Maori men were not doing their share of the work.<sup>216</sup>

The actions of Pakeha feminists demonstrated they had understood and supported the work of Maori women. Involvement in the Springbok Tour protests, demonstrated that Pakeha feminists ‘were interested to consider what the feminist movement might learn from the organisational strategies of the anti-tour movement.’<sup>217</sup> Schnauer, involved in the Springbok Tour protests, had ‘realised that I hold many privileges as a white person, and that I am racist as long as I continue to enjoy these privileges while blacks in Aotearoa are exploited and discriminated against.’<sup>218</sup> Schnauer related the racism evident in the Springbok Tour with what the Treaty of Waitangi represented, and noted that ‘I am part of 142 years of racism, I

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<sup>208</sup> Donna Awatere and Sandra Coney, ‘Women Against the Tour’, *Broadsheet*, September (1981), 8.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>211</sup> Rebecca Evans and Sandra Coney, ‘Women against the tour’, *Broadsheet*, September (1981), 9.

<sup>212</sup> Ripeka Evans, ‘Women Lead at Waitangi 1980’, *Broadsheet*, April (1980), 5.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>214</sup> Rebecca Evans and Sandra Coney, ‘The Bastion Point Thirteen’, *Broadsheet*, April (1982), 7.

<sup>215</sup> Jan Farr, ‘Bastion Point’, *Broadsheet*, September (1978), 21.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>217</sup> Judith Aitken and Ros Noonan, ‘Rugby, Racism and Riot Gear’, *Broadsheet*, November (1981), 16.

<sup>218</sup> Lyn Schnauer, ‘Waitangi 1982’, *Broadsheet*, March (1982), 8.

feel responsibility for present day white racism.<sup>219</sup> Pakeha support was also apparent through groups such as ‘Project Waitangi’ which was established in 1986, with an aim ‘to stimulate study and debate among Pakehas throughout the country on the Treaty of Waitangi.’ Central concerns of this group were ‘Pakeha responsibility’ and a ‘deeper understanding of New Zealand history.’<sup>220</sup> Other Pakeha groups included ‘Whites Against Waitangi’ and others supported the ‘Waitangi Action Committee.’<sup>221</sup> Pakeha feminists were also subjected to discipline from the courts through their commitment to the Maori struggle cause.<sup>222</sup> Camille Guy discussed Coney’s time in prison due to a suspected assault of throwing objects during Waitangi Day ‘celebrations.’<sup>223</sup> Coney argued that the visibility of protest would ‘draw attention to the current state of New Zealand as a racist society. As a feminist I cannot implicitly collude in the oppression of other people. It would be inconsistent, a contradiction to work on women’s oppression but do nothing about the fact that I’m oppressing other people.’<sup>224</sup> Pakeha women had evidently taken a supportive stance in their relationship with Maori women.

Pakeha feminist support of Maori women was also up for interpretation. In regards to Bastion Point, Evans suggested ‘we need whites who are going to fight with us on our issues on terms that we set down, who are also going to be mutineers in their own system.’<sup>225</sup> ‘Support’ was a concept that was emphasised by Schnauer, where ‘white women’ had the potential of ‘changing their fellow whites.’<sup>226</sup> Evans, in ‘Whites, Women and Waitangi,’ questioned Pakeha feminist support at Waitangi Day, and stated that ‘white support for the issue has also increased, following the lobbying throughout the year by Maori organisations. For the first time, this year a majority of whites were arrested in various attacks aimed at stopping the celebrations.’<sup>227</sup> Evans believed that the focus needed to be the ‘self-determination for Maori people’ and ‘the lesson for whites is that protest against the Treaty is not a five-minute wonder.’<sup>228</sup> *Broadsheet* included a statement with this article, which read ‘we hope that

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<sup>219</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>220</sup> Celine Kearney, ‘Project Waitangi’, *Broadsheet*, May (1986), 10.

<sup>221</sup> Lyn Schnauer, ‘Waitangi 1982’, *Broadsheet*, March (1982), 8.

<sup>222</sup> Camille Guy, ‘The Queen Was Not Amused’, *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 6.

<sup>223</sup> Sandra Coney, ‘The Queen Was Not Amused’, *Broadsheet*, July/August (1982), 6.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>225</sup> Rebecca Evans and Sandra Coney, ‘The Bastion Point Thirteen’, *Broadsheet*, April (1982), 8.

<sup>226</sup> Lyn Schnauer and Sandra Coney, ‘The Bastion Point Thirteen,’ *Broadsheet*, April (1982), 8.

<sup>227</sup> Rebecca Evans, ‘Whites, Women and Waitangi’, *Broadsheet*, March (1983), 9.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 9.

issues raised in this article will be discussed in future issues of **Broadsheet**.<sup>229</sup> Therefore, support was viewed as a crucial aspect of the relationship between Maori and Pakeha women.

Further to the support of questioning what the Treaty meant to New Zealanders, in the late 1980s *Broadsheet* published articles that voiced concern about the forthcoming 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Treaty of Waitangi. The New Zealand Government instituted a '1990 Commission' which funded and planned these celebrations.<sup>230</sup> Maori involvement within the '1990 Commission' was viewed as minimal, and Mikaere expressed 'you kinda get the bizarre impression that you've been invited to attend your own birthday while being deprived of blowing out the candles, or even getting a slice of the cake.'<sup>231</sup> An article titled 'Trick or Treaty' expressed concern about how 'an image of New Zealand as an example of unity, tolerance and perfect race relations is what the Government wants to beam to the rest of the world.'<sup>232</sup> Clark also noted that 'racial harmony in New Zealand is said to be threatened because of the increasing visibility and vocality of Maori claims and grievances, yet happy race relations is not really the issue just yet.'<sup>233</sup> New Zealanders could not simply just ignore the issues of race relations anymore, as they needed to be a high priority.<sup>234</sup> The idea of 'great' New Zealand race relations was still considered a prevailing ideal in the late 1980s, which *Broadsheet* contributions visibly critiqued.

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<sup>229</sup> Ibid.

<sup>230</sup> Bernadette McCartney, 'Trick or Treaty', *Broadsheet*, November (1989), 8.

<sup>231</sup> Whaitiri Mikaere, '1990 Whitewash celebrations', *Broadsheet*, April (1989), 13.

<sup>232</sup> Bernadette McCartney, 'Trick or Treaty', *Broadsheet*, November (1989), 8.

<sup>233</sup> Ruth Clark, 'Towards 1990', *Broadsheet*, September (1988), 25.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., 26.

# Conclusion

*Broadsheet* as a primary source offers great insight into the relationship between and perspectives of both Maori and Pakeha second wave feminism. The portrayal of these perspectives and attitudes was essential in understanding the reasons why race relations was a crucial subject during the 1970s and 1980s within New Zealand second wave feminism. Furthermore, the issues that surfaced reflected the discontent with New Zealand race relations on a wider scale. The fact that Maori women played a central role in influencing the recognition of the discontent in New Zealand race relations, and the major impact this had, cannot be emphasised enough. As Dann noted, ‘the Maori women’s movement is both a criticism and a continuation of women’s liberation in New Zealand, and in its focus on the indigenous spiritual values of land and identity offers a vision of new ways to create and enjoy a just and peaceable society.’<sup>235</sup> The passion and determination of Maori women’s attitudes was consistently conveyed within *Broadsheet*. Although a confrontational text, the arguments expressed in Awatere’s *Maori Sovereignty* were influential and challenged Pakeha feminists to question the society they lived in. Observations of *Broadsheet* also revealed that second wave feminism was made relevant to Maori women because they made it relevant themselves. As the dominant group, Pakeha feminists needed to understand their perspective in order for this to be successful, so the confrontation that occurred was a necessity in the process of change. Although Maori women were represented in an oppressed position, they did not appear to second-guess their own goals and beliefs, which suggested that their attitude reflected a self-determination that was highly inspirational.

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<sup>235</sup> Christine Dann, *Up From Under*, pp.38- 39.

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