Stories of Three Female Social Justice Leaders: Understanding the Origins of their Leadership

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree

of Doctor of Education

in the University of Canterbury

by Tui Summers

Ngāti Raukawa

University of Canterbury

2022

Mihi

Ko Tainui te waka

Ko Tararua te maunga

Ko Ōtaki te awa

Ko Raukawa te marae

Ko Ngāti Raukawa te iwi

Ko Ngāti Huia te hapū

Ko Tui Summers ahau

Acknowledgements

My heartfelt thanks to my supervisory team. Associate Professor Annelies Kamp, thank you for your openness, integrity, endless enthusiasm and wise guidance. Professor Katie Pickles, you gave such useful feedback particularly in relation to relevant readings and I really appreciated your timely emotional support when Covid-19 threatened my progress. Ngā mihi nui ki a koe Te Hurinui Karaka Clarke, you guided me gently and expertly with a te ao Māori lens. I would also like to acknowledge Sonja MacFarlane who also briefly supported my research from a Māori pespective before Te Hurinui stepped into this role.

A learning for me from my research process has been the wonderful support of librarians and archivists. I was warmly and ably supported by Gillian Headifen at the Alexander Turnbull Library and by Fiona Tyson and Erin Kimber at the MacMillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury. Navigating these environments is complex at the best of times, let alone during Covid-19 restrictions.

A big warm thank you to Jacqueline Tither, Learning Advisor, Student Services, University of Canterbury. You have been an enormous help with my thinking and writing, and you have supported and encouraged me by editing drafts. Words cannot express my thanks for your patience, warmth and wisdom. Thank you to Alison Gilmore for your proofreading assistance and for making me see the difference that detail makes.

Sincere thanks to my employer, Te Rito Maioha, Early Childhood New Zealand for support with time and funds. My thanks also to my colleagues and to my friends who have patiently and politely asked when I will be finished.

My aroha and acknowledgement to my sisters, Ange, Ariana and Margie for your encouragement and awhi. Special thanks to Kiri, for your interest, questions and discussions about this thesis and the regular emotional support and encouragement for my progress. My thanks to my other siblings, John, Liam, Angharad and Ethan, for always supporting my endeavours. My thanks to my father for instilling the importance of a work ethic and for showing me what is possible with hard work. Lots of aroha to you Mum for affirming the importance of what I was doing and for giving me the confidence that I could do it.

I thank the people who were interviewed as part of this thesis: Graham Kelly, my Mum, Ariana Te Aomarere, Te Waari Carkeek, Margie Peerless and my Aunty Bronwen. Ngā mihi nui ki a koutou for your willingness, openness and trust in me to represent what you told me in

a respectful way. Thank you also to my aunties and uncle who were interviewed prior to my research by my brother John and who kindly agreed that their interviews could be used for this thesis: my Aunty Faith and Aunty Bronwen and my amazingly energetic and enthusiastic Uncle Llewelyn (Llew) Summers who very sadly passed away during the time I was writing this thesis.

For my whānau and Sonja's whānau, I hope the stories/pūrākau of these wāhine toa give you some insights into where your tūpuna stood and, even if in a small way, I hope they strengthen where you stand.

My thanks and acknowledgements to the three women who were the focus of this thesis, Kiripuai, Sonja and Connie. This thesis would not exist without their experiences, their contributions to the archival records and their social justice leadership.

Finally and importantly, my thanks and aroha to my partner, Bruce, whose name should be on the front page of this thesis too. Your patience and support have been unwavering, whether it was providing cups of tea, listening to me read chapters aloud or accepting that we needed to change our holiday plans due to this thesis commitments. Your perceptive comments and unstinting support have been amazing and were hugely appreciated. Ngā mihi nui ki a koe Bruce.

Abstract

This qualitative investigation of three women's social justice leadership across the decades from the 1920s to the 2000s, and across Māori and Pākehā worlds, offers rich insights into the origins and orientations of women's social justice leadership in New Zealand (Aotearoa).

My research used the epistemological frameworks of Kāupapa Māori, mana wahine and feminist theory, and a qualitative methodology with a narrative inquiry approach to explore the social justice leadership of two Māori women and one Pākehā woman. Each woman's story/pūrākau was compiled from archival and other sources, as well as from interviews with whānau (extended family or family group or kin) members. The stories/pūrākau were then analysed thematically with NVivo 12 qualitative research software to explore the origins and orientations of each woman's social justice leadership. My research was 'insider' research as two of the women were my tūpuna (ancestors). Identity was an implicit theme throughout my research due to my positionality as the researcher. The ethical challenges that arose due to this positionality and the methodological decision making throughout my research process were managed with the assistance of a reflexive journal.

The women practised leadership across social, historical, cultural and political contexts. The orientations or areas that the women demonstrated leadership in were iwi, hapū, whānau, marae, education for Māori, pacifism and anti-apartheid, the union environment, peace, early childhood education and Parliament. The orientations that these women brought to their social justice leadership was influenced and shaped by their role models, their personal struggles, mana wahine and social norms. It was identified that there was a cost to their leadership. The combined costs to the three women were close family relationships, financial security and personal liberty. Gender, religion and generational contexts influenced the women's leadership in unique ways.

This thesis provides examples of how social justice leadership can be fostered in the future. For example, adolescence was identified as an age when non-familial role models can be particularly effective and how these role models can shape the behaviour of future leaders was evident. The significance and contribution of this thesis is that these women's stories/pūrākau and the nuanced and complex themes that have emerged from the analysis of these stories/pūrākau offer insights for whānau, policy, practice and future research.

CONTENTS

Mihi 2
Acknowledgements 3
Abstract 5
Chapter 1 10
Introduction 10
1.1 Personal and professional connections to my research 10
1.2 Research introduction and importance 13
1.3 Research aims and scope 14
1.4 Summary and thesis structure 16
Chapter 2 20
Literature Review 20
2.1 Definition of social justice leadership 21
2.2 Orientations of women's social justice leadership 21
2.3 Origins of women's social justice leadership 32
2.4 Conclusion 38
Chapter 3 40
Research Design and Methods 40
3.1 Epistemological frameworks 40
3.2 Methodological frameworks 45
3.3 Data generation methods 48
3.4 Assembling the women's stories/pūrākau 55
3.5 Thematic data analysis 56
3.6 Ethical considerations 58
3.7 Summary 61
Chapter 4 64
Kiripuai Ngahiraka Te Otiana (Georgina) Te Aomarere 64
4.1 Kiripuai's whakapapa 65

4.2 Kiripuai's first two years with her parents 67
4.3 Origins of Kiripuai's social justice leadership 69
4.4 Orientations to iwi, hapū, whānau, marae and education for Māori 83
4.5 Conclusion 91
Chapter 5 93
Constance May Summers (née Jones) 93
5.1 Origins of Connie's social justice leadership 94
5.2 Orientations to social justice leadership 100
5.3 Influence of Connie's temperament 118
5.4 Conclusion 124
Chapter 6 127
Sonja Margaret Loveday Davies (née Vile) 127
6.1 Origins of Sonja's social justice leadership 128
6.2 Orientations to social justice leadership 140
6.3 Retirement and later life, 1993–2005 154
6.4 Conclusion 155
Chapter 7 157
Discussion 157
7.1 Definition of themes 158
7.2 Influence of role models on social justice leadership 160
7.3 Influence of struggle on social justice leadership 164
7.4 Influence of mana wahine on social justice leadership 168
7.5 Influence of social norms on social justice leadership 170
7.6 Cost of social justice leadership 175
7.7 Summary 178
Chapter 8 180
Conclusions 180
8.1 Key conclusions 180
8.2 Reflections on research methodology and outcomes 183

8.3 Limitations and areas for further investigation 185

8.4 Implications for leadership practice and policy 187

List of References 190

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Consent Form 209

Appendix B: Interviews 211

Appendix C: Whakapapa for Kiripuai Te Aomarere 212

Appendix D: Whakapapa for Connie Summers 213

Appendix E: Whakapapa for Sonja Davies 214

Glossary of Te Reo Māori Terms 215

List of Tables

Table 1: The origins and orientations of women's social justice leadership 20

Table 2: The themes across the three women's narratives on origins and orientations of their leadership 157

List of Figures

Figure 1: Whakapapa for Tui Summers 12

List of Vignettes

Vignette 1: World War II, pacifism and imprisonment 103

Vignette 2: South African Springbok rugby tour to New Zealand, 1981–1982 115

Vignette 3: Temperament 120

List of Reflections

Reflection 1: 19

Reflection 2: 62

Reflection 3: 125

Reflection 4: 188

Note: The use of macrons on te reo Māori words reflects how their use evolved in practice and understanding over time. Some of the archived sources and publications did not use macrons. Quoted material from these sources are presented exactly as they were written. The body of the text reflects current day practice in the use of macron.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis aims to contribute to the field of women's social justice leadership by focusing on the origins, development and orientations of three women's leadership. The connection between individuals' personal and professional lives was a consistent theme throughout. My journey from an initial interest in this topic to carrying out this investigation, including the choice of these three women, and this personal–professional connection is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. This connection relates to the important theme of identity. Two of the women whose stories/pūrākau and experiences were explored in this study are my whanaunga (relatives). Their values and perspectives shaped me in my childhood and adulthood and, as a result of my research, their stories will shape others and their leadership as well as shape my own leadership.

This chapter introduces my research in four sections. In the first section I outline my personal and professional connection to this study. I position myself personally with my whakapapa (genealogy) and professionally as a Māori academic leader in tertiary education. In the second section, I outline why my research is important in the current context. These three women's stories/pūrākau have not been told with the leadership lens taken in my research nor in this unique way. In the third section, I give an overview of the aim and scope of this study, and its significance including how this thesis contributes to the field. I outline the specific theoretical and methodological approaches utilised in my research and rationalise why I undertook the investigation in this way. The final section provides a summary of this chapter and gives an outline of the thesis structure including the linkages across chapters.

1.1 Personal and professional connections to my research

At the beginning of this chapter, I have shared my pepeha (introduction) and my whakapapa. The practice of "genealogical recital (whakapapa) is central in Māori leadership ontology" (Henry & Wolfgramm, 2018, p. 205). This is the formal means by which the indigenous Māori of Aotearoa respectfully introduce who we are. We typically begin our pepeha by relating ourselves to tribal waka (canoes), which are "comprised of a loose confederation of tribes based on the ancestral canoes of the fourteenth century" (Walker, 2004, p. 65). Following the waka, an individual's pepeha then describes their maunga (mountain), awa (river), iwi (tribe), hapū (sub-tribe), whānau (family) and marae (meeting grounds). In my

pepeha I have outlined that I am connected through whakapapa to the Tainui waka, to the Tararua mountain range (located in the North Island of Aotearoa), the Ōtaki river nearby and the Raukawa marae which is located in Ōtaki. My pepeha outlines that my iwi is Ngāti Raukawa, my sub-tribe is Ngāti Huia and my name is Tui Summers. In some cases, pepeha extend beyond the connections I have outlined to relationships with family members and relatives. In te ao Māori (Māori world view), knowing whakapapa is important and is a central way that individuals develop personal strength (Pere, 2019). As Simmonds (2000) states, "whakapapa is about connections and growth and it is within our whakapapa that we can find a wealth of resources that enable us to make sense of and transform our lived realities" (p. 160).

My research has a whakapapa connection. I grew up in a large family with four sisters in rural Canterbury, Aotearoa. In 1977, when I was aged seven, after several trial separations my parents permanently separated, and my Māori mother returned to her hometown. After their separation and subsequent divorce, my Pākehā father raised my siblings and me. I had no further contact with my mother during my childhood until 1991 when I met her in Sydney, Australia when I was on my first overseas trip. We now have a positive, albeit physically distanced relationship due to us currently living in different cities in Aotearoa. Despite the absence of a maternal figure when I was growing up, I benefitted from having many other female role models, including my sisters, aunties, family friends and grandmothers, Kiripuai and Connie.

In 1987, after I had finished compulsory schooling and had left home, I spent four years working in the Christchurch City Council Municipal Offices before spending two years in the United Kingdom as a nanny. On my return home in 1993, I enrolled at the University of Canterbury and completed an undergraduate degree in Psychology and Education followed by a Masters' degree in Education. After I had completed my studies, I spent several years teaching in tertiary education followed by six months working at the Education Review Office and four years in a policy role at the Ministry of Education.

In 2008, I moved into a senior leadership position in the tertiary education sector. I had no middle management or leadership experience and struggled with the role's competing demands. One of my strategies during this time was to reflect on the actions my childhood role models would take if they were in the situations I was encountering. Two of the female role models I envisaged were my grandmothers, Kiripuai and Connie (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: *Whakapapa for Tui Summers*

Over time, as I became more familiar with the demands of the new role, I asked myself several questions. Although I had considered these women as leaders, were they? How did they become the people they were and did their experiences and stories have anything to contribute to the existing research on women's leadership for social justice?

In 2015, I moved into a leadership role at another tertiary organisation called Te Rito Maioha, Early Childhood New Zealand. Here, I learnt about Sonja Davies, the founder of the organisation. I reflected on Sonja in a similar way that I had reflected on Kiripuai and Connie. I questioned who Sonja was and how she had founded an organisation that was growing and thriving 55 years after its inception. In placing these questions in context in the leadership literature, I discovered that the stories of female social justice leaders have seldom been researched and celebrated. From what I knew about these women, I knew that these women's stories were worthy of exploration.

In my research, the three women's identities are defined according to how they were depicted in the archival records. Kiripuai lived in Te Ao Māori and her whakapapa illustrates that she was Māori. As illustrated in Chapter 6, Sonja learned of her Māori heritage later in life. After she learned her whakapapa, she stated that she identified as Māori (Davies, 1990b).

The glossary of this thesis defines Pākehā as a New Zealander of European descent. Connie was a non-Māori New Zealander of European descent. Therefore, in this thesis she is referred to as Pākehā. As a Māori woman investigating two Māori women, Kiripuai and Sonja, and one Pākehā woman, Connie, my research has a te ao Māori dimension.

In te ao Māori, standing tall also ensures that our ancestors stand tall (Norman, 2019). In my research, I investigate and celebrate where these three women stood and how they came to stand in that place. Undertaking my research will likely shape my own identity and leadership. I expect this study will also support my understanding of where I stand. As Whitinui (2014) states,

> these questions, 'who you are' and 'how your research relates to your place in the world,' propose an ethical and moral responsibility that enables indigenous peoples to tell their own stories and to be ever mindful of the multiple sites of struggle shaping one's indigenous self. (p. 476)

As a result of my research, my whānau and I will likely benefit from learning about our whakapapa from the stories/ pūrākau of two of our female tūpuna who were leaders. As Norman (2019) states, "for us, to be Māori is to acknowledge 'tuupuna' and keep them close to our hearts as a 'puna'; a source of inspiration, wisdom, and knowledge" (p. 14).

As a consequence of researching an area that combines personal and professional interests, I hope that my research will contribute in multiple ways to Sonja Davies' whānau members and the organisation that she founded, Te Rito Maioha, and will also make some additional professional contributions, including inspiring others to take up leadership roles and informing policy and practice.

1.2 Research introduction and importance

My research investigates the stories/pūrākau of three female social justice leaders with a specific focus on the origins and orientation of their leadership (Minthorn & Shotton, 2019). The stories/pūrākau of these women are important for several reasons. Kiripuai Te Aomarere (1916–2007, my maternal grandmother) was dedicated to iwi, hapū, whānau, and the marae, and she was involved in Te Ati Awa ki Whakarongotai, Ngati Raukawa, and Ngati Toa (A.R.T), the governance group which established the tertiary institution, Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa (Winiata & New Zealand Planning Council, 1979). Sonja Davies (1923–2005, founder of the organisation I work at, Te Rito Maioha Early Childhood New Zealand) was

active in many areas, including the protest era of the 1970s and 1980s, union leadership, peace, early childhood education, and politics. Connie Summers (1916–2008, my paternal grandmother) is the only woman imprisoned for publicly preaching pacifism in Aotearoa. Combined, these women's stories/pūrākau have the potential to provide new insights into women's social justice leadership.

These women's stories/pūrākau are important due to their place in time and history, and because women are under-represented in leadership positions and in the leadership literature in Aotearoa (Austin, 2016; Kuntz & Livingston, 2020). Most stories/pūrākau in the social justice leadership literature reflect a male perspective (Kenny & Ngaroimata Fraser, 2012). Traditionally, te ao Māori has been seen as a male bastion from a leadership perspective and as Henry (1994) confirms, males are over-represented in the Māori leadership literature. My research is unique in that women's leadership is investigated across social justice contexts, such as te ao Māori, pacifism, the 1970s and 1980s protest era, the union movement, peace, early childhood education and Parliament. This study examines the past in order to potentially change how women's social justice leadership is understood and to give some insights for the future. Furthermore, as is summarised in the next section, *how* these women's stories are explored provides an example of how other women's stories/pūrākau could be studied in the future.

1.3 Research aims and scope

This study has three aims. The first aim is to give a voice to women in social justice-based leadership who are traditionally under-represented (Clandinin, 2007; Forster et al., 2015). Second, my research investigates what three women's stories/pūrākau in the social justice field tell us about leadership, and how and why they developed their leadership qualities. Third, I explore what these research findings suggest for the development of women's leadership for social justice in the current context.

I have used a distinctive approach to investigate the women's stories/pūrākau. Prior to my research, the three women's narratives had been recorded in a range of ways. For Sonja, for example, numerous publications including book chapters have been written, a film has been produced (Stirling, 1993) and she has written two autobiographies (Davies, 1987a, 1997). Similarly, Kiripuai and Connie have told their stories in interviews, some of which are publicly available and others that require permission to be viewed in the archives (Aomarere, 2002; Campbell, 2005). However, previous narratives about the three women have not focused on

the origins and of their leadership as my research does, nor from the particular perspective that I have taken.

I have combined epistemological and methodological frameworks and research methods in specific ways to investigate the social justice leadership of these women. The epistemological frameworks underpinning my research are kaupapa Māori research (following Māori principles), feminist theory, and mana wahine (Māori women's) perspectives. The combined use of these three frameworks is deliberate and reflects the importance of telling these stories/pūrākau so that the three women's stories can be heard. This study combines a qualitative research methodology with a narrative approach, archival research methods, and interviews.

There are methodological tensions involved in using the approach used in my research and as is detailed in Chapter 3, a reflexive journal was used to support and capture these tensions. Four reflexive moments based on my reflexive journal and my research journey are presented in italics throughout the thesis. These reflexive moments are where I pondered and deliberated the dilemmas I was having in my research, particularly in relation to identity, women's social justice leadership and indigenous leadership. The reflections have been placed at the end of Chapters 1, 3, 5 and 8. The reflections illustrate a thread running throughout my research process. Therefore, instead of being interwoven within each chapter, they have been positioned in the most appropriate place at the end of each chapter.

The narrative inquiry approach involves investigating a story and is often used when researching social justice because it provides the opportunity to share stories (Chase, 2013). Information from primary sources (some from the archives and others from other sources, such as libraries) is combined with material from interviews with whānau members as part of my research, to assemble and then analyse the women's stories/pūrākau (see Appendix 1). Māori film producer, Metera Mita (2000) notes the importance of stories not only for understanding ourselves but also as a tool for understanding future generations. She states:

> we must not overlook the fact, that each of us is born with story, and each of us has responsibility to pass those stories on. To fortify our children and grandchildren and help them cope with an increasingly material and technological world, we have to tell them the stories which re-enforce their identity, build their self-worth and self-esteem, and empower them with knowledge. (p. 8)

Thus, through my research I seek to achieve more than telling these women's stories/pūrākau. The narratives will potentially provide valuable information for future researchers and will be passed on to future generations. Whitinui (2014) supports the importance of stories by stating that, "representing our own lives within the research agenda is to tell our own stories so that as indigenous peoples we can self-determine our future more positively in a modern world" (p. 477).

In my research, I used a qualitative methodology with a narrative inquiry approach to investigate the social justice leadership of two Māori women and one Pākehā woman.

My research questions were:

1. What do three women's stories/pūrākau tell us about the origins and orientations of women's leadership for social justice?

2. What are the similarities and differences in the origins and orientations of the women's leadership for social justice?

3. What do my research findings suggest for the development of women's leadership for social justice in the current context?

1.4 Summary and thesis structure

In this introductory chapter, I have shared my whakapapa and outlined the rationale for my research. I have briefly described my connection to the three women in this thesis and explored the personal and professional contributions my research could make. I have presented the aims of my study and described its significance, including how the thesis contributes to the social justice leadership field.

The remainder of this thesis is situated during the decades of the 1920s to the 2000s and focuses on the origins and of three women's social justice leadership. Chapter 2 situates my research within the literature on women's social justice leadership during this period in Aotearoa. The review also outlines the rationale and importance of my research presented in this thesis. I pay particular attention to the social, cultural, political and historical contexts because these have a strong influence on the development and manifestation of the three women's leadership.

Chapter 3 provides the rationale for my research design which uses qualitative interpretivist methodology and methods, such as interviewing. I use a range of frameworks and methodologies to assemble and analyse the women's stories/pūrākau, acknowledging that this is my perspective and is one of many different perspectives that could be taken about these women and their stories/pūrākau. Kaupapa Māori research principles reflecting Māori ways of being and doing, mana wahine theory and a feminist perspective are the epistemological frameworks that provide the platform for my research.

Chapter 4 contains one of the women's pūrākau. Chapters 5 and 6 contain two of the women's social justice leadership stories. In these chapters, using the archival, non-archival and interview data, I tell the women's stories by focusing on the origins and of their social justice leadership. Chapter 7 is an analysis of the social justice leadership themes from the three women's narratives. Using the leadership literature, I present the outcomes of my thematic analysis of these women's stories stories/pūrākau. I outline what these stories stories/pūrākau tell us about the origins and orientations of women's social justice leadership. I highlight the similarities and differences in their leadership stories stories/pūrākau and illustrate what these research findings contribute to the literature on women's social justice leadership.

In the concluding chapter, I summarise the main outcomes of my research in relation to my research questions, highlight the relative strengths and weaknesses of my research and outline the implications of the findings for policy, practice and future research.

Tēnei te hā

Te hā ka ahu mai i Kurawaka

Te hā ka maiea i te ira wāhine

Te hā ka karanga i ngā uri whakaheke

Te hā e ora tonu nei au, ka ora.

Koia ko te hā

Koia ko te hau

Ko te hau whakahaumanu

Ko te hau whakaora

Ko te hau tāmata

Ko te hau e ora tonu nei au, ka ora.

Ka tā manawa i tēnei hautapu

Koia ko te hā o Hineahuone e puhapuha mai nei

Uehā, tau mai te mauri

Haumi e

Hui e

Tāiki e

In this sacred breath

The breath that originated from the birthplace of women and Kurawaka

The breath that awakens the female essence

The breath that calls female descendants forth

The sacred breath that resides in me, that revives me.

This sacred breath

This essence

Fills me with vitality

Heals me

Restores me

The sacred breath that resides in me, that revives me,

Enliven me with this sacred breath

Which connects me to female power and our deity Hineahuone

This energy and vitality surround me

Unifying and empowering[1]

[1] Whakatauki, karakia or karanga are used at the end of each chapter in this thesis to represent key messages from a Māori perspective.

Reflection 1

Before enrolling as a doctoral candidate, I intended to combine professional and personal interests in my studies. Having a personal motivation and link to my topic was important. My colleagues from ten years ago, well before I started this thesis, reminded me that I have always had a fascination with strong female role models. At the outset of my journey, I had a lot of questions. Have I focused on female role models because I am female? Where and how do the powerful women I have had in my life fit into my psyche and the psyche of my writing? The answers to my questions were unclear. What was clear is that my perspective and story were inextricably linked to the stories I was researching. This thesis would reflect as much about my perspective, actions and me as it did about who I researched.

Approximately six months into my journey, I noticed a change in my thought processes. I work in quality assurance in tertiary education. Because this involves adhering to rules and regulations, this meant that I had become accustomed to being 'safe' in what appeared to be a fixed, known way of thinking and doing things. Undertaking my research moved me into unknown territory, disrupting and positively disturbing my thinking. Things did not appear 'known' as they did previously. Over time, I gained some positive effects from this new thinking. For example, I developed a deeper understanding of other people's perspectives, such as my partner and the group of girlfriends I met with monthly. I was excited and nervously energised with this change in thinking.

My work exploring the literature highlighted what an exciting, personal, scary and unknown journey I was on. When I reflected on the methodology, I considered where and how I would do the work. I was aware that the methodology I chose needed to reflect what I wanted to find out and how I wanted to find this out. It was evident that during my research process my assumptions and biases were going to be discussed, questioned and interrogated. I was wisely advised by a colleague, who had completed doctoral studies, that sometimes my ideas would made sense and sometimes, after contemplating and considering ideas, I would reject concepts that did not appear to have a place in this thesis. What did make sense was that this thesis was multilayered, biographical, narrative and personal, and it reflected my beliefs as a researcher, writer, and person.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

In this chapter, I situate my research study within the literature on the orientation and origins of women's social justice leadership between the 1920s and 2000s in Aotearoa. I argue that, due to the gaps identified in the literature, the research presented in this thesis focusing on the orientation and origins of three women social justice leaders in post-World War 1 Aotearoa is both unique and necessary. It aims to advance and make a distinctive contribution to the literature on women's leadership for social justice by drawing on detailed stories stories/pūrākau from Aotearoa. The benefit of this type of narrative research is that it gives voice to women's leadership for social justice and has the potential to contribute meaningfully to the leadership literature. Furthermore, elucidating the origins and orientation of women's social justice leadership can potentially support the future development of female leaders.

Five orientations of women's social justice leadership include Māori leadership, pacifism, the protest era, the union movement, and government and the public sector. The six origins of women's social justice leadership include whakapapa and identity, te reo Māori and tikanga (customs), mana wahine, family, resilience, and role models and followership. Table 1 illustrates the inter-relationship between the origins and of women's social justice leadership as conceptualised in this literature review.

Table 1: *The origins and orientations of women's social justice leadership*

Women's Social Justice Leadership	
Orientations	**Origins**
• Māori leadership • Pacifism • The protest era • The union movement • Government & public sector	• Whakapapa and identity • Te reo Māori and tikanga • Mana wahine • Family • Resilience • Role models & followership

Some seminal literature outside of the 1920s–2000s is included in this review, and in some instances, I have used Australian literature due to the shortage of Aotearoa literature in a particular orientation or origin.

The review has three sections. The brief first section focuses how social justice leadership has been defined in the literature. The second section focuses on the orientation of women's social justice leadership outlining the five orientations of social justice pertinent to this study. The third section examines the six origins of women's social justice leadership relevant to this study.

2.1 Definition of social justice leadership

Diverse definitions of social justice leadership exist in the literature. As Lyman et al. (2012) state "there is no universal understanding of social justice leadership among scholars" (p. 4). While much of the research on social justice leadership is situated in the education sector (Taukamo, 2011), this type of leadership is evident in contexts other than education. Much of the social justice leadership literature focuses on leadership in employment (van Knippenberg et al., 2005). Others have demonstrated that leadership occurs outside of employment, such as in the not-for-profit and volunteer sectors (Ruru, 2016). Research on women's social justice leadership outside of the education sector and employment is consistent with elements of this study and is worthy of further exploration.

2.2 Orientations of women's social justice leadership

2.2.1 Māori leadership

The role of Māori women in society has evolved (Mikaere et al., 2017; Pihama, 2001; Walker, 2004). Narratives and cosmology provide insights into how Māori women were viewed historically (Wirihana, 2012). Traditional narratives depicted women as "powerful, autonomous, independent beings and as bearers of knowledge" (Jahnke, 1997, p. 28). Cosmologies reveal that Māori knowledge was initiated and protected by women (Ruwhiu, 2009). Mikaere et al. (2017) describe cosmology as "the interrelationship of all living things" (p.137). Mikaere et al. (2017) state further that cosmology "was founded on the principle of balance, including balance between men and women" (p. 137).

Traditionally two types of leaders were recognised in Māori society (Katene, 2010). These were rangatira (chief) (or ariki) (high chief) and tohunga (chosen expert) (Walker, 2004). These roles could be ascribed or inherited and their leadership covered a range of arenas, such

as the spiritual, professional, or political arenas (Durie, 1998). Historically, an example of a rangatira was a chief specialising in political leadership (Ballara, 1998). Katene (2010) explains that "in the traditional setting a rangatira could be male or female" (p. 4). An ariki could also be a man or a woman (Katene, 2010). For example, Dame Atairangikaahu from the Kingitanga (Māori kingdom) was a notable female ariki who served many in her iwi (Walker, 2004). The second type of leader, tohunga, was seen to have special qualities and prowess related to spirituality, religion, and areas, such as agriculture and conservation (Katene, 2010). Although these leadership types are represented independently here, traditionally Māori leaders had overlapping roles and responsibilities. For example, an ariki could also be a tohunga.

Researchers argue that the role of Māori women has been redefined in post-colonial Aotearoa (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Te Awekotuku, 1991). Ani Mikaere's seminal work entitled, *The Balance Destroyed*, originated from her Master's thesis and was published as a monograph in 2003 before it was republished in 2017 with illustrations from the notable Māori artist, Robyn Kahukiwa (Mikaere et al., 2017). Robyn Kahukiwa's artwork is often inspired by atua wahine (female God) and wāhine Māori (Gibson et al., 2019). In reference to Māori leadership, Katene (2010) states that "in philosophy, ultimately all power and authority originated from the atua" (p. 4). The balance between the roles of men and women that existed before colonisation in Aotearoa has been eroded post-colonisation (Mikaere, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Te Awekotuku, 1991): there has been "less and less scope for Māori women to perform leadership roles, those who did being characterised as exceptions to a rule of male leadership" (Mikaere et al., 2017, p. 37).

Despite this, Māori women have fought to reassert their leadership role in society. For example, during the first World War, Te Puea of the Waikato Tainui iwi showed strong leadership in redressing land confiscations by agreeing on a settlement with the Crown on behalf of Waikato Tainui iwi (King, 1984; Walker, 2004). During the social, economic and cultural Māori renaissance of the 1960s to 1980s that Walker (2004) describes as "the endless struggle of the Maori for social justice, equality and self-determination" (p. 10) opportunities for Māori women to exercise leadership increased. Examples of leadership by Māori women were demonstrated in many ways during and after this period. For instance, amongst her many accomplishments in protests against land confiscation in 1975, Dame Whina Cooper led a march from the Far North of Aotearoa to Parliament in Wellington (Boon, 1993). As Walker (2004) states, "the Maori struggle against Pākehā domination was taken up in the post-war years of the modern era by Maori women" (p. 201).

Hana Te Hemara Jackson was the public face of the Ngā Tamatoa movement which was formed in 1968 by a group of young, predominantly university-educated people (Coney, 1993). Ngā Tamatoa had strong networks and connections with other organisations and served several functions as a support group and a political action group (Harris, 2004). Its members protested on Waitangi and they initiated a nationwide petition calling for the inclusion of te reo Māori (Māori language) in primary and secondary schools (Gibson et al., 2019; Walker, 2004). Women influenced and represented this movement in a specific way by reiterating many long-standing issues and raising new concerns, such as the marginalisation of Māori in the cities (Coney, 1993).

Ngā Tamatoa was criticised by Māori males who thought the behaviour of female Ngā Tamatoa members did not reflect their whakapapa (Coney, 1993). Women were seen to be disrespecting their ancestors and not upholding the legacy and mana of their tūpuna by engaging in activities undertaken by Ngā Tamatoa. As acclaimed Māori academic Linda Tuhiwai Smith states in Tapiata et al. (2020):

> With Ngā Tamatoa in the 1970s, there was a big critique in our own Māori community of what we were doing. The label 'activist' was seen as negative. 'She's an activist!' or 'He's an activist'-that was seen as being called something worse than a criminal. The media reinforced it, and you still hear it. To me, I thought, 'How great to be called a Māori activist, because what's the opposite of that? A Māori who does nothing'. (p. 324)

Female members of Ngā Tamatoa were described as a disgrace, often by Māori men, as Māori women were expected to demonstrate a higher standard of behaviour than Māori men (Coney, 1993). The members of Ngā Tamatoa needed to demonstrate resilience because, as Coney (1993) states, "It is difficult with hindsight to imagine the levels of hostility directed at Nga Tamatoa and the women who were its public face" (p. 144). Irrespective of the criticism, Nga Tamatoa was recognised as a precursor to "a potent collection of Māori protest groups and individuals: politically conscious, radical and unwaveringly committed to the pursuit of tino rangatiratanga [self-determination]" (Harris, 2004, p. 26).

Research on Māori women's leadership in both traditional and contemporary Māori society has emphasised the importance of kuia (female elders) and has identified how most Māori leadership occurs within iwi, hapū, and on the marae (Tapiata et al., 2020; Te Momo, 2011). Kuia play an important part in role-modelling qualities they want to be reflected in

tamariki (children) and mokopuna (grandchildren) who are the future generations (Jahnke, 1997). An example of leadership cited in Te Ao Māori is the esteemed kaumatua (elderly men or women) and kuia (elderly women) that led the Te Māori North America museum exhibition across the USA in 1986 (Durie, 2021). Te Māori was the first major international art exhibition where indigenous taonga (treasures/artefacts) from Aotearoa were collected and showcased to an international audience (Mead, 1986). Māori accompanied the exhibition in various capacities, including as kaitiaki (custodians), performers, officials and weavers (Department of Māori Affairs Te Māori Management Committee, 1988). These decades of research have shown that the identification of kuia is pivotal to Māori leadership. This supports the intent of this study; to investigate the origins and orientations of the social justice leadership of three women, two of whom were Māori, and one who was a kuia.

As the research presented in this thesis tells the stories stories/pūrākau of three women, two of whom were Māori, kaupapa Māori research principles were utilised to reflect Māori ways of being and doing. This section has illustrated how Māori women's leadership has evolved, particularly during the post-World War I period. As well as this Māori renaissance, many other societal changes occurred during this time in Aotearoa. One of these changes was associated with women and pacifism, and is discussed in the next section.

2.2.2 Pacifism

There has been strong representation of women in the peace arena across Aotearoa's history, including World War I, the Vietnam War, and also the campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (Leadbeater, 2013; Locke, 1992). This section emphasises pacifism during World War II as this relates to the stories of two women presented in this thesis. What is pacifism? Salla (2001) writes that "pacifism can be defined as the *principled* rejection of physical force in the resolution of conflict and of war" (p. 74). The definition of conscientious objection has similarities to pacifism and can be described as men and women who refuse to take part in warfare on the grounds of philosophical, religious, humanitarian or other reasons (Efford, 1945).

Much of the literature on pacifism and conscientious objectors in Aotearoa is set in the general context of the two World Wars and like much of the autobiographical and biographical work, this is about males and written from a male perspective. As Salla (2001) states, "there is a long tradition of pacifism throughout human history. Those we know most of are males who were extensively written about and followed" (p. 74). Accounts of women pacifists during

World War II in Aotearoa and their experiences during and following the war are limited (Campbell, 2005). Female pacifists did exist and a disproportionally limited amount of research has been undertaken and little literature written about them and their experiences.

A photo of the 34 delegates at the 1940 Christian Peace Society Conference during World War II in Wellington, Aotearoa shows that 27 are men and only seven are women. Although the proportion of women engaged in pacifist activities was small, the actions they took to support their anti-war stance meant that they risked a significant penalty. For example, at the same Christian Peace Society Conference, some Christian Pacifist Society members engaged in the illegal activity of parading through the city of Wellington wearing anti-war placards. Placard bearing was frequently undertaken by female Christian Pacifist Society members and was reportedly not for the faint hearted. Taylor (1986b) states:

> It must be remembered that placard-bearing was not then common, and for three people to walk the streets bearing their message on sandwich-boards, 'being conspicuous' and objects of derision to many, demanded devotion and resolve unknown to many demonstrators 40 years later. There was also the risk of being tackled by irate citizens or the police. Repeatedly boards were seized and torn by citizens. (p. 194)

Involvement in anti-war activities involved a strong belief system and commitment from women who supported the cause. As Locke (1992) states that "the peace movement, small as it was and under so many constraints, acted as the conscience of society regardless of the hostility which surrounded it" (p. 62). Women's involvement in peace was connected to their role as mothers; they were seen as the protectors of society (Coney, 1993). However, as Grant (1986b) argues, protests against war came at considerable cost; at one end of the continuum this involved verbal chastisement and at the other end, physical violence. Standing up for peace in Aotearoa during World War II took considerable strength (Grant, 2004). This absence of women in the literature supports the need for further investigation, such as that undertaken in my research presented in this thesis.

2.2.3 1970s–1980s protest era

This section focuses on two movements related to this era and relevant to the women in this study who were leaders in the social justice arena during this time; the women's liberation movement and the 1981 Springbok Tour.

Women's liberation movement

Internationally and nationally, the 1960s, 70s, and 80s were a period of significant growth and interest in women's equality across economic and political arenas. The women's liberation movement involved questioning and challenging the narrowly defined role of women and how women were treated in society (Dann, 1985). Aotearoa was influenced by the international context, where writers, such as Betty Friedan from the USA highlighted widespread discrimination against women and advocated for change (Cahill & Dann, 1991). In her ground-breaking book, *The Feminine Mystique*, published in 1963, Friedan argues that women should have the opportunity to be fully involved in the same activities that men had access to (Bowden & Mummery, 2014). Friedan's work was criticised for its classist perspective and because it excluded the lived experience of lesbians (Bowden & Mummery, 2014). A classist perspective represents a middle class perspective rather than the range of views from diverse socio-economic groups in society (Brookes, 2016).

In Aotearoa, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, women began to discuss issues affecting them and many women's liberation groups challenged society's expectation of women (Cahill & Dann, 1991). In Wellington, in 1972, 200 women attended a women's liberation conference. By 1973, this had grown to 1500 women, who attended the first United Women's Convention in Auckland (Cahill & Dann, 1991). The movement fought for change on issues that negatively affected women, including the end of sexual discrimination, a woman's right to safe and legal abortion, equal opportunity in pay and education, access to employment, and access to free contraception amongst other issues (Brookes, 2016; Coney, 1993; Gibson et al., 2019). Although male violence against women wasn't an initial focus of the women's liberation movement, it became a focus over time both internationally and in Aotearoa (Cahill & Dann, 1991).

The second-wave feminist movement that developed in the 1970s represented "wrongs done to women" and a new language developed to describe these wrongs, including terms, such as "sex-role stereotyping, sexism and sexual harassment" (Brookes, 2016, p. 6). Second-wave feminism identified abortion as a key issue associated with women having ownership of their own lives. Second-wave feminism involved feminists extending their argument "into areas which were not previously considered political" (Cahill & Dann, 1991, p. 7), such as sexual orientation. Early childhood education and care was often associated with this movement because women's ability to work in paid employment depended on the provision of cost-effective, safe and high-quality early childhood education and care (Brookes, 2016). As Cahill

and Dann (1991) state that "although opportunities for education and employment were widening, role expectations still acted as barriers to women's participation and achievement" (p. 3). The topic of early childhood education is explored in more detail in Section 2.1.5.

Throughout the 1970s, the women's movement became splintered as groups of women, such as women from lower socio-economic groups, lesbian and Māori women found their needs and views were not being met under the women's liberation banner. As stated by Māori academic Tilly Reedy "I have always said that I am a Maori first" (Coney, 1993, p. 143). As women began to become more involved in full-time employment and education, some discovered that they were disadvantaged further than ever. Increased education resulted in the realisation for some women that discrimination still existed. Despite being more highly qualified than their male counterparts, they were paid at a lower rate and experienced other barriers in their careers (Brookes, 2016). Historian Phillida Bunkle claims that "more and more women began to insist that they did not want equality in a man's world" (1973, p. 4). During the 1970s, many of the women's liberation groups that had developed earlier gradually disbanded and were replaced by women's groups focused on specific issues, such as women's health and rape crisis (Coney, 1993). Despite this shift in focus, the women's liberation movement reflected strong leadership and advocacy by women and for women (Brookes, 2016). The next subsection shifts to another movement that emerged from the protest era: The 1981 Springbok Tour.

The 1981 Springbok Tour

In 1981, the South African Springbok rugby team toured Aotearoa to play the All Blacks, the national rugby team. The pro-tour supporters argued that as the government did not interfere in sport, the All Blacks were entitled to play against a team of rugby players from a country that practised apartheid. The anti-tour supporters argued that the Tour illustrated support for the practice of apartheid. The Tour resulted in significant division and protest throughout Aotearoa. The Aotearoa protest movement against apartheid in South Africa had a long history. Protest against apartheid had occurred when the South African Springbok team visited Aotearoa in 1921 (Chapple, 1984). This division persisted when it was proposed that the Aotearoa team tour South Africa in 1960, and opposition continued in 1970 and 1976 when the All Blacks toured South Africa (Gibson et al., 2019).

Due to the significant division across Aotearoa before the 1981 Tour, the Aotearoa Government and the Rugby Union, who lobbied for the tour to continue, debated whether the

Tour should proceed. The Government deemed that sporting decisions should not be made by them but should be made by the relevant sporting code; in this instance, the New Zealand Rugby Union (Richards, 1999). In 1972, the Government indicated its opposition to the Tour by signing the Gleneagles Agreement, also known as the Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport (Shears & Gidley, 1981). There was much political interest in the decision, particularly as there was an election scheduled for 1981 (Shears & Gidley, 1981). The 1981 Springbok Tour proceeded and, with the country divided by pro-tour and anti-tour supporters, it resulted in the largest number of protestors and the worst violence that the country had ever seen (Newnham, 1983). Christchurch city was identified as a particularly troublesome spot by many, including the then Prime Minister, Robert Muldoon (Shears & Gidley, 1981).

Women were prominent in the protests both as part of the country-wide protests and as part of specific women's groups (Consedine, 2018). On the second National Day of Action against the Tour organised nationally by Halt All Racist Tours (HART), a 'Women Against the Tour' group marched from Christchurch's Merivale Mall to Cathedral Square to signal their opposition to the Tour (Consedine, 2018). As a rugby-supporting nation, many women were in support of the Tour, and women that opposed it were seen as not only opposing the Tour but opposing their male counterparts (Brookes, 2016). As Brookes (2016) states:

> Women had long been sideline supporters of the game played by their husbands and sons. They had willingly washed rugby jerseys and brought oranges for half-time. Now, in 1981, the playing of New Zealand's national game asked all of its supporters to examine their consciences: were they for or against apartheid in South Africa? (p. 395)

Women's involvement in the Tour protests involved considerable moral and physical resilience (Coney, 1981). For some, involvement in the protests resulted in a division within their families and for others, participation in the protests was a form of political action. In some cases, this was an action against apartheid; in other cases, it was recognition of the connection between racism and sexism (Brookes, 2016). As Kitch Cuthbert, an organiser for HART, states when being interviewed by Sandra Coney (1981), that "if you look at arrests across the country far more women are putting themselves in situations where they could be arrested. Many men put their lives and careers before personal commitment. Women are not holding back" (p. 9). The Springbok Tour was held within a context of social and economic reform in Aotearoa which, in turn, reflected developments in the union environment.

2.2.4 The union movement

During the era of the protest movement, there were also significant developments in the union sector in Aotearoa. The context for this development was the social, political, and economic environment of the 1940s to the 1960s (Easton, 2020). Despite these developments affecting men and women, and despite the growth in the number of women in paid employment during this time, union leadership was largely considered a male domain. Easton (2001) also states that "the higher up the union hierarchy, the lower the proportion of women" (p. 203). During the 1970s, two important pieces of legislation involved intensive union activity by the newly appointed union organiser, Sonja Davies (Easton, 2001). This was the Equal Pay Act 1972 passed by the Labour Government and the Extension of Shop Trading Hours legislation passed by the National Government in 1977 (Easton, 2001).

Notwithstanding this changing context, there is limited published research on women's union leadership in Aotearoa. For example, in the annotated bibliography of Aotearoa trade union literature undertaken by Corliss (2006), there were minimal publications that focus on women's union issues and even fewer on women's union leadership. Despite the lack of literature in this area, Locke (2015) identified a growth in female leadership in the Wellington Hotel and Hospital Workers union between 1979 and 1989. This was due to unique circumstances, including structural delegate changes, education, stop-work meetings and the establishment of standing committees for women. Internationally, researchers have highlighted the dearth of literature in this area (Brigden, 2012; Briskin, 2011; Frances, 2013; Kaminski & Yakura, 2008; Kirton & Healy, 2012; Ryan, 2013).

Despite the limited number of publications on Aotearoa female union leaders, there are some biographical and autobiographical accounts of these leaders, such as Sonja Davies, Sue Bradford and Helen Kelly (Chamberlain, 2017; Davies, 1987a, 1997; Macfie, 2021). The biographies of union leaders Sue Bradford and Helen Kelly contain details of the changing social, historical and cultural context that impacted these women's lives and the way they navigated the many challenges in their social justice activities and commitments (Chamberlain, 2017; Macfie, 2021). Similarly, in the two volumes of her autobiography, *Bread and Roses* and *Marching On*, Sonja Davies (1987a, 1997) tells her life story, including details of her rise through union leadership to her parliamentary career. The stories of these women's lives illustrate that their leadership was influenced by family values and resilience.

2.2.5 Government and the public sector

Kedgley (2021) states that, up until the mid-1970s:

> politics was still thought of as a man's vocation, and the role of women in both of New Zealand's major political parties was largely confined to their participation in women's branches which were auxiliary to the main branches where the real work took place. The job of the women's branches was to fundraise, organise fetes, address envelopes, distribute pamphlets, prepare afternoon teas, wash dishes and do all the work men didn't want to do. (p. 69)

A gradual change in the presence of, and leadership by, women in government and the public sector occurred during the 1980s and 1990s. For example, the "first independent Ministry for women in the world", the Ministry of Women's Affairs, was established in 1984 (Brookes, 2016, p. 404). The establishment of this new government department coincided with the appointment of its new head, Mary O'Regan, who was the first woman to lead an arm of the public service (Brookes, 2016). Further progress was made in 1997 with the appointment of Aotearoa's first female Prime Minister, Jenny Shipley (Edwards, 2001).

Despite the increased proportion of women having leadership roles in government in the 1980s and 1990s, the public sector was still overwhelmingly male dominated. This was particularly evident at the senior management level. For example, in 1997, women comprised 54 percent of public servants but only 29 percent of senior managers (State Services Commission/Te Komihana O Nga Tari Kawanatanga 1988, as cited in Kedgley, 2021).

Of these years, the 1987–1989 Labour Party electoral term was an extraordinary time in the country's politics when major changes were made towards a neo-liberal, competitive economic approach that was radical by global standards (Franks & McAloon, 2016). Global forces were at play that influenced the choices deemed desirable by the Labour Party (Franks & Nolan, 2011). This included high national debt where "all sectors of the economy seemed to be subsidising each other" and a country "trying to maintain a fixed exchange rate with practically no reserves" (Cullen, 2005, p. 10). During this time, the Labour Party led by Prime Minister David Lange, who was heavily influenced by Roger Douglas (Minister of Finance) and Richard Prebble (Associate Minister of Finance), privatised state assets, such as, the health system, the education system, the postal system and the transport system (Clark, 2005; Edwards, 2001). It is not disputed that reforms were needed. However, the reforms were "mishandled" and did not reflect the ideological foundations, principles and direction of the Labour Party (Cullen, 2005, p. 10). During the decades prior to Labour's term and the years following it, there was also significant change in relation to early childhood education.

Early childhood education and care in Aotearoa has always had a political, social justice background (May, 1985) and has traditionally been associated with challenges, resilience and

advocacy (May et al., 2021). However, the initial battles in the 1960s and 1970s for funding and support shifted in the 1980s and 1990s to the recognition of early childhood as a profession and as an essential service providing high quality education and care to our youngest, most vulnerable citizens. Kindergartens and Playcentres, had been established in 1889 and 1941, respectively. During the 1960s, kindergartens and trained teachers were prevalent in large cities and small towns in Aotearoa (May & Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association, 2003). However, the scope of this brief review of early childhood care and education focuses on centres *not* recognised as a kindergarten or playcentre (May & Bethell, 2017).

After significant advocacy and lobbying by supporters, the Government has, at times reluctantly, contributed to supporting quality early childhood education and care. For example, in 1960, the first early childhood regulations came into effect (Davies, 1987a) and in 1973, government funding for early childhood education and care was introduced for the first time (May et al., 2021). This funding involved two components to support community-based early childhood centres; a 30-hour-per-week subsidy and a capital works subsidy (May et al., 2021). Government support for early childhood has always been hard fought and government funding for the sector has been hotly contested. As founder of the New Zealand Association for Child Care Centres, Sonja Davies stated in the 1960s that "childcare was not a polite topic for conversation" due to the perception that early childhood education and care was replacing the role of women in the home (May et al., 2021, p. 9). In 1980, further funding was finally proposed by the State Services Commission in a report called *Early Childhood Care and Education: A report of the State Services Commission, 1980*. The report recommended the transfer of childcare from the Department of Social Welfare to the Department of Education and that government fund 50% of the cost of childcare (State Services Commission, 1980). However, this was abandoned when the National party, led by Prime Minister Robert Muldoon, came into power in 1981 (May et al., 2021).

Despite these setbacks, the Early Childhood Workers Union was established in 1982, which helped establish childcare as a profession as opposed to a mother's-only role. In 1988, the *Before 5 Policies: A Campaign for Quality Early Childhood Education* report was launched and promised parity with other sections of the education sector. As part of the campaign, early childhood organisations held rallies at Parliament. There was also "intense lobbying inside parliament, co-ordinated by Sonja Davies and the parliamentary women's caucus" (May & Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association, 2003, p. 209). In 2021, early childhood education is funded and supported by Government, and early childhood teacher

training including a recognised degree-level qualification is compulsory for teachers in the sector. Progress in early childhood education would not have occurred without significant advocacy and voluntary efforts by many people, mainly women. Government support for early childhood education reflected the broader social, political and historical environment, However, the gains in this sector have been largely made due to the advocacy and leadership of many female early childhood education trailblazers.

The origins of women's social justice leadership is the focus of the next section.

2.3 Origins of women's social justice leadership

This section uses the five orientations of leadership examined in the previous section to engage with six themes identified in the literature on the origins of women's social justice leadership. These themes are whakapapa and identity, te reo Māori and tikanga, mana wahine, family, resilience, and role models and followership.

2.3.1 Whakapapa and identity

Whakapapa is an important aspect of Māori women's leadership. This relates to the importance in te ao Māori of knowing where we come from and the link between knowing where we come from, and strength and self-awareness. Research has shown that leadership for Māori women is underpinned and sustained by whakapapa (Forster et al., 2015; Ruru, 2016). Wirihana (2012) found that the success of a Māori woman's leadership is significantly by whakapapa and upbringing. From a genealogical perspective, whakapapa is an integral part of Māori cultural practices and is usually presented in the Māori language and supported by whakatauki (proverb), karakia (chants), and waiata (songs) (Mahuika, 2019). As Mahuika (2019) states that "for Māori, whakapapa has always been considered the explanatory framework for the world and everything in it" (p. 10).

There is a strong link between whakapapa and identity (Roche et al., 2015; Te Rito, 2007). In the book, *Te Kai a te Rangatira*, for which more than 100 Māori leaders were interviewed, many of the women referred to the inter-relationship between leadership, whakapapa, and identity (Tapiata et al., 2020) and the importance of whakapapa for leaders. For example, Alva Pomare (Ngāti Toro, Ngāpuhi) states that "as we move forward, leadership needs to have their own whakapapa intact. More than anything else, I think you need to be true to yourself. Pono to yourself" (Tapiata et al., 2020, p. 272).

2.3.2 Te reo Māori and tikanga

The international leadership literature has established that language and identity are linked and that being able to speak in accord with your culture is critical (Edwards, 2009). This appears to be particularly the case in bicultural Aotearoa as te reo Māori "enshrines the ethos, the life principle of a people. It helps give sustenance to the heart, mind, spirit and psyche. It is paramount" (Pere, 1997, p. 10). While the leadership literature emphasises the importance and role of the indigenous language for future leadership, in Aotearoa, te reo Māori is in decline (Tapiata et al., 2020). Māori elders have an important role in supporting te reo Māori in future generations (Forster et al., 2015). Researchers have identified that the leadership provided by elders, such as kaumatua and kuia is essential for fostering and keeping te reo Māori alive (Ruru, 2016; Wirihana, 2012). Given the link between language, identity and culture the actions of elders, in this instance, have implications for identity. Wirihana (2012) explains that:

> elders in the Māori community sustained immense responsibilities within their whānau, especially with regard to teaching and nurturing children. As a consequence, it was their responsibility to ensure that traditional knowledge was passed down from their generations and was transferred through to the younger generations. (p. 194)

Whanaungatanga (connections and relationships) underpins and is evident in Māori women's leadership. Whanaungatanga concerns relationships between all living things and reflects the te ao Māori focus on the collective rather than the individual (Tapiata et al., 2020). Pere (1997) describes whanaungatanga as the bond that strengthens our relationship with kinship groups, Metge (1976) describes it as extending beyond our immediate and extended kin to people who become kin due to shared experiences with them. The multifaceted nature of whanaungatanga is highlighted by Karaka-Clarke (2020) who links it with belonging, connecting, relationships, aroha (love) and manaakitanga (generosity) alongside other characteristics. Ruru (2016) argues that relationships are crucial to leadership in not-for-profit organisations, stating that:

> central to the success of these Māori women leaders was being connected to whānau and friends, and being influenced by *tamariki* (children), *tauira* (students) and employees. These social connections made Māori women leaders strong and resilient to change and challenges. (p. ii)

A support system is also critically important to enable Māori women to demonstrate leadership (Taukamo, 2011).

Aroha and manaakitanga are two essential elements of successful leadership. Aroha is defined by Spiller et al. (2015) as an expression of wairuatanga (spirituality), and is "only meaningful when actioned" (Pere, 1997, p. 6). Manaakitanga encompasses the concepts of caring for others, generosity, and nurturing relationships, and is the action of upholding the mana of others and supporting collective wellbeing (Durie, 2001). The definition of manaakitanga is more complex than the common Pākehā translation of hospitality (Spiller et al., 2015). Mana is "multi-form and includes psychic influence, control, prestige, power, vested and acquired authority and influence" (Pere, 1997, p. 14). Linked to the notion of mana is the concept of mana wahine which is explored in the next subsection.

2.3.3 Mana wahine

Mana wahine has been defined in a variety of ways in the literature and has evolved since it was first conceptualised. According to Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, the term was first used in 1981 when assertiveness courses were set up for Māori women by the University of Waikato in Taupo, Raglan, Waikato and Rotorua (personal communication at the Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga 9th Biennial International Indigenous Research Conference, November 18, 2020). In the 1990s, mana wahine was defined in feminist terms. For example, Te Awekotuku (1991) states that "feminism is what we make it; it's a matter of how we define it for ourselves in terms of our own oppression as women" (p. 10). Jahnke (1997) expanded on this definition by stating that mana wahine "is a term that encompasses an identity, philosophy and value system based on whakapapa and the origins of the world and grounded in the mountains, rivers, and lands of Aotearoa" (p. 35). Mikaere (2003) argues from a feminist perspective when she claims that mana wahine has been colonised resulting in whānau structures being redefined.

Pihama (2001) defines mana wahine as a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework involving specific elements, such as te reo me ona tikanga, Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi), tino rangatiratanga, taonga tuku iho (heritage, something handed down) whakapapa, (genealogy, lineage, descent) whanau (extended family or family group or kin), and ako Māori. Simmonds (2011) reminds us that "mana wahine must not only be theoretical but inform and empower the embodied and spiritual geographies of Māori women in a very material way. Mana wahine emerged to describe and analyse Māori women's lived realities" (p. 21). She argues that "at its base, mana wahine is about making visible the narratives and experiences, in all of their diversity, of Māori women" (Simmonds, 2011, p. 11). More recently, Pane Kawhia (Ngāti Porou), an ordained Māori minister, proposed a practical definition of mana wahine as:

> being content, being at home, being comfortable in who you are as a woman, in your feminine side-though also in touch with the masculine side, because men and women share a little bit of both. Mana wahine is a woman displaying her particular skills and talents, the beauty and strength of who she is. (Tapiata et al., 2020, p. 182)

Irrespective of the different views, mana wahine is consistently identified as integral to Māori women's leadership (Forster et al., 2016, Ruru, 2016, Wirihana, 2012). Forster et al. (2015) state:

> the concept of mana wahine, therefore, acknowledges the important contributions of women in Māori culture and society and the centrality of women for the continuance of whakapapa/genealogy and the nurturing and guidance of future generations. Māori women's leadership therefore, is intricately linked to the exercise of mana wahine. (p. 327)

To analyse the leadership of the two Māori women in my research and to make it visible, I have combined Forster et al.'s (2016) definition of mana wahine as the power and strength of women, with the perspective of Simmonds (2011) that emphasises the importance of narrative. I return to mana wahine and the way it was used in my research in Chapter 3.

2.3.4 Family

In developmental psychology, research on followership and role models identifies the influential role that family members play in shaping our values and beliefs (Eldad & Benatov, 2018; Kudo et al., 2012). Liu et al. (2020) argue that "parents serve as models of leadership, in terms of their caring and guiding duties" (p. 7). There also appears to be a link between familial leadership and followership, as some researchers argue that the relationship between parent and child is similar to the leader–follower relationship (Liu et al., 2020). I return to followership in sub-section 2.3.6.

Stories of female social justice leaders from a similar era to the three women in this study reveal that family beliefs are passed down through the generations (Birchfield, 1998). While context, training, genetics and experience affect the development of our values, family members also have a strong influence in shaping the beliefs and views of subsequent generations, particularly from a social justice or activist perspective (Campbell, 2005; Cumming, 2007; Frances, 2013). This is evident across orientations of social justice leadership. For example, the pacifist literature illustrates the strong influence that anti-war beliefs had on subsequent generations and for some, disillusionment with war was part of their upbringing

(Campbell, 2005). The influence of family and the place of role models in shaping women union leaders are also apparent. In a biography of pacifist, Connie Birchfield, her daughter Maureen Birchfield details Connie's involvement in both the 1920s Hotel, Club, and Restaurant Workers Industrial Union and the Service Workers Union (Birchfield, 1998).

Although the family has a strong influence on the development of beliefs and subsequent actions, values are also shaped by context, and social, historical and cultural events (Sleeter, 2016). In her doctoral research of 13 female Māori leaders, Wirihana (2012) identified social, historical and political contexts as one of four key sources that shape women's leadership. My research differs from Wirihana's in several ways, including its focus on the stories of three Māori women as opposed to thirteen Māori and Pākehā women. Wirihana's study is life story narrative research based on interviews with the women using a unique pūrākau research analysis framework. The memoirs and biographies of female social justice leaders from a similar generation clearly illustrate that sometimes the women went in the opposite direction of what their upbringing suggested they would, or they held opposing beliefs to their parents and other family members (Chamberlain, 2017; Davies, 1987a). It is unclear why some people express values and beliefs that reflect their parents and previous generations of family members while other people hold opposing beliefs. However, what is clear in the literature is that social, historical, and cultural contexts strongly influence our views (Murphy & Johnson, 2011).

2.3.5 Resilience

Irrespective of how female social justice leaders develop their views and where they come from, the importance of the collective and of standing up for moral and personal beliefs are evident in the literature (Campbell, 2005; Cumming, 2007) as is the importance of holding beliefs and acting on them (Foote, 2000; Grant, 1986a). Many of the pacifists and conscientious objectors during World War II interviewed in Russell Campbell's (2005) documentary *Sedition*, refer to the need to have beliefs that are then acted on.

Ligon et al. (2008) studied the biographies of outstanding leaders of the 20th century, including 13 women. Their study involved distinguishing developmental experiences of leaders according to ideological, charasmatic and pragmatic leadership. Ligon et al's (2008) study is similar to my research in its focus on leadership and archival research, but differs in that it combined qualitative life narrative data with quantitative analysis methods. Ligon et al. (2008) found that leaders drew on their past experiences as much as the current context when

developing solutions to problems, and that leaders who had experienced suffering were more likely to make long-term contributions to society. Although extreme hardship is not an essential requirement for developing leadership, Liu et al. (2020) argue that there is a link between hardship and leadership. They state that "early life experiences in poverty-stricken and higher-conflict family [*sic*] strengthen the genetic effects on leadership" (p. 5). Lyman et al. (2012) found that leaders in social justice within education needed to demonstrate resilience and courage to continue their work.

However, strong convictions and taking a moral stance can result in costs to individuals (Chamberlain, 2017; Macfie, 2021), such as costs to their livelihoods (Fraser, 2012; Kenny & Ngaroimata Fraser, 2012) health and well-being, civil liberties or relationships (Davies, 1997). Resilience is a strong theme in the literature related to social justice leadership. For example, a notable characteristic of female union leaders is their ability to overcome challenges that others would struggle with (Brigden, 2012; Davies, 1997; Frances, 2013). Frances (2013) and Brigden (2012) document the life stories of Australian women involved in union leadership and illustrate the courage and fortitude they demonstrated when life took an unexpected turn. The ability to recover from setbacks and ensure that these do not define an individual's life trajectory is consistent with the 'developmental' notion of leadership as outlined in the leadership research (Gardner, Avolio, Luthans, et al., 2005).

2.3.6 Role models and followership

Role models play an influential part in shaping individuals' beliefs. Although family members, can have a strong influence as role models for younger children, the literature identifies adolescence as a time in life when role models beyond the family can have a significant effect (Liu et al., 2020). Adolescence is an important developmental stage where role models have more significance than other life stages (King et al., 2009). As Ligon et al. (2008) claim "experiences encountered in early adulthood do seem to shape the pathway a leader pursues towards outstanding leadership" (p. 330). Role models for adolescents are more effective if they guide behaviours rather than tell adolescents what to do (Liu et al., 2020).

There is a link between role modelling and followership (Ligon et al., 2008). Leaders can influence followers by modelling desired behaviours (Gardner, Avolio, Luthans, et al., 2005). Fostering a leader–follower relationship is an integral aspect of leadership (Liu et al., 2020). Self-awareness is also an important characteristic of leadership. Leaders are more effective when leaders' self-reports of their strengths and weaknesses correspond with similar reports by their followers (Liu et al., 2020). According to the leadership literature, "when a

leader's moral behavior and intentions are perceived as genuine and trustworthy, attributions of authenticity and positive emotional reactions will follow" (Gardner, Avolio, & Walumbwa, 2005, p. 391).

The notion of followership is also associated with Māori leadership. In traditional Māori society, mana was associated with leaders and, although it did not guarantee these characteristics, mana was connected with confidence, authority and loyalty from followers (Winiata & Fraenkel, 2014). Katene (2010) argues that leadership cannot happen without followers. Durie (2001) explains that collective endeavour is crucial in te ao Māori particularly concerning practices on the marae and reminds us that leaders are also followers who learn with the collective. In te ao Māori and particularly on the marae, Durie (2001) states that "collective responsibility, rather than individual brilliance, is the norm" (p. 83). Followership is an important leadership concept but the way in which it is demonstrated differs between Māori and non-Māori contexts (Liu et al., 2020; Tapiata et al., 2020).

2.4 Conclusion

As this review has illustrated, this investigation has the potential to contribute meaningfully to the development of women's social justice leadership, particularly the unique ways women develop leadership and how they lead. The purpose of this review was twofold. First, the review situated my research within the literature on the orientations and origins of women's social justice leadership between the 1920s and the 2000s in Aotearoa. Second, the review outlined the rationale and importance of my research presented.

This synthesis of the current research identified the need for research to be undertaken on women's social justice leadership. Of the research that does exist, the emphasis is on education (Strachan, 1999). This gap in the existing literature supports the rationale for my research to examine historical examples of women's leadership for social justice. Research focused on women's social justice leadership within Māoridom, pacifism, the protest era, the union movement and the government is a potentially fruitful area of inquiry to gain an understanding of the origins, including social and personal, of women as leaders for social justice. Specifically, this study involved telling the stories stories/pūrākau of three women whose stories on social justice leadership have so far been excluded from the literature. Therefore, this investigation contributes to existing research in this area and extends what is known.

As this review has demonstrated, numerous studies have investigated the source of women's social justice leadership (Forster et al., 2015; Fraser, 2012; Lyman et al., 2012). Existing research identifies six themes as the source of leadership across the areas that are the focus of my research. These are whakapapa and identity, te reo Māori and tikanga, mana wahine, family, resilience, and role models and followership. However, these studies have explored the source of women's leadership in each area independent of each other and in a different era to this study. Accounts of female social justice leaders do not compare and contrast stories/pūrākau of social justice leadership across areas of leadership nor do they analyse the source of the women's leadership relative to recent leadership literature. My research is the first of its kind to analyse the origins of women's social justice leadership across the areas pertinent to this study between the 1920s and 2000s in Aotearoa. In the next chapter, I outline the design of my research with a specific focus on describing and justifying the theoretical framework.

Titiro whakamuri, kia koe whakamua

Look to the past to move forward

Chapter 3

Research Design and Methods

The purpose of my research was to investigate the origins, development and orientations of three women's leadership. This chapter contains four sections. First, the epistemological frameworks that inform my research are presented. These frameworks are feminist theory, kaupapa Māori research and mana wahine theory. Second, the methodological frameworks and the rationale for the use of these frameworks are examined. Third, the methods used for data generation and reflexive journaling are detailed, and fourth, the approach for data analysis is outlined. References to ethical issues are made throughout this chapter and the central ethical considerations are outlined in the final section. Given the influence of social, political, historical and cultural factors, it is important to note that I wrote this thesis during the Covid-19 pandemic that began in 2019. By 1 December 2021, Covid-19 had resulted in 7.5 million deaths internationally and 44 deaths in Aotearoa (https://covid19.who.int/table).

3.1 Epistemological frameworks

The key epistemological assumption underpinning my research, consistent with the interpretivist approach, is that there are multiple truths and perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). I have recognised multiple realities by being transparent in the design and process of my research, and by using the first person, 'I'. These are significant features of the theoretical framework of this study and are integral characteristics of feminist research (Buikema et al., 2011). Some of the unique features of a feminist theoretical approach are elaborated further in this chapter. The way feminist epistemology and an indigenous perspective strengthen this project is explored below.

3.1.1 Feminist influences

Feminist theoretical approaches include diverse theoretical perspectives (Buikema et al., 2011; Du Plessis & Alice, 1998) across all aspects of the research process – epistemology, methodology, method (Buikema et al., 2011; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007) and analysis (Du Plessis & Alice, 1998; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007). Therefore, the need to give voice to women's stories/pūrākau that underpins my research is consistent with the tenets of research undertaken with a feminist theoretical orientation (Hesse-Biber, 2012).

Taylor et al. (2016) focus on social oppression and inequality and suggest that there are synergies between feminist research and indigenous research. I support this perspective. Due

to the strong connections between feminist research and my position as a Māori researcher researcher, I argue that the indigenous framework and epistemological perspective of kaupapa Māori research (Smith, 2012) is the most effective approach to underpin elements of my research. This approach is outlined below.

3.1.2 Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa Māori research developed during the 1990s in response to the realisation that research in Aotearoa reflected colonial perspectives and practices that did not respect Māori epistemology, values and beliefs (Bishop, 1998; Smith, 2012; Tuhiwai Smith, 2021). Kaupapa Māori research has been defined in many ways (Pihama, 2001; L. T. Smith, 2000; Smith, 2012; Wirihana, 2012). Ormond et al. (2006) describe it as research "by Māori, for Māori" (p. 177). As G. H. Smith (2000) argues, Māori "need to develop theoretical understandings and practices that arise out of our own indigenous knowledge" (p. 214). L. T. Smith (2000) maintains that the most important kaupapa Māori research focuses on social justice issues, like my research presented in this thesis. She describes several features of kaupapa Maori research:

> Is related to being Māori, (2) is connected to Māori philosophy and principles, (3) takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture, and (4) is concerned with 'the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being'. (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 228)

My research is kaupapa Māori-centred and uses stories/pūrākau and the kaupapa Māori research principles of whānau and whakapapa as proposed by Tuhiwai Smith (2021) to celebrate the lives and leadership of two wāhine Māori (Māori women) and one non-Māori woman. My research reflects a Māori perspective in that it is undertaken by me as Māori and it is grounded in principles of tikanga and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge). Examples are the use of Māori concepts in the story of one of the women who was raised and lived in te ao Māori, and the use of oral data sources in the form of interviews; an important characteristic of kauapapa Māori research where the spoken word is treasured, and oral sources are valued.

Engaging with whānau is another important aspect of kaupapa Māori research (Bishop, 1998). According to L. T. Smith (2000), collaboration with whānau can occur in a range of ways by integrating the voice of whānau, by distributing tasks and via analysis and dissemination. In relation to conducting research with whānau, Ormond et al. (2006) state that "behind every person, there is a whānau, and there is a whakapapa that places my research

specifics, such as my research method (for example qualitative or quantitative), within a much broader, relationship context" (p. 180).

Whakapapa is an integral part of kaupapa Māori research (Tuhiwai Smith, 2006). Whakapapa is "about connections and growth and it is within our whakapapa that we can find a wealth of resources that enable us to make sense of and transform our lived realities" (Leonie Pihama et al., 2019, p. 22). According to L. T. Smith (2000), "*Whakapapa* intersects with research in a number of different ways" (p. 234). Whakapapa and identity are foundational and valued in Māori society (Pere, 2019). Pere (2019) argues that "geneaology, whakapapa is an important part of whanaungatanga ... [which includes] ... the extended family, group dynamics and social interaction" (p. 11). My research illustrates the role and importance of whakapapa in investigating three women's social justice leadership and where their leadership came from. Because of the familial relationship I have with two of the women, it was also about my own whakapapa. Hence, I was also developing an understanding of my own identity through this study. It was important to avoid Forster et al. (2015) claim that "the importance of whakapapa, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and tikanga are often overlooked if leadership is not viewed in context" (p. 328).

Therefore, my research was underpinned by Māori knowledge, values and beliefs. Māori epistemology was foundational to both the substance and process of my research, and thus reflected a kaupaua Māori research framework. Examples include the important and deliberate inclusion of an expert Māori member within the supervisory group so that my study was informed by a Māori worldview and te reo me ōna tikanga, and Māori definitions of leadership were used in the analysis because, leadership ontology from a te ao Māori perspective is about "whakawhanungatanga-social relationality" (Ruwhiu & Cone, 2013, p. 37).

3.1.3 Stories and pūrākau

My research reflects the epistemological perspective that indigenous knowledge can be developed from a close examination of people's stories/pūrākau. Yates-Smith (1998) argues that we need to reclaim our stories to deepen our understanding of mātauranga Māori. Ruwhiu and Cone (2013) explain that "Kaupapa Māori has a strong cultural preference for narrative forms such as story and metaphor to make sense of the world" (p. 31). The choice of pūrākau for one of the Māori women reflects the importance of a person's story from a kaupapa Māori perspective (Forster et al., 2015). Lee (2009) describes pūrākau as "a traditional form of Māori

narrative, contains philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews that are fundamental to our identity as Māori" (p. 1).

Bishop (1998) affirms that identity and biography are strongly valued in kaupapa Māori research. Gordon-Burns (2014) challenges Pākehā power and knowledge, and she asserts that Māori history sometimes reflects a Pākehā perspective. Although two of the women were Māori, one woman did not discover her indigenous heritage until later in life and her social justice leadership was not steeped in te ao Māori in the same way that it was for the other Māori woman. Therefore, pūrākau was only used for the Māori woman whose life and social leadership was steeped in te ao Māori. This thesis emphasises values that are integral to te ao Māori, such as story and identity. How they are reflected in my research process is outlined throughout this chapter.

3.1.4 Mana wahine theory

A theory of mana wahine was used to describe and analyse Māori women's leadership (Forster et al., 2015; Leonie et al., 2019; Mikaere, 2019; Wirihana, 2012). Mikaere (2019) argues that the position of Māori women today has been affected by colonisation and that Māori women have an inferior status in Aotearoa compared to pre-colonisation. Mikaere (2019) states:

> the challenge for Māori women and men is to rediscover and reassert tikanga Māori within their own whanau, and to understand that an existince where men have power and authority over women and children is not in accordance with tikanga Māori. Such an existince stems instead from an ancient common law tradition which has been imposed on us, a tradition with which we have no affinity and which we have every reason to reject. (p. 154)

Gordon-Burns (2014) describes mana wahine as "simultaneously a philosophy, a theory and a methodological term" (p. 53). The term is sometimes used in conjunction with kaupapa Māori research to describe the perspectives of indigenous women in Aotearoa (Pihama, 2001). Te Awekotuku (1991) defines mana wahine as:

> reclaiming and celebrating what we have been, and what we will become. It is not a re-action to males and their violence against us; it is a pro-action, a determining of ourselves as Māori women, with authenticity and grace. And its ultimate aim is a

> rediscovery and renaming of that essential strength and harmony, that complementary relationship between genders. (p. 10)

Pihama (2001) defines mana wahine as a "Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework" (p. ix) and states that "Māori women must be recognised in the many roles that are ours, and that includes our leadership, **rangatira** positions" (p. 234). According to Pihama (2001), mana wahine theory "affirms Māori women as critical actors for change" (p. ix). In my research, I have used mana wahine from a methodological perspective to examine and describe the leadership of the two Māori women.

Mana wahine acknowledges Māori women's mana and the valuable role that Māori women fulfil in our communities (Te Awekotuku, 1991). This is consistent with the perspective put forward by Simmonds (2011) who states:

> Mana wahine ... is a space where Māori women can, on our own terms, and in our own way, (re)define and (re)present the multifarious stories and experiences of what it means, and what it meant in the past, to be a Māori woman in Aotearoa New Zealand. (p. 12)

In this thesis, as a Māori woman, I present the stories/pūrākau of two Māori women and one Pākehā woman. I celebrate and highlight their leadership strengths and challenges, and acknowledge their mana and their roles in our societies. Although mana wahine does not encompass or apply to non-Māori women, I support the perspective of Pere (1997) who states that "every person has mana atua-no more, no less. This form of mana recognizes the absolute uniqueness of the individual" (p. 14).

It is important and deliberate that Māori women are the focus of my research as "Maori women have been absent from the way that research about Maori has been conducted, for example in tribal histories" (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 240) and "the struggles for our people, our lands, our worlds, ourselves are struggles that are part of our daily lives as Māori women, they are never about just being Māori or just being women but are about a combination of what those things mean" (Pihama, 2001, p. 232). While kaupapa Māori research principles and mana wahine theory are foundational elements of this study, my research also incorporates non-Māori perspectives. These are explored in the following section on methodological frameworks.

3.2 Methodological frameworks

Two methodological frameworks reflect the approach I have taken to my research: qualitative research and archival research. These are discussed in the following sections.

3.2.1 Qualitative research

Qualitative research focuses on people's experiences and the meaning of these experiences, and involves data, such as documents, observations and interviews (Patton, 2015). Taylor et al. (2016) argue that "many, if not most qualitative researchers share a commitment to social justice and attempt to design studies to contribute to greater social equality" (p. 26). Qualitative research is strongly aligned with kaupapa Māori research which has a social justice rationale and impetus as described in Section 3.1.2.

Some qualitative researchers use notes and memos to increase their awareness of how their perspective and the influence of social, cultural and historical contexts on my research process and outcomes (Taylor et al., 2016). This practice is discussed later in this chapter. From a qualitative perspective, research is not value-free; our values shape what, how and why we undertake our investigations (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Qualitative methodology was the most appropriate methodology for my research because this study sought to tell rich, interpretive stories. This qualitative research involved descriptive data, such as people's words and stories gleaned from documents and interviews (Taylor et al., 2016). This insider research involved whakapapa documents and the stories/pūrākau and kōrero (speech or discussion) of whānau members, including myself giving my perspective of this data. This avoids an outsider "expert role" which is problematic for indigenous communities (Tuhiwai Smith, 2021, p. 158). Kaupapa Māori research involves Māori asserting influence as Māori rather than non-Māori or outsiders determining what is valued and what is not valued (Tuhiwai Smith, 2021). Qualitative approaches used to investigate social justice leadership vary and include case study (Theoharis, 2008), story (Forster et al., 2015), biography (Knowles, 2007) and narrative inquiry. Narrative inquiry is explored in the next section.

3.2.2 Narrative inquiry

I chose narrative inquiry for my research as it captures the nuance and essence of experience (Lyman et al., 2012) and for the following reasons.

Narrative inquiry involves interweaving theory with literature (Kim, 2016), and according to Clandinin and Connelly (2000):

> the contribution of a narrative inquiry is more often intended to be the creation of a new sense of meaning and significance with respect to my research topic than it is to yield a set of knowledge claims that might incrementally add to knowledge in the field. (p. 42)

To deepen my understanding of the origins and orientations of women's social justice leadership, I investigated the stories or pūrākau of three women. Narrative inquiry provided a means to do this (Polkinghorne, 1995). Kim (2016) describes a story as "a detailed organization of narrative events arranged in a (story) structure based on time" (p. 8).

Narrative inquiry is often used when researching social justice because it provides the opportunity to share stories/pūrākau (Chase, 2013) and "narratives convey meaningful insights to any reader-female or male-confronting the challenges of social justice leadership" (Lyman et al., 2012, p. 2). Narrative inquiry "gives prominence to human agency and imagination … [and] … it is well suited to studies of subjectivity and identity" (Riessman, 1993, p. 5). Narrative inquiry involves a deep focus on a small number of people and enables a comprehensive understanding of their experience (Kim, 2016).

A key aspect of narrative research is that it recognises that there are different truths and perspectives which allow one to understand and explain human experience in multiple ways (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). It provides insights to those that are the focus of my research but the findings are not generalisable to others (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). I recognise the importance of multiple perspectives in my research by making clear that, although the stories/pūrākau are told from my perspective, I acknowledge that this interpretation is one of many that could be derived from my research materials.

However, narrative inquiry has also drawn criticism. First, it requires a different form of theoretical rigour from other research methodologies (Kim, 2016). The stories resulting from narrative inquiry must reflect people's stories as *they* would like them told (Riessman, 2008). A second issue relates to whether the analysis is compelling and robust based on the data collected (Riessman, 2008) and the degree to which the researcher is biased due to their relationship to those being researched (Taylor et al., 2016). Creswell (1998) and Kim (2016) advise against conducting studies where the researcher is too close to the situation. They caution that the advantages of access to data and involvement in the setting are outweighed by disadvantages. These could include pre-determined expectations of what the data may reveal

(Creswell, 2013) or political and ethical dilemmas arising from discovering dangerous information (Kim, 2016).

However, proponents of narrative inquiry argue that if the researcher is open and transparent about positionality, as I am in my research, many insights can be gleaned from a narrative inquiry that cannot be obtained from other methods (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Other strengths of narrative inquiry are that: it provides complex and in-depth insights from multiple perspectives (Taylor et al., 2016); it often involves a focused analysis of a small number of people's experiences (Kim, 2016); it takes into account the perspective of both the researcher and the individuals being researched by emphasising context, time and space (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000); and the context and position of the researcher and the researched are not static (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

To address the criticisms of narrative inquiry, and because of my familial and professional connections to the three women in this study, I took particular care in the collection, use and interpretation of the data. I provide examples of what this care entailed in practice in the 'data generation' and 'ethical considerations' sections of this chapter. I had a commitment to whānau and my professional colleagues to ensure the persuasiveness, trustworthiness and validity of the analysis (Riessman, 2008). From a kaupapa Māori perspective, this study involved ongoing inquiry and support from whānau who had a vested interest given my research involved their tūpuna. Kaupapa Māori research involves asking for, and/or accepting, guidance (Ormond et al., 2006). My research included whānau members reading drafts of this thesis and giving information on gaps in whakapapa records or missing aspects of the women's stories/pūrākau

To support the integrity of the data analysis and interpretation, "theoretical claims [were] supported with evidence from informants' accounts, negative cases [were] included, and alternative interpretations considered" (Riessman, 2008, p. 19).

3.2.3 Archival research

Archival research involves using documentation that already exists. "It requires data *selection,* instead of data *collection"* (Bowen, 2009, p. 31). Creswell (2003) argues that using pre-existing documentation for research has several strengths. For example, archival records reflect the words of the people that are the focus of my research, and where the records are accessible, I can access them at a time that suits them and can thus save time. One of the

advantages of using archival methods in my research was that I had access to documentation that was only available to family members.

Although there may be advantages with archival research, Bowen (2009) outlines an important limitation: access required to undertake the research is sometimes restricted due to retrieval ability. This may mean that the documentation needed for research is difficult or impossible to access (Bowen, 2009; Creswell, 2003). Furthermore, because documentation used for the research is not developed specifically for the project, sometimes the required or necessary detail for the study is missing (Bowen, 2009). Another limitation of archival research, particularly of interviews stored in archives, is the sometimes excessive amount of time required for transcribing lengthy interviews (Creswell, 2003). This could have proved problematic in my research as significant amounts of data were in audiotaped or videotaped form. However, I mitigated this by using a transcriber. Issues relating to transcription are discussed in a later section.

Schwartz and Cook (2002) emphasise caution when working with archival material, arguing that archives themselves are not neutral and value-free. They believe that how the material is archived, and the identity and role of the archiver, can influence archival material in the same way that others argue a researcher brings certain values and a specific perspective to research (Taylor et al., 2016). Cook and Schwartz (2002) argue that archival data reflects many perspectives and worldviews concerning identity and memory. The way I managed this tension and the methods I used to generate data are outlined in the next section.

3.3 Data generation methods

Data for this investigation included archived and other sources of documents and interviews, and notes from reflexive journalling. As Patton (2015) states that “learning to use, study, and understand documents and files is part of the repertoire of skills needed for qualitative inquiry” (p. 378). For the three women in this study, I used both pre-existing, audiotaped and videotaped archived interviews, and interviews with people who were family members or close colleagues of the three women. I interviewed these people to understand the women’s social justice leadership from the perspectives of those who had close relationships with them. All interviews were transcribed and the transcriptions were used as data in my research.

3.3.1 Archival sources

From the beginning of my research, I had to consider whether there was sufficient archival material to support the focus of social justice leadership. I negotiated access to some archival collections before I began my research to ensure that it was possible. Once my research was underway, I used the snowball technique where I studied "documents to identify other potentially fruitful sources. One document [led] to others, which [led] to others, which [led] to others" (Taylor et al., 2016, p. 155). For example, I read an article about Kiripuai in a journal that referenced other articles about her that I had not been aware of. Hence, through using the snowball technique, I discovered numerous articles and archival sources about the three women.

The archival sources were New Zealand-based and were housed in the Alexander Turnbull Library (the national library), Tūranga (Christchurch Central Library), University of Canterbury central library and MacMillan Brown Library, and Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga (the national archives). They included audiotaped and videotaped interviews with the three women, and other items, such as letters, photos, postcards, newspaper articles, magazine publications and speech notes.

The archival audiotaped and videotaped interviews were very important for my study as they most closely reflected the voices of the three women. I transcribed these interviews for use in this study. I read and re-read the hard copy archived records, including the interview transcripts, for information related to the women and their social justice activities. I kept my research questions in mind when I did this. I took notes from the archival records and photographed those records I wanted to explore further. Over time, I developed a folder for each woman that held all the information I had collected from archival sources. This allowed me to retrieve and refer to these documents repeatedly throughout my research process. An important part of carrying out my research was building good relationships with library archivists to enable access to materials. This was particularly pertinent during Covid-19 level 3 restrictions in Aotearoa when limited numbers of people were permitted to use the Alexander Turnbull Library and people had to email the librarian to book a time to use archival materials.

I considered several factors when I searched for archival sources: what I could locate; its relevance to my research questions; how I could verify its authenticity; who the author or interviewer was; and the perspective and motivation they brought to the data. For example, I verified the authenticity of the archived audiotape of a radio interview with Connie that was

owned by family members by locating this same audiotape in the radio station's records and verified the interviewer, date and details of the interview. Taylor et al. (2016) promote the importance of such verification as well as considering of how representative the material is of the context.

3.3.2 Other sources

I accessed other sources about the women in several ways. First, I searched multiple sources, such as library databases and newspapers about the three women. I photocopied, downloaded, took notes from, and stored copies of, sources and included these in the respective folder for each woman. I accessed published articles that family members had written following family research they had undertaken. For example, my brother John, a published author, wrote an article about Connie as the only female pacifist imprisoned during World War II. Similarly, my aunty Bronwen wrote an article for a family history society journal about Connie's mother Ann Williams. This is because Ann reportedly witnessed the pre-penultimate public execution carried out in England and Wales. I practised reciprocity throughout my study. For instance, when I located published material about the women that whānau members were unaware of, I sent these to the whānau members I had interviewed to read and share with other whānau members of the two women I was related to (Kiripuai and Connie). An example of this was when I located a chapter called 'Maori Elder: Georgina Kiripuai Aomarere' in a book by Petty (2008). The chapter includes excerpts from an interview with Kiripuai on her experiences when US marines were based in and around Ōtaki during World War II. There were reports of racially based tensions between Māori and Americans during World War II in New Zealand (Petty, 2008). However, Kiripuai's experiences of dating Americans during this time were positive.

Second, I accessed sources from whānau members, such as life history assignments. The life history assignment of Kiripuai was completed by a student studying a Diploma in Māori Studies (Cody, 1994). Cody's assignment differed from my research in that it focused on Kiripuai's religious beliefs and how she interpreted these beliefs in tandem with Te Ao Māori. The life history assignment of Connie was part of a Sociology course (Hunter, 1982). I gained written permission from Hunter (1982) to use both the interview material that was gathered for the life history assignment and the life history assignment. I was unable to locate Cody (1994) to gain permission to use the life history assignment on Kiripuai. I decided it was acceptable to use the Hunter (1982) and Cody (1994) resources for several reasons. These assignments were: focused on the women and their life experiences; they were in the possession

of whānau members; they are being used in this whānau-related research and importantly the use of these resources did not contravene the ethics principles governing my research.

Third, I used sources, such as birth, marriage and death records. Kiripuai's birth record was more difficult to locate than Connie's and Sonja's. Kiripuai herself had trouble accessing records. For example, when she applied for her passport in 1986, she discovered that she had a baptismal certificate but not a birth certificate. She then had to apply to have a birth certificate issued (Aomarere, 1991). Rice and Bryder (2005) explain that some Māori deliberately boycotted officialdom, such as the registration of births, deaths, and marriages. This resentment was due to historical dissatisfaction with the Crown confiscating lands in 1860. It was unclear it this was the reason Kiripuai lacked a birth certificate.

Context and time are crucial aspects of narrative inquiry (Gunn & Faire, 2016). As Clandinin and Connelly (2000) state "any event, or thing, has a past, a present as it appears to us, and an implied future" (p. 29). I researched and took notes of the political, social and historical contexts that existed during the three women's lifetimes. This was designed to be sufficiently flexible to allow me to explore possibilities and questions that arose as my study progressed. For example, when investigating the women's stories/pūrākau, I identified several gaps in the sources. I sought information to fill these gaps from interviews with people who knew the women.

3.3.3 Interviews

The use of oral sources in this project was important from a kaupapa Māori perspective because oral interviews enable "the voice of people to be heard and for their kōrero to be prescribed due importance" (Te Momo, 2011, p. 24). At the beginning of the interviews I undertook for my research, I enquired about the interviewee's health and wellbeing as part of developing rapport and a sense of trust. The end of the interview was also an important time to thank the interviewee for their time and to acknowledge the value of what they had contributed. These strategies and related questions were described by Oplatka (2018) as a means of developing security and openness between the interviewer and interviewee. This was particularly important in this project as the interviews were carried out during Covid-19 restrictions and people may have been more sensitive and more on edge than usual.

All interviewees were asked semi-structured questions relating to the women's social justice leadership. Taylor et al. (2016) describes semi-structured questions as "flexible and dynamic" (p. 102) and appropriate for "understanding informant's perspectives on their lives,

experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words" (Taylor et al., 2016, p. 102). The formal part of the interviews began with the following statement: "Using archival materials I have been researching X's story/pūrākau with a social justice leadership focus". The remainder of the interview was structured around four central questions:

1. How and why do you think X's social justice leadership developed?
2. I have identified some areas and/or the following period (interviewer specified areas and/or period of time) that is lacking archival information in relation to X's life. Do you have any comments about this area/period in X's life? If you thought of X as a leader, what things did you think about?
3. Is there anything else I should have asked that I haven't asked?

I interviewed one relative of Connie: her daughter (Bronwen) and three relatives of Kiripuai: her daughter (Ariana); Ariana's partner (Te Waari) and Kiripuai's niece (Margie). I only interviewed one relative of Connie as I was given permission by both the interviewer (my brother, John) and the interviewees (my late uncle Llewelyn and my aunties Bronwen and Faith) to use the transcripts of recent interviews with several of Connie's children for another project. Archival research is sometimes criticised for using material that had not been collected for the specific purposes of my research; the information may sometimes be of lower quality or contains inaccuracies (Bowen, 2009). The person who had interviewed Connie's children for another project had used the interview transcripts for a publication. I decided to use these as the discussion points from the transcribed interview were clear and they related to my research. The availability of multiple data sources was useful for checking the veracity of information. For example, one of Connie's sources stated that the letters she wrote during her time in prison were addressed to her brother. In another source, it was stated that the same letters were sent to her father. This prompted me to return to the archives in the MacMillan Brown Library at the University of Canterbury and sight the original letters I used to verify that these were sent to her brother. When birth, marriage and death records showed conflicting dates, I sourced original documents from the New Zealand Government, Department of Internal Affairs, Births, Deaths and Marriages, Whānautanga, Matenga, Mārenatanga.

I was not able to interview a family member of Sonja as most of her immediate family members had died. I asked Aotearoa economist Brian Easton if he would be interviewed; he had written a chapter about Sonja in a book entitled, *Nationbuilders* (Easton, 2001). However,

he recommended that I interview Graham Kelly, a former colleague of Sonja during her parliamentary and union careers. Graham kindly agreed to be interviewed.

The interviewees in my research were selected for a range of reasons. Bronwen was interviewed because she is active in social justice causes, is engaged in whakapapa research and lives close to me. Ariana was chosen because she is Kiripuai's closest living relative. Te Waari was interviewed because of his close relationship with Kiripuai and his strong knowledge of her whakapapa, iwi, hapū, marae and Māori education activities. Margie (Kiripuai's niece) was interviewed because Kiripuai had lived with Margie and her family in Porirua between 1941 and 1945.

The interviews varied in length, location, Covid-19 restrictions and the interviewees' preferences. Interviews were undertaken either in person, by telephone or by zoom. Zoom interviews have been used more frequently due to the Covid-19 global pandemic (Oliffe et al., 2021). The interview with Bronwen was carried out in person. The interviews with Graham and Margie were carried out via telephone. One of the features of kaupapa Māori research is the process of kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) which means that Māori value the importance of face-to-face interactions (L. T. Smith, 2000). The use of zoom to interview Ariana and Te Waari was a way to practise kanohi kitea (face to face or physical presence). As well as practising kanohi kitea as much as possible with Māori interviewees, I opened and closed the interviews with a karakia in te reo Māori.

Oliffe et al. (2021) identify the need for research into the postive and negative impacts of Covid-19 restrictions on qualitative interviews via zoom. From my perspective, the benefit of zoom interviews was that they could be easily recorded due to zoom recording functions. However, although I began each interview with warm-up questions and karakia, this did not have the same richness, depth and ease as the in-person interviews. Zoom brought a level of formality that I found difficult to remediate despite every attempt to avoid this, such as avoiding using blurred or corporate zoom backgrounds (Oliffe et al., 2021).

The interviews were approximately one hour long and were recorded then transcribed by an independent transcriber. The interview transcripts were then sent to the interviewees to read and edit as they wished. Some interviewees made no changes while others made many changes; one interviewee edited nearly every line of her transcript. Further details regarding the approach to, and treatment of, interviewees is outlined in the ethical considerations section. The transcriber signed a confidentiality form to attest that she would abide by research

protocols to minimise the risk of identifying the three women. This included destroying copies of any data on completion of the transcribing.

3.3.4 Reflexive journaling

I used a reflexive journal during my research for four reasons. First, the reflexive journal helped me to recall the methodological decisions and processes I had undertaken during my research; re-reading the journal supported the writing of this chapter. Second, from a kaupapa Māori perspective, "being a Māori researcher does not mean an absence of bias; it simply means that that potential for bias needs to be considered reflexively" (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 236). Third, the journal helped me gain insights into my role in my research, my relationship to the women, and how my identity may have shaped the women's stories/pūrākau. Taylor et al. (2016) claim that a researcher can increase their awareness of their influence on research by practising reflexivity—taking notes and memos—throughout my study. Cunliffe (2016) argues that "critically reflexive questioning opens up our own practices and assumptions as a basis for working toward more critical, responsive, and ethical action" (p. 755). Fourth, this reflexive process allowed me to make links between the social, political and historical contexts that existed during the women's lives and the context of my own life as a researcher. For example, one woman lived through the 1918 Spanish flu epidemic that killed approximately 9000 people in Aotearoa and many thousands internationally (Rice, 2018). There is a parallel between the Covid-19 context when my research was undertaken and the environment that existed in Aotearoa during the Spanish flu epidemic.

Journaling included documenting decisions and inferences made during my research process (Riessman, 2008). I wrote 37 reflections between March 2017 and April 2021, which was when I began writing this chapter. In the journal, I reflected critically on my assumptions across all aspects of my research process. I wrote about the dilemmas, contradictions and uncertainties I encountered during my research. I posed questions about my positionality and my relationship to the three women who were the focus of this study. In the reflexive journal, I reflected on, and took into account, how my identity was shaped by and was shaping my research. In this way, "reflexive journaling can address challenges in the field and help researchers understand positionality" (Meyer & Willis, 2019, p. 580). A reflexive moment based on my journal is included at the end of chapters 1, 3, 5 and 8. These reflexive moment focus on my positionality, identity and the methodological tensions experienced during my research.

The reflexive journal revealed that I varied in the degree to which I was an insider in my research. Insider research is described by Wilkinson and Kitzinger (2013) as "where the investigator studies herself, those like her, her family or her community" (p. 251). I was a close insider with Kiripuai and Connie due to my familial connections with them. Tuhiwai Smith (2021) notes that "the critical issue with insider research is the constant need for reflexivity. At a general level insider researchers have to have ways of thinking about their processes, their relationships, and the quality and richness of their data and analysis" (p. 157). Ross (2017) describes that having close insider status in research can bring emotional benefits. The emotional benefits for me included the familiarity I had with interviewing close family members. I was also an insider with Sonja through a professional connection I have with her. Although I derived benefits from undertaking research that involved family members, ethical issues can arise (Ross, 2017). These are outlined further in Section 3.5.

My reflexive journal outlined how I was sometimes challenged by how to deal with sensitive family information, such as mental health. Bishop (1996) reminds us that kaupapa Māori research prioritises collective ownership. Therefore, the knowledge I have gained from completing this thesis is more than the individual tohu (qualification) I will receive from the University. I am also accountable to the collective (the whānau and Te Rito Maioha) for the veracity and authenticity of my research undertaken and reported.

3.4 Assembling the women's stories/pūrākau

Mishler (1995) encourages us to value and learn from a range of narrative methods. Hence, I used a range of methods in my research. Based on the archival and other sources, and with guidance from my supervisory team, I developed a chronological timeline for each woman. The timeline began with the birth of each woman and included key events in her life. I used the transcripts from my interviews to fill in some of the gaps in each woman's timeline.

I used the timeline, and the archival and other materials to assemble each woman's story based on Polkinghorne's (1995) concept of narrative analysis. I assembled Connie's story, then moved onto Sonja's story and followed with Kiripuai's pūrākau. The process of collecting and selecting data for the finished chapter for each woman took approximately six months. Assembling the women's stories/pūrākau was an intensive process where I learned a significant amount about them, and the social and historical contexts they lived in.

In assembling the women's stories/pūrākau I practised Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) principle of uncertainty, which involves treating interpretation tentatively. According to

Clandinin and Connelly (2000), the notion of uncertainty in narrative research involves researchers "doing 'one's best' under the circumstance, knowing all the while that other possibilities, other interpretations, other ways of explaining things are possible" (p. 31). I used uncertainty in multiple ways. For example, in the reflexive journal, I reflected on the assumptions I made and considered alternative explanations. I was aware that the way I described and interpreted the stories/pūrākau reflected my perspective, a specific point in time, my identity, my relationship to my research as well as the socio-political, historical, and cultural contexts.

Uncertainty is consistent with another concept in the narrative inquiry literature called wakefulness (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Wakefulness involves researchers being cognisant of assumptions they are making and always questioning and interrogating them. I enacted wakefulness in my research by being open to, and reflecting on, assumptions and criticisms of the women that appeared in the data. This included questioning what the assumptions and criticisms were, what led me to them, and what effect they had on my interpretation of events.

The women's stories stories/pūrākau were assembled and analysed critically and were not a victory narrative. I avoided any hero worship or idolisation of the women (Caine, 2010). I acknowledge and make transparent my position and identity to the reader as well as other people's perspectives of the three women. This is consistent with narrative inquiry being as much about me as the researcher as about the people that are the focus of my research.

I used qualitative data about each woman to chronologically sequence and assemble their stories/pūrākau with a specific focus on the origins and orientations of their social justice leadership. I needed to exercise sensitivity and judgement in assembling the stories/pūrākau. For example, when issues of mental health and domestic violence arose, I made decisions regarding what information was appropriate to include in a thesis that focused on social justice leadership. My whakapapa relationship with Kiripuai and Connie and my professional connection with Sonja meant that I encountered unique ethical challenges. My responses to these challenges are included in the ethical considerations section of this chapter.

3.5 Thematic data analysis

After the three women's stories/pūrākau were assembled, the stories/pūrākau were used as data. In this thesis, due to this two-step process, I have defined the sources used in the women's stories/pūrākau as primary and the sources used in the analysis as secondary. I used open and selective coding to analyse each story (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Open coding occurs

when the researcher carefully reads through the data "in sequence, to generate and apply as many codes as are needed to catalogue what is seen to be 'going on' in the data" (Bulloch et al., 2017, p. 386). Selective coding involves identifying instances of the topic of interest and pulling those out (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Once selective coding was completed, codes were categorised according to broad themes.

I used NVivo 12 qualitative research software to manage the data and to initially code themes. In the first round of coding, I elicited twelve themes for analysis. After several months of analysis and synthesis of the data, these were reduced to five themes. Clarke and Braun (2016) describe analysis as "a method for identifying, analysing and interpreting patterns of meaning ('themes') within qualitative data" (p. 297). One of the criticisms of this approach is that "it is perceived to fragment and reduce data to an extent that obscures the dialectic relationship between reading text (or viewing multimedia data) and reflection" (Bulloch et al., 2017, p. 392). However, during the process of coding, I continued to use my reflexive journal to make sense of my research data and to practise the principles of reflexive practice, such as having a dialogue with myself and "keeping a track of questions" and questions that were "percolating" (Butler-Kisber, 2018, p. 24). As a result of this process, I developed new insights and deepened my understandings of my position as a researcher and my research themes.

Meyer and Willis (2019) state that "reflexive journaling can support researchers to address challenges in the field and help researchers develop positionality" (p. 580). An excerpt from my reflexive journal provides some insight into the benefits of this process in my research. On 11/11/2020, my journal entry stated:

> As I am coding and making sense of my research data, I am finding that I am flip-flopping between 1) how to analyse qualitative research, 2) the coding and 3) writing notes on my methodology so that I capture these steps as I go. Coding/analysis and synthesising seem to be iterative processes. My understanding of the data and what it means is morphing and changing as I code across the three narratives. I started the coding process with what appeared to be all-encompassing, logical codes for the three narratives. There is a lot more subtlety and nuance across the data than I realised.

I found that my process of reflexive journaling was consistent with Meyer and Willis (2019) view that "journaling during the research process does not in itself result in reflexive practice, but journaling can facilitate reflexivity" (p. 579).

Once each story was coded and analysed thematically, I examined differences and similarities across the stories/pūrākau. During this analysis, I interrogated alternative conclusions in the data, outlined why these were not pursued, and ensured there was a clear and convincing pathway between the data, the analysis and the derived conclusions (Riessman, 2008). A benefit of this approach was the flexibility over time in making sense of a large amount of data.

In qualitative research, many researchers have argued for quality measures aligned with a qualitative methodological stance (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Scott & Morrison, 2006; Yin, 2014). These measures include credibility (Yin, 2014), dependability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), transferability (Scott & Morrison, 2006) and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). NVivo 12 enabled me to accurately store, use and analyse data and supported my credibility (Yin, 2014; Yin, 2018). NVivo 12 supported credibility by creating a strong link between the codes that emerged and the data from the women's stories/pūrākau. The codes evolved over the course of my research and were not simply accepted at face value on the first attempt at analysis. This was consistent with Lincoln and Guba's (1985) notion of dependability.

The concepts of transferability and trustworthiness of the research are determined by the reader of the research (Scott & Morrison, 2006). The transferability of my research was established with rich descriptions of my research setting, process, analysis and results. Such evidence of a thorough and credible analysis reflects a strong commitment to methodological processes and outcomes (Scott & Morrison, 2006). Confirmability concerns "whether the data are qualitatively confirmable; in other words, whether the analysis is grounded in the data and whether inferences based on the data are logical and of high utility" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 23). As part of the analysis process, I considered contrary and rival perspectives to build my explanations for practical and theoretical claims and to substantiate them. This provided evidence of confirmability. The use of archival, other sources and interview data in the stories/pūrākau, combined with the use of my critically reflexive journal, support the validity of my research.

3.6 Ethical considerations

When I submitted the proposal for my research to the Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury my research was deemed 'low risk'. The University of Canterbury human ethics policy states that:

> Research may be considered low risk when it arises from master's or PhD theses or supervised projects undertaken as part of specific course requirements, where the theses or projects do not raise any issue of deception, threat, invasion of privacy, mental, physical or cultural risk of stress, and do not involve gathering personal information or a sensitive nature about or from individuals. (University of Canterbury, p. 6)

My ethics application was approved on 3 May 2019. Although I had planned for, and taken into account, as many of the ethical issues as I could, some ethical dilemmas arose as I progressed through my research project (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). I made decisions about what to include in this thesis that would protect those involved. I reflected a sensitive, ethical approach and followed the guidelines outlined in the university's ethics policy and the literature on ethical values. For example, sensitive family information that was not previously in the public domain and may have incriminated people was not included. This is consistent with Clandinin's (2007) argument that, due to the emergent nature of narrative inquiry and the need to be open to modifying the direction of the research as this progresses, "ethics in narrative research requires commitment to certain ethical values rather than a priori behaviours" (p. 557).

There are ethical issues to consider with interviews. I needed to be sensitive because I interviewed two women about their deceased mother. Lee and Lee (2012) refer to death and bereavement as one of several 'sensitive topics' that can result in emotional responses during research. However, neither woman showed any emotional upset during the interviews. This may have been due to several reasons: because I established a sense of trust with them; the length of time between the death of their parent and the interview or having discussed this topic previously.

As I knew the interviewees, the opportunity to be anonymous was waived. However, there was an opportunity for confidentiality and for a pseudonym to be used. The interviewees signed a consent form (Appendix A), which stated that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw from the project at any time without penalty or consequence. All interviewees were given options about the storage of interviews (destroyed after ten years or securely placed in accessible archival storage indefinitely). All interviewees consented to their names being used in my research and agreed that the material be placed in archival storage indefinitely. (See Appendix B for a list of interviews undertaken and personal communications used as part of my research). I explain the contributions that the storage of interviews made to my research in Chapter 8.

There are specific ethical considerations associated with using archived interviews of people who have died and undertaking interviews about these same people. I followed due processes in seeking permission to use archived material. Different protocols were required for gaining permission from individuals and institutions and differed for each woman. I also needed to be sensitive when I approached people to interview about each woman. For example, I initially identified the children of two of the women as the most appropriate people to approach but I also considered whether to invite others. However, "in narrative research, there is always potential for impact on the family and social networks of the person who participates" (Clandinin, 2007, p. 558).

From a Māori perspective, there are cultural sensitivities about the sanctity of whakapapa information and knowledge, especially when analysing archival material of people who have died (Kennedy & Cram, 2010). I also had a whakapapa relationship with two of the women. I addressed these ethical issues with three types of support: my research supervisors; the very useful guidelines outlined in the narrative inquiry field; and the principles designed to inform research undertaken with Māori (Smith, 2012). I used the guidelines of L. T. Smith (2000), who encourages researchers to ask the following questions when undertaking kaupapa Māori research:

1. What research do we want to carry out?
2. Whom is that research for?
3. What difference will it make?
4. Who will carry out my research?
5. How do we want the research to be done?
6. How will we know it is a worthwhile piece of research?
7. Who will own the research?
8. Who will benefit? (p. 239)

L. T. Smith (2000) further states that "How researchers enter the research community, how they negotiate their project aims and methods, how they conduct themselves as members of a research project and how they engage with the people require a wide range of cultural skills and sensitivities" (p.239). As Tuhiwai Smith (2006) states:

> the first contribution of an indigenous perspective to any discussion about research ethics is one that challenges us to understand the historical development of research as

> a corporate, deeply colonial institution that is structurally embedded in society and its institutions. (p. 16)

In kaupapa Māori research, there is a responsibility to take the findings back to the whānau (L. T. Smith, 2000). I intend to print a copy of the relevant thesis chapters for each whānau member interviewed in my research and to thank them for their contributions to my study. I sometimes received personal information and personally confronting information about Kiripuai and Connie with whom I had a whakapapa relationship, which made me appreciate how much trust others had given me in this process. Interestingly, I did not have the same response when I discovered similarly sensitive information about Sonja, perhaps due to my professional relationship with her. Smith (2021) reminds us from a kaupapa Māori perspective that:

> Insider research has to be as ethical and respectful, as reflexive and critical, as outsider research. It also needs to be humble. It needs to be humble because the researcher belongs to the community as a member with a different set of roles and relationships, status and position. (p. 158)

Whānau gave their time generously and freely, and shared stories of their whānau member in a trusting and open way. Therefore, whānau members are acknowledged in the thesis for their contribution.

3.7 Summary

This chapter has outlined the epistemological and methodological frameworks that underpinned this study. It described how the data was generated from archival and non-archival sources, interviews and reflexive journaling, and how the women's stories stories/pūrākau were assembled. The first step of analysis involved identifying missing information about the origins and orientations of each woman's social justice leadership from archival and non-archival data and interviewing whānau members or colleagues with a focus on this missing information. The second step involved using these multiple data sources to assemble each woman's story with a specific focus on the origins and orientations of her social justice leadership. All sources were considered equally important and varied between the women. The second step of the analysis involved identifying the similarities and differences in the origins and orientations of the women's leaderships.

The use of qualitative methods enabled me to acknowledge that the women's stories/pūrākau and my analyses of these stories/pūrākau were not value-free. I used a reflexive journal to help me understand how my assumptions and values influenced my research process and outcomes. My relationship with each woman and my own perspectives, beliefs and experiences combined to influence how these stories/pūrākau were assembled and analysed. Ethical issues were considered from the outset and have been taken into account at all stages of my research process. These research frameworks, methods and ethical guidelines have been used to tell the social justice leadership pūrākau of Kiripuai (Chapter 4) and the stories of Connie (Chapter 5) and Sonja (Chapter 6).

Ka mua, ka muri

Walking backwards into the future

Reflection 2

As I elaborated on in this chapter, I used my reflexive journal to keep a track of my thought processes throughout this thesis journey. The purpose of the journal was not to perfect the process. I wrote the reflexive journal to document a commentary about the messiness and contradictions I experienced investigating women's social justice leadership from a kaupapa Māori perspective. So far, the research process has taught me about leadership, writing, considering a range of perspectives and developing my argument in relation to those perspectives.

I am still learning about research methodologies. I encountered many methodological challenges and dilemmas during my study. For instance, my use of mana wahine for the two Māori women in my research and not for the Pākehā woman reflects some deep thinking and reading I undertook about mana wahine. One conundrum I wrote about in my reflexive journal was 'kaupapa Māori methodology for Pākehā? the use of mana wahine?'. I grappled with this dilemma and arrived at the point where I thought that, while others might write about and apply Māori concepts to Pākehā, because of my kaupapa Māori methodology, I was not comfortable applying Māori concepts to my analysis of Connie's story. I appreciate that I might have gained different understandings if I had used Māori concepts with Connie. I explore some of my reflections on the research methodology, the limitations of my research and possibilities for further investigation in Chapter 8.

My supervisor, Katie, who is an historian, suggested I should 'wallow' in some of my archival materials, rather than 'smash and grab' from them. Wallowing allowed me to take the time to reflect on archival sources and their contents rather than mechanically recording and focusing on efficiency. In some ways, what Katie recommended suits my personality because I enjoy the process of thinking deeply. In other ways, it was a challenge as I tend to focus on, and gain a lot of satisfaction from, getting things done. It seems that wallowing can sit in tension with the expectations of management in neo-liberal contexts, which seem to be focused on efficiencies.

Chapter 4

Kiripuai Ngahiraka Te Otiana (Georgina) Te Aomarere

Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Rārua, Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Toarangatira, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Maniapoto: 4 June 1916–14 August 2007

My maternal grandmother/Kui

Haere mai, nau mai, e ngā iwi e

Haere mai, nau mau, e ngā iwi e

Ka ora rā

Welcome, welcome everybody x2

Good health

Georgina Kiripuai Te Aomarere (Kiripuai) was a Ngāti Raukawa kuia who dedicated most of her life to iwi, hapū, marae and whānau activities, and demonstrated a strong commitment to achieving equality and self-determination for Māori (Creative New Zealand, 2018). This chapter begins with a karanga because Kiripuai was a senior kaikaranga (the woman who makes the first call on the marae during pōwhiri ritual) (Creative New Zealand, 2018).

This pūrākau covers five sections. It begins by briefly exploring her whakapapa and then her early childhood with her parents. It then moves to an examination of the origins and areas that influenced Kiripuai's commitment to social justice leadership: her mother, Rāhapa Reupena; her religious commitment, tikanga and educational experiences; and her paid employment. The pūrākau then turns to examine the orientations of her social justice leadership to iwi, hapū, whānau, marae and education for Māori. Concluding comments are made in the final section of the pūrākau.

4.1 Kiripuai's whakapapa

Māori women are usually known by their father's whakapapa. Therefore, the background of Kiripuai's father, Whitu Te Aomarere, is provided here (Aomarere, 1991). Because Rāhapa is identified as having a strong influence on Kiripuai, brief details of her ancestry are also outlined. Appendix C gives an overview of four generations of Kiripuai's whānau.

We do not know how Whitu met his first wife, Pia Hakaraia, nor the context of their marriage (Gilling, 1995). Records show that in 1883, they had a son, Metera, before Pia died. The year of her death is unknown due to incomplete records at this time. Similarly, there is limited detail in the archival records about how Whitu met his second wife, Rāhapa, and their courtship. However, Kiripuai described Whitu and Rāhapa as being "matchmade" and although marriage records don't exist, evidence suggests this could have been 1900 (Aomarere, 1991, p. 3).

Kiripuai's paternal grandmother, Rauti, was married to a Pākehā, Hare Taimana (Harry Simmonds), and they lived in Levin (Gilling, 1995). When Te Rangihaeata, Ngāti Toa chief and nephew of Te Rauparaha, retreated from the Hutt Valley towards the west of Levin, he warned that he would kill any Pākehā he encountered. As a result, Hare Taimana fled and resettled in the Waikato (Gilling, 1995). Rauti then married Karaha and the couple had seven children (Gilling, 1995). Te Aomarere (also known as Whitu) was the fourth child.

There were a number of tohunga in Whitu's whakapapa. The literal translation of 'tohunga' is "expert or adept" (Voyce, 1989, p. 99). Definitions of tohunga vary from brief descriptions, such as a "practitioner of Māori medicine, priest" (Lange, 1999, p. 284) to more elaborate accounts. Metge (1976) describes tohunga as "not only the counterpart of Pakeha faith-healers and practitioners of folk-medicine, they are skilled psychologists and religious counsellors, with the advantage for Maoris that they speak Maori and share Maori beliefs and values" (p. 94). Whitu's grandfather, Te Tauoputehue, and Te Tauoputehue's brother, Te Pahau, were both tohunga (Gilling, 1995), as was Whitu's older brother, Turi Te Karaha (Cody, 1994; Gilling, 1995). Notes from the Karaha whānau reunion (Jan 2016) at Aotearoa Marae record that Te Pahau and Turi Te Karaha "were revered and sometimes feared for their abilities as tohunga … were healers, fishermen, gardeners, artists [and most famously] …great story tellers of many traditional activities" (p. 8).

It is unclear whether the Tohunga Suppression Act (1907) affected the Te Aomarere whānau and their tohunga activities. The Act was introduced supposedly to deal with false tohunga. Critics of the Act argued that it was an attack on mātauranga and Māori ways of life (Lange, 1999). The Act was repealed in 1962 (Lange, 1999) primarily because Māori health practices incorporating the wairua (spiritual) component of people's wellbeing was recognised as beneficial and the Act discriminated against Māori (Lange, 1999).

Whitu was from the iwi of Ngāti Ruakawa and the hapū of Ngāti Huia. Most people who whakapapa to Ngāti Huia trace their ancestry to the twins, Ngange and Tuwhakahewa, or the twins' siblings. Consequently, Ngāti Huia is also often known as Ngāti Tuwhakahewa (Gilling, 1995). The main marae for Ngāti Huia or Ngāti Tuwhakahewa is at Katihiku near the mouth of Ōtaki River. According to Māori tikanga, as this marae is a male ancestor, a male needs to officially open it (Gilling, 1995). Whitu's son, Metera, from his marriage to Pia opened Katihiku Marae in 1913. Being chosen to open the marae was considered an honour and reflected Metera's standing as "the spiritual leader of his people" (Gilling, 1995, p. 29). Unlike the majority of people in their community, the Te Aomarere whānau was unique in that Whitu was Catholic, not Anglican. Gilling (1995) describes Whitu as "a dedicated Catholic Christian of great faith … a good worker and provider" (p. 31).

Unlike Whitu, who was from the North Island, Rāhapa came from the South Island. She was born at Spring Creek, Wairau and was from the iwi of Ngāti Rārua, Ngāti Koata and Ngāti Toa (Aomarere, 1991, p. 3; Gilling, 1995). Kiripuai's maternal grandfather, Reupena Pokia,

who was from the North Island, accompanied Te Rauparaha—a prominent Ngāti Toa rangatira (chief) —on his raids to the South Island (Aomarere, 1991; Gilling, 1995). As a result, Reupena met and married Makere. They subsequently had their only child, Rāhapa (Aomarere, 1991, p. 3).

4.2 Kiripuai's first two years with her parents

After Rāhapa and Whitu were married, they had six children (two boys and four girls). Their first child was born in 1901 and their last child, Kiripuai, was born in 1916. Rāhapa was 46 when Kiripuai was born and there was a seven-year age difference between Kiripuai and her next oldest sister. In addition to her three Māori names, Kiripuai was given the name of Georgina after her grandfather's sister, who was raised in the South Island and had mixed more with Pākehā than Māori (Aomarere, 1991).

At the time Kiripuai was born, the Te Aomarere whānau lived in a kāinga (home or place of settlement) in Katihiku on the south side of Ōtaki River. Rāhapa gave birth to Kiripuai at the homestead of relatives called the Baker family, who lived in Mill Road, Ōtaki. Katihiku was the last of the traditional kāinga in the region and was largely depopulated in the 1950s as many families moved to Ōtaki, often into state housing (Gilling, 1995). Gilling (1995) describes Katihiku as:

> originally a Muaupoko pa, conquered by Te Rangihaeata in the 1820s, and in the ensuing pursuit of the survivors, he fought face to face with Tanguru, Keepa's father. It was then given by Te Rauparaha to Ngati Huia-also known as Ngati Tuwhakahewa-and it has remained their centre, although in the early years the most influential person there may well have been Topeora, Te Rangihaeata's sister. The original Katihiku was some distance to the north-east of the present site, but changes in the river meant that it had to be shifted in 1902. (p. 29)

As Rāhapa was a housewife and Whitu's occupation was "digging out tree stumps", the family had a modest income (Aomarere, 1991, p. 1). The Te Aomarere children were the only ones from Katihiku to attend school. Whitu transported the children to the Catholic Convent school in Ōtaki by horse and cart, which involved crossing the Ōtaki River and numerous paddocks several times a day (Aomarere, 1991). The family was well respected as reflected in the name Te Aomarere, which means "Te Ao=the world/light +Marere=generous" (Gilling, 1995, p. 30). This name was "given only to people of high calibre, and the whanau has for

many years been amongst the tribal leaders, especially in spiritual and cultural matters" (Gilling, 1995, p. 30).

In 1918, an influenza known as the Spanish Flu was introduced into Aotearoa. This subsequently affected the Te Aomarere whānau (Anderson et al., 2015). A less virulent variant of this flu had previously affected the northern hemisphere (Rice & Bryder, 2005). How this influenza entered the country is disputed. Some argue that it originated from overseas and that quarantining people who showed symptoms on arrival in Aotearoa could have stopped its circulation (Rice & Bryder, 2005). Others argue that a particularly malignant influenza evolved that was different from the influenza that circulated internationally and this variant infected the population (Rice & Bryder, 2005). What is known though is that more Māori than non-Māori were affected by the epidemic (Lange, 1999).

Although record keeping of fatalities was poor, Māori rates of death in the flu pandemic were at least seven times greater than for non-Māori (Anderson et al., 2015). This difference was attributed to Māori having less access to health services, a higher level of existing medical conditions and a higher prevalence of infection ((Rice, 2019). There are conflicting records of the timing and cause of Whitu's death. Kiripuai's and others' accounts of how he died are consistent with what is stated on his headstone; that he died in the 1918 flu epidemic (Gilling, 1995). This differs from written records that show that he died of dropsy on 17 September, 1917 (Registrar of Births Deaths and Marriages, 1917, September 17). Dropsy also known as edema is described as "an accumulation of excessive amount of watery fluid in cells, tissues or body cavities. Edema can be mild and benign as in pregnancy or prolonged standing in the elderly or a serious sign of heart, liver or kidney failure, or of other diseases" (Dictionary.com, n.d.-a). What is consistently evidenced is that, when Kiripuai was two years old, Whitu's 35-year-old son, Metera, contracted the Spanish flu and was among the 50 deaths recorded in Ōtaki due to the pandemic (Sprott, 1919). Pākehā perceptions of who was important influenced what was reported about Māori deaths (Rice & Bryder, 2005). As Metera was a Deacon for the Anglican church, records state that his death was a "serious blow to the Māori mission" (Sprott, 1919, p. 8). The death of Whitu, who had standing in the Māori community but was not known in the Pākehā community, was not reported.

Due to fear associated with contracting the influenza, many Māori were buried in shallow graves at temporary hospitals or near where they died (Rice, 2019). During the pandemic, there were restrictions on the number of people allowed to attend tangi (funeral) and at some stages,

tangi were banned. Despite these restrictions and the conflicting evidence regarding the date of Whitu's death, records suggest tangi for Whitu and Metera were held. Whitu's brother, Turi Te Karaha, travelled from Te Awamutu to attend Whitu's tangi (Aomarere, 2002). After the burial, Turi Te Karaha returned to Te Awamutu with one of Kiripuai's sisters, Moengakura (also known as Kura), leaving Rāhapa as the sole caregiver of the remaining five children.

In each archived interview used in this pūrākau, Kiripuai says that her father and half-brother died in the 1918 pandemic. Rice and Bryder (2005) summarise the effects of the influenza on Māori:

> The 1918 flu inflicted severe social and cultural losses upon Māori, from the deaths of so many elders who were living repositories of tribal lore and history, and in the disruption of family and community life. Such losses cannot be measured statistically. (p. 183)

Despite Kiripuai's strong relationship with her mother and the positive influence Rāhapa had on her, the death of her father and half-brother had a major impact on Kiripuai's life. Following the death of Whitu and Metera, Kiripuai's closest relationship was with her sister, Rakera (Aomarere, 1991). The pūrākau now turns to the origins of Kiripuai's social justice leadership.

4.3 Origins of Kiripuai's social justice leadership

There were four aspects of Kiripuai's life that influenced her social justice leadership. The first was her mother, Rāhapa Reupene, who played an important role in Kiripuai's development. Her relationship with Rāhapa and others, and how Rāhapa shaped Kiripuai's values and beliefs reflect the Māori view that the world is an integrated system and Māori leadership should be located as "a process of socialised experiences (instilling an innate sense of a special approach to leadership) and embedded relations (within iwi and whānau)" (Ruwhiu & Cone, 2013, p. 32). The second influence was Kiripuai's religious beliefs. The evolution of her principles about māoritanga (Māori culture, values and beliefs) and religion, and the relationship between her religious beliefs and her commitment to service are described. The third influence was Kiripuai's educational experiences. Her love of education became a focus of her social justice activities in later life. Her education from the age of seven and a half to 16 is described. The fourth influence was Kiripuai's paid employment, where she practised the values and principles that underpinned her social justice activities.

4.3.1 Her mother, Rāhapa Reupena

After Whitu died, the change in family circumstances resulted in Rāhapa moving from the rural settlement of Katihiku into the town of Ōtaki (Gilling, 1995). Rāhapa and her five children, Te Aue, Te Kapa o Tu, Rakera, Pokia and Kiripuai moved to live at the Baker family homestead where Kiripuai had been born. Mrs Baker had died of a terminal illness and it was arranged that Rāhapa would care for Mrs Baker's school-aged children. King (1988) argues that children of Māori parents who made the urban migration were the most disadvantaged. There is no reference to this in the colourful recollections Kiripuai gives of her life and upbringing in Ōtaki.

Kiripuai makes no mention her living with her cousins. However, Kiripuai's niece, Margie who was interviewed as part of my research, recalls that Kiripuai lived in the Baker homestead with Margie's parents, Bill and Rakera Roper, her sister, Hine, and her Uncle Kaiser (Whitu's brother). The house would have been very full given the combination of people: The Aomarere whānau, the Roper whānau, and the Baker family. Māori housing records from this time suggest that this was not uncommon (Anderson et al., 2015). As a young child, Margie thought that Rāhapa owned the house and was surprised when the owner visited to advise them that he was selling the property. Margie reports that the owner said to Rāhapa, "I've got very little to offer you, but I do have a two-roomed corrugated shack. Would you be too proud for that?". Rāhapa replied, "not at all" and she made the new accommodation in rural Ōtaki very homely despite it having no electricity or running water.

Margie said of the two-roomed corrugated shack:

> I remember the first Christmas we went there. Opened the big gates up and there on the left was a tent for mum and dad to sleep in, this long manicured lawn path with strawberries growing on both sides for you to eat. On the right-hand side was every flower you could think of, and on the left, there was every vegetable, and at the end of the path I always called it, there stood Rāhapa with her long skirt and check shirt, and cardigan sleeves rolled up, a scarf around her head tied under her chin, and a snow-white bib apron.

Water for the shack had to come from a tap at a nearby farmhouse and this was heated for bathing in a kerosene tin over a fire outside (Gilling, 1995). Candles and kerosene lamps provided light in the evenings.

Despite their basic living conditions, Rāhapa was very generous, which sometimes concerned Kiripuai (Aomarere, 1991). Rāhapa even invited people in for tea during World War II when food and pantry items were rationed. Kiripuai regularly gave her tea ration to her mother while Kiripuai and Rakera managed on one ration. Kiripuai stated, "I said to her one time, look mum you've only got about three teaspoons of tea here and then you're inviting people in for a cup of tea and she said look, the Lord will provide" (Aomarere, 1991, p. 26). Practising manaakitanga and taking responsibility for the care and wellbeing of others is an important component of leadership in te ao Māori (Katene, 2010). There are diverse definitions of manaakitanga, and it is more complex than the commonly used English translation of hospitality (Durie, 2001; Katene, 2010; Spiller et al., 2015). Manaakitanga is mana enhancing, and it is through acts of kindness, generosity and support that "a climate [is created] whereby the mana of all players is elevated" (Durie, 2001, p. 83). Based on the archival records of Kiripuai's childhood, manaakitanga was regularly practised and Kiripuai was expected to practise manaakitanga when situations warranted it.

Kiripuai's niece Margie reports that as well as being known for manaakitanga and hard work, Rāhapa was known for her high expectations, including of Kiripuai's behaviour. Kiripuai said of the comments Rāhapa regularly made to her about appropriate behaviour, "personally I would have much rather been hit many times than all this jawing that went on. She didn't know when to stop" (Aomarere, 1991, p. 19). Kiripuai also said that her mother "tried to scare you out of your wits by telling you what you should be doing and shouldn't be doing, and how naughty you were and all" (Petty, 2008, p. 114). Kudo et al. (2012) argue that parents serve as role models for their children and that authoritative parenting, as evidenced by Rāhapa's actions, can lead to transformational leadership in later life. According to Kudo et al. (2012), transformational leaders are "charismatic, arouse inspirational motivation, provide intellectual stimulation, and treat followers with individualized consideration" (p. 353). Rāhapa's high standards were evident in her housework. Kiripuai doesn't think that her mother slept very much, as "she was up at half past four so that the chimney was sooted, the stove was polished and the kitchen floors and steps scrubbed all before the children got out of bed in the morning" (Aomarere, 1991, p. 5).

Kiripuai's friend Te Waari Carkeek reported that "Kiripuai was raised in a Māori-speaking household and she had no non-Māori-speaking relatives. There was an emphasis on history, relationships, wairua, religion and iwi". Rāhapa spoke te reo Māori and told Kiripuai that her pronunciation was poor. Consequently, Kiripuai avoided speaking te reo Māori when

she was young (Aomarere, 1991). Kiripuai stated that "We had more contact with Pākehā than most Māori but in those days there was quite a bit of racial discrimination. For instance, you had to be someone very special before you got into the tennis club or the golf club" (Aomarere, 1991, p. 20). These experiences appear to have shaped Kiripuai, who as an adult was described as someone who "was highly fluent in both languages but wasn't pleased with discriminatory practices" (Walker & Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2011, p. 50).

Rāhapa was strongly independent and she raised the children single-handedly. The household experienced loss and bereavement but in Kiripuai's childhood recollections, there is no reference to the sadness that must have accompanied these events. Te Kapa o Tu was the first child to leave the family home when he left to work on the installation of electrical transmission lines throughout Aotearoa. The records are unclear as to when he left; however, the history of electrical transmission line development suggests that it was the Mangahao–Waikaremoana system that he worked on, as this was the closest of the three transmission networks to Ōtaki that was installed by 1930 (Rennie, 1989). In 1922, when Kiripuai was six, Pokia died of tetanus after falling off a horse and trap (Gilling, 1995). Te Aue died in 1928 as a result of contracting tuberculosis from Metera's son, Te Otimi; Kiripuai was 12 years old.

Records suggest that Kiripuai was a high-spirited child because, although her mother did not believe in corporal punishment and she did not use physical punishment, she did this on two occasions with Kiripuai. The first occasion was when Kiripuai, aged 12, went to a Girl Guide camp and on her return home, the Girl Guide leader informed Rāhapa that Kiripuai had told her to "shut up" (Aomarere, 1991, p. 19). Kiripuai reported that the Girl Guide camp was difficult as it was her first experience of being away for any length of time and she was a "big sook". She was perhaps acting out her anxiety about being away from home (Aomarere, 2002, p. 5). The second occasion was when Kiripuai pulled the chair away when a guest visiting Rāhapa went to sit down (Aomarere, 1991).

Unlike most parents of her generation, Rāhapa did not believe in corporal punishment. Kiripuai says this was "most unusual in Māori parents" (Aomarere, 1991, p. 5). There is limited research on discipline in Māori families during Kiripuai's childhood years. However, Ritchie and Ritchie (1970) report that in the 1970s corporal punishment was more frequently used by Māori parents than non-Māori parents.

It is not clear whether Kiripuai would have continued to engage with leadership in her family and community in her adult years if she had been physically punished as a child. Murphy

and Reichard (2011) argue that families, family relationships and parenting styles significantly impact leadership development. However, this link between early experiences and later leadership development is complex and we cannot say with certainty that there is a link between the absence of corporal punishment in Kiripuai's home environment and her leadership development (Murphy & Reichard, 2011).

Kiripuai also experienced a degree of freedom and autonomy as she grew up. Kiripuai confided to her friend, Te Waari Carkeek, that all her emotional, material and psychological needs were provided to her as a child, and this enabled her to develop a deep understanding of the importance of freedom for others. Rāhapa's focus on ensuring Kiripuai's emotional needs were met is consistent with Māori concepts of childrearing and may have helped lay the foundation for Kiripuai's later leadership. Pere (1997) states:

> An important part of a child's development relates to his or her emotions. So much can be gained and learnt from observing and reacting appropriately to children's emotional responses. Every child has innate creativity and the source of energy that stems from emotions can do much to develop this important part of a child. (p. 30)

Having all her emotional needs met appeared to cushion the effects from other adversities Kiripuai experienced in her childhood, such as a relatively impoverished household, loss and bereavement, and resisting school because her mother said she would be punished for her bad behaviour. Margie Peerless recalls that Kiripuai herself and her sister, Rakera, both describe Kiripuai as being spoilt as a child.

When Kiripuai was interviewed in 1991 at 75 years old and asked who had influenced her life the most, she answered:

> My mother had the most influence on my life. It was she who brought me up you know and her values I suppose are the same values that I hope that I've got now and as far of the way of looking at things and attitudes and believing in God and things like that. Spiritual things. Not only spiritual, temporal as well. (Aomarere, 1991, p. 25)

The contribution of Māori values, such as whanaungatanga and manaakitanga are evident in Kiripuai's upbringing. Rāhapa's parenting indicates that she was practising kaitiakitanga (protecting the past for future generations) (Moorfield, 2011).

As well as Rāhapa's influence, three other areas influenced Kiripuai's social justice leadership: religion, tikanga and education. These areas are explored in the next section.

4.3.2 Religion, tikanga and education

Kiripuai's father, Whitu, is the first member of the whānau to become a Catholic (Cody, 1994, p. 12). It is not known when he converted to Catholicism, but he was a Catholic when Kiripuai was born in 1916. Several relatives were tohunga. Kiripuai describes being raised in a family "from Tohungaism they incorporated the Catholic Faith" (Cody, 1994, p. 34). The whānau may have been influenced by the early establishment of the Catholic church in Ōtaki (King & Van de Klundert, 1997).

Catholicism was established in Ōtaki in 1844 when Father Jean-Baptiste Comte, a French Catholic priest of the Marist brothers, became responsible for the Māori mission in the Kāpiti Coast–Wellington region (King & Van de Klundert, 1997). Today, three buildings (Pukekaraka, Hine-Nui-o-te-Ao-Katoa and Roma) comprise the Ōtaki Convent and Pukekaraka Church, where Kiripuai was a member of the congregation. Records show that Father Comte was reasonably successful in his mission to convert Māori to Catholicism. However, he was less successful in converting Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa people because many had affiliated with the Anglican Church established when the Church Missionary Society was founded at Ōtaki in 1839 (King & Van de Klundert, 1997).

Kiripuai's family was not immune to the influence of the Anglican faith prevalent in the area. Kiripuai's oldest brother, Metera, was a Catholic but his iwi chose him to be an Anglican minister (Butterworth & Otaki Suffrage Coalition, 1993). Despite her father opposing this decision, Whitu had little influence over this decision. This was an example of the influence of tikanga. As Kiripuai stated:

> In those days when the elders in your tribe thought about something that should be done, you didn't dispute it in anyway, you just listened to what they said. Nowadays when people don't want to do anything, they'll say, 'No. We're not going to do that, and this is why we're not going to'. But in those days the elders had supreme command over your actions. And so my eldest brother, who was a Catholic, was selected to go to the Anglican college where they learn to be ministers of the church. It was in Gisborne at a place called Waerengahika. (Butterworth & Otaki Suffrage Coalition, 1993, p. 24)

Whitu was determined to raise Kiripuai as a Catholic and it is not clear if this was because Metera was chosen to become an Anglican minister. Rāhapa had been affiliated to the Anglican church when Whitu died. Both Rāhapa and Kiripuai were influenced by Whitu's Catholicism. As Kiripuai explained:

> I look at it this way. If my father wasn't such a religious person my mother wouldn't have been able to keep us up to it. She always used to say, had your father been living I know that he would like you to do this because he was very faithful to his prayers he never missed saying his prayers morning and night and I know that if he was living now he would like you to do just so. I like to think it was through my father's good example and my mother's being able to keep you know and instil that into us. (Aomarere, 1991, p. 12)

Whitu's commitment to Catholicism may have been related to his beliefs about the importance of education. King and Van de Klundert (1997) suggest that the Catholics supported a strong appetite from Māori to read and write. The Catholic faith still has a presence in Aotearoa with the 2018 census showing that Catholicism is the third largest religious denomination (Statistics New Zealand, 2020). Census data shows that of the 775, 836 Māori who indicated a religious affiliation, only 62,790 or 8 percent indicated they followed Catholicism (Statistics New Zealand, 2020).

Kiripuai's mother said her prayers in te reo Māori but this did not interest Kiripuai. Every year, two sisters from the convent would visit Rāhapa and bring sewing for Kiripuai and her sister to do for the bazaar (Cody, 1994). The Catholic sisters always questioned Rāhapa about when she would send Kiripuai to the Catholic Convent school. Rāhapa replied that she intended to enrol her daughter in the school but Kiripuai refused to go (Cody, 1994). Instead, Kiripuai wanted to go to the public school because that was where her friends went. She also resisted encouragement from her mother to go to school because Rāhapa had told her that she would be physically punished for her bad behaviour (Aomarere, 1991).

By the time Kiripuai attended Ōtaki Primary School in 1923 at seven years old, most of her siblings had finished their schooling (Petty, 2008). Despite her reluctance, Kiripuai described attending school as a "special event" and that she "really enjoyed it" (Aomarere, 1991, p. 13). When Kiripuai started school, English was seen as a superior language and te reo Māori was not valued (Anderson et al., 2015). Despite this, Kiripuai claimed that "we were in the happy position here of not being punished, being hit, if we spoke Māori because we didn't want to speak Māori at school anyway. But this did happen in lots of native schools" (Butterworth & Otaki Suffrage Coalition, 1993, p. 23).

After her time at the state school, she went to the Catholic Convent school for six weeks before she went to secondary school at St Joseph's Māori Girls College in Napier in 1930 and

1931. Her attendance at secondary school was highly unusual because "few Maori pupils moved beyond primary level (about 8.5 percent in 1935, compared with nearly 60 percent of all pupils)" (King, 2003, p. 360). Catholic priest, Father Riordan, provided financial assistance for Kiripuai's schooling and she described herself as "the only fortunate one [of my siblings] that went away to boarding school" (Aomarere, 1991, p. 15). Although she didn't speak te reo Māori at home, five girls from Ōtaki encouraged her to help them learn te reo Māori. Kiripuai helped them learn te reo Māori until she went to St Joseph's school at the age of 14.

Kiripuai had exposure to te reo Māori with whānau but did not seem aware that she had te reo Māori in her head and that she could speak it and write it. Although she was not punished for speaking te reo Māori at St Joseph's school, it is ironic, given earlier comments in the chapter about Kiripuai disliking discriminatory practices, that Rāhapa was derogatory about Kiripuai's te reo Māori. Kiripuai's friend Te Waari Carkeek reports that when Rāhapa received a letter from Kiripuai written in te reo Māori, she told her sister that she had received a letter from the "black monkey". It is unclear what the intent of this comment was but the language does appear discriminatory against Māori.

Kiripuai described going to St Joseph's school as "the turning point in my life" (Cody, 1994, p. 28). She said that "It was really when I went to St Joseph's, that I got the feel, the knowledge about my Faith. My mother was really a good Christian person" (p. 26). St Joseph's Māori Girls' College (Hato Hohepa), initially called the "School For Māori Girls", was built in 1867 to educate Māori girls when it was recognised that the education of Māori girls was being neglected (Van der Linden & St. Joseph's Maori Girls College, 1990, p. 18). Kiripuai's favourite teacher was Sister Julius, who had a great sense of humour but was also the strictest teacher. Sister Julius, who taught English and mathematics, told Kiripuai that she "was the giddiest goat that she'd ever had the misfortune to teach" (Aomarere, 1991, p. 7). Records for St Joseph's school indicate that they set high standards for order; the "daily school routine was strictly regulated with rising at 5.30a.m., 6a.m. Mass in the school chapel, breakfast at 7a.m., followed by various chores, after which school began at 9a.m" (p. 143).

After two years at boarding school, Kiripuai's time at St Joseph's was cut short as the economic depression of the 1930s worsened (Simpson, 1984) and Father Riordan could not continue to financially support Kiripuai's schooling. She returned home and stayed with her mother for about nine months (Aomarere, 1991). In the 1920s and 1930s, Aotearoa was heavily reliant on primary produce exports. Between 1928 and 1931, export prices dropped by 40

percent and government attempts to address this, which included reducing expenditure significantly, were unsuccessful. This impacted on the quality of life for many New Zealanders. Unemployment increased significantly, 100,000 were unemployed and there was no unemployment benefit. This period is known as the "depression years" (Simpson, 1984).

Meat was scarce during the depression. However, because the Te Aomarere whānau lived in the country, they had plenty of free, good quality food, including vegetables in the garden (Aomarere, 1991). Kiripuai described life during the depression:

> Living was quite different in those days. People didn't always have jobs. You know, there was an absolute abundance of seafood—plenty of fish to catch—and everyone had big gardens, so that's how we lived. Where we lived, there was an acre-and-a-quarter, and we had a draft horse and a cart. We would collect wood and seafood and things like that. The horse would graze in the front of the house, and the whole of the back part we had in vegetables. And in the back of our section, there was a creek with nice clean water, and you could catch eels. Eels are very good food to eat, and down at the beach, we could get shellfish—*pipi and tohemunga*. (Petty, 2008, p. 114)

Kiripuai's recollection of life during the depression is consistent with descriptions from Anderson et al. (2015), who argue that families like the Te Aomarere whānau, who lived rurally, were able to live off the land in a way that urban Māori could not.

After her return home, Kiripuai described herself as believing in "the old fashioned" Catholic teachings (Cody, 1994, p. 28). At home, just like at St Joseph's, there was order and routine, or a tikanga about what was allowable. Because Sunday was the sabbath people were restricted in what they were allowed to do. For example, you could cook your dinner but you could not cut the lawns or do anything else (Cody, 1994). Kiripuai's mother told her that she was "sort of free to a certain extent but 'He pononga a Te Atua' ['A genuine servant of God']" (Cody, 1994, p. 31). Kiripuai stated:

> This was the attitude we were brought up in, all of those people in those days. Priests are holy. Nuns are holy. My mother said to us, 'Anyone who does anything bad to a priest, or talks about him, God will punish them. Because they are holy. They've been specially called by God to tell us about our wairua, about the Hahi [Church] and the Bible and all that sort of thing'. So, if you do anything you are not supposed to the priest, she would say, 'Ka whakawhiu a koe Te Atua. The Lord will punish you'. (Cody, 1994, p. 30)

Kiripuai considered her faith was "Pakeha-oriented" because she learns lots of things about her faith from Pākehā (Cody, 1994, p. 34). There is evidence that Māoritanga, tikanga and the Catholic faith influenced Kiripuai's mother, Rāhapa, who used to do special karakia when Kiripuai went on a journey to a place she had not visited before. From a Māori perspective this is because you are seen, as Kiripuai stated, "a waewae tapu" (newcomer/visitor) (Cody, 1994, p. 34). Kiripuai did not like this because "Catholics are not supposed to believe in superstitions" (Cody, 1994, p. 34).

The next section describes Kiripuai's experiences in paid employment and focuses on the principles and values she practised as an employee that were later reflected in her social justice leadership.

4.3.3 Paid employment

Kiripuai gained her first paid job at 16 years old when she began working for a family one day per week doing housework in 1932. She would have liked to work in a library; however, there were limited job opportunities during the depression (Aomarere, 1991). Four years later in 1936, Kiripuai got a job with a farming family helping with childcare (Aomarere, 1991). In 1942, she went to work at the Ōtaki Sanatorium for people with tuberculosis, staying for four and a half years. Between 1940 and 1954, there were an average 45 to 53 patients each year (Long, 1997). Her job switched between cleaning and being a relief cook (Petty, 2008). It was as a cook that Kiripuai demonstrated manaakitanga as part of her philosophy, which flourished later in life. Māori patients asked her to serve food like puha (sow thistle), and other patients asked her to serve chips, pikelets and grilled chops (Petty, 2008). Cooking this food was above and beyond what was strictly required but Kiripuai did this (Petty, 2008). Kiripuai stated:

> I had a very busy time, indeed, but I thought it was worth it because never having been sick or in hospital I could just imagine how boring it would be if you knew that every week, well, on Monday, you were going to have this or that. It would be nice to have a little change—a nice little surprise. (Petty, 2008, p. 115)

On the days she was a cleaner, the patients would comment on the extra effort Kiripuai had taken when she was the relief cook by stating, "Ah, look, that was so lovely; those grilled chops and those chips" (Petty, 2008, p. 115). After World War II broke out in 1939, Kiripuai and her friend wanted to join the army and work as truck drivers. They left their jobs at the sanatorium, expecting to be called up in a few weeks. However, it took longer than expected,

and in the meantime, they took jobs working outdoors in market gardening (Aomarere, 2002). At the same time, Rāhapa spent four years' negotiating for a piece of land costing £60 and having a small house built. In 1940, she and Kiripuai moved from the tin shack to the new home (Gilling, 1995). This was quite an achievement as in the 1930s and 40s "poverty and prejudice effectively barred many Māori, both urban and rural, from the mainstream housing market" (Ferguson, 1994, p. 98).

Kiripuai's sister, Rakera, encouraged her to get a job with her at the Wills Tobacco Factory in Petone. After checking with her mother that she would not be too lonely if she moved away, Kiripuai moved in with Rakera in Petone and secured a job at the factory. Three weeks after she joined the tobacco factory, tobacco manufacture was designated as an essential industry. Although she was called up for the army twice, her employer successfully argued to keep her (Aomarere, 2002). While Kiripuai didn't think she was very good at her job, it is unlikely that her employer would argue to keep her if this was the case. During the four years that she worked at the factory, when she could, Kiripuai travelled home at weekends to stay with her mother. She worked in the stemmery, which involved stripping the leaves off the tobacco plant and related tasks (Aomarere, 1991). Although she hated working at the factory, she described living in Petone as "that's where all the action was-lots of marines!" (Petty, 2008, p. 117).

During World War II, over 60,000 Aotearoa men worked overseas in the Armed forces mostly in the army for up to three years (Petty, 2008). During this time, Kiripuai enjoyed many dates with American soldiers stationed in Wellington (Aomarere, 1991). While some people, such as men returning on furlough, viewed American men with suspicion or derision, they were welcomed by many women in Aotearoa, who were working in all types of industry as well as doing farm work and caring for family (Petty, 2008). Kiripuai had mostly happy experiences with American men and she found them courteous, charming and very polite (Petty, 2008). They were different from Kiwi men as they often gave their dates gifts and they were attentive (Aomarere, 1991; Bioletti, 1989). Kiripuai said, "I don't have a nasty thing to say about Americans, because they were always very polite to us and treated us very well. I know other people may have had different ideas about them, but I'm just going by what I saw" (Petty, 2008, p. 118).

On one occasion, her American date suggested that another serviceman join them. They wanted to sit down with Kiripuai and get up to some "monkey business" (Aomarere, 1991, p.

18). She had to do some fast talking and stated that "someone was looking after me. If they had both decided to overpower me, I would have been a goner. So I wasn't as trusting after that" (Aomarere, 1991, p. 18). Kiripuai thinks that the war years changed women, stating that the war:

> made a great deal of difference to women. You know they had to do all the men's work. They worked on the land. A jack of all trades. They learnt how to be mechanics. Women who joined up during the war. You had to learn how to care for your vehicles. I'm sure it made women more independent, more self-sufficient. (Aomarere, 1991, p. 17)

Despite her dates with American men during the war, Ariana reports that Kiripuai wrote letters and sent food parcels to a local man, Arda, also known as Mango, Hakaraia, while he was stationed overseas. Arda and his brother, Rakaherea, also known as Dubby, were part of the Māori Batallion posted to Greece, Crete and North Africa (Egypt). Dubby was killed in Egypt in 1943 (Auckland War Memorial Museum, 2021). Kiripuai's niece, Margie, states that Kiripuai and Arda were in love, and when he returned home, he visited Kiripuai in Petone. After World War II ended in 1945, Rākera's husband, Bill, returned home. After a few months, Kiripuai moved from the Petone house back to Ōtaki to be with her mother. In 1945, Kiripuai gained a part-time job at a new Wills tobacco factory in Ōtaki where she trained the girls to remove the stems from tobacco leaves. In August 1946, when Kiripuai was 30 years old, she had a daughter, whom she called Ariana. The father was Arda, although his name is not listed on the birth certificate (Auckland War Memorial Museum, 2022).

There is evidence that Kiripuai had difficulty reconciling her religious beliefs with having a child out of wedlock. Others would also have judged her for having an illegitimate child (Stevens & Wanhalla, 2016). Kiripuai alludes to the social stigma of having a child out of wedlock in the 1940s. "One of the things that happened to me after the war was I became pregnant and had a child, but not by a marine. I think I should tell you this because if my daughter should read this she might think that her mum is ashamed of her" (Petty, 2008, p. 118). During the post-war period, when Kiripuai was a single parent, there was no financial assistance from the State for unmarried mothers and limited emotional support (Kedgley, 1996). Unmarried women who made the decision to raise a child on their own encountered many challenges (Kedgley, 1996). Kiripuai was uncertain if she would keep her child. Ariana stated that "I was going to be adopted but then Kui (Rāhapa) stepped in". Adoptions increased

markedly during and after the war years, with 577 adoptions in 1943 and 1313 in 1944 (Stevens & Wanhalla, 2016).

Further evidence of Kiripuai being conflicted as an unmarried mother as reported by her daughter Ariana is Kiripuai's obfuscation to Ariana about her father. Kiripuai told Ariana that her father had died in the war. Ariana established that, based on her birth date, her father could not have died during the war. She unknowingly told this to a relative (someone she did not realise was her cousin) and was then introduced to her father when she was aged 12. Ariana is upset she was denied a relationship with her father because of Kiripuai's actions. By the time Ariana was introduced to her father, he was in a relationship with another woman who had a child and whom Arda helped raise as his own. Ariana and Arda had very little contact despite him living relatively close to Kiripuai and Ariana's Iti Street house. Arda died at his home of a heart attack on Christmas Eve in 1977 and is buried at the Ōtaki Cemetery, the oldest cemetery in Kāpiti.

Accounts differ about whether Kiripuai wanted to marry. Kiripuai stated that she never wanted to marry and avoided answering when she was asked about this in an interview (Aomarere, 1991). Her daughter, Ariana, and her niece, Margie, reported when they were interviewed for my research that Kiripuai did want to marry but Rāhapa was opposed to her marrying Arda. Rāhapa died in 1946 when Ariana was 11 months old. Ariana believes that after Rāhapa died, Kiripuai did not need to marry because she had the security and independence of a house left to her by her mother. Although Ariana was a very easy child, Kiripuai reports that after her mother died, she found raising Ariana single-handedly very challenging (Petty, 2008).

As a Māori single parent in the 1940s, Kiripuai would have faced many obstacles. Culturally, Aotearoa was seen as British; the English language and Anglo-Celtic culture was dominant (Pickles, 2009). Māori experienced discrimination in many areas of society, such as accommodation, employment and when being served in hotel bars (Walker, 2004). Even though Kiripuai had the financial security of a house, she would have been stigmatised by being Māori, unemployed, and an unmarried single parent. According to King (1988), some children of Māori urban migrants like Kiripuai were displaced from their culture and language, and felt neither Pākehā nor Māori. King (1988) describes these children as "the saddest group-and the most vulnerable" (p. 13). Despite these circumstances, there is no evidence that this negatively

affected Kiripuai's future leadership. In fact, some of this generation led the fight to have Māori views, culture and identity valued on an equal footing with non-Māori (Walker, 2004).

In 1948, when Ariana was two years old, Kiripuai returned to paid employment. Olive Keen, who had been helping Kiripuai with childcare, worked at the local clothing factory in Ōtaki and told Kiripuai about a job that would suit her (Aomarere, 2002). Initially, Kiripuai worked in the kitchen making morning teas and lunches, and after some time she worked in the factory, where she worked for 33 years. She applied the same principles of manaakitanga and service that she had shown in the sanatorium. Not long after she started work in the factory, she won a competition for guessing the correct number of shirts the factory had made. When asked what she would like as the prize, she asked if a hot water zip could be installed at the factory. This meant that instead of boiling water on the stovetop, she could do other tasks, such as preparing food for the workers (Aomarere, 2002).

When Kiripuai talks about her work life, she mentions several important things that are consistent with her values and principles. She recalls that Mr Hager, the factory owner, was very nice because he celebrated important events, such as anniversaries of when the factory opened and when the factory outputs were high (Aomarere, 2002). She liked that he acknowledged her and introduced her to whomever he was with and that he prioritised the welfare of his staff (Aomarere, 2002). When the blood bank came to Ōtaki, Kiripuai became the only Māori blood donor and was asked to encourage other Māori to donate blood (Aomarere, 2002).

The archival records make little reference to Kiripuai's parenting. Ariana described Kiripuai as not "a mother that went to work and came home and you were at home together and you talked and you did stuff because she wasn't like that". When Kiripuai took her two weeks' annual leave at Christmas, she cared and cooked for the poor children of the Catholic parish. However, the time required for this commitment and her other church and iwi commitments affected her relationship with Ariana. Ariana stated:

> I didn't actually know her very well because in my childhood she was working all day. She would leave the house about 20 to eight, quarter to eight, and I would go to school by myself and come back by myself and she would not come back until five. Then, very often she would go away to tangi or stuff that was happening at the maraes, and she always interacted between Tainui, the Catholic Marae, Katihiku, Ngāti Huia, and Raukawa marae.

She also stated that "What she [Kiripuai] was about was very high-high-high idealism, and don't forget she was brought up by her mother, no man there or a father to reprimand her". Ariana also thinks that people took advantage of her mother's leadership. Kiripuai was described by Ariana as someone who could not say no and consequently, "she was used a lot and disrespected in a big way actually". She taught Ariana some of the same things she had been taught as a child. Ariana says that "what she did was teach you about sharing. That you were lucky. That you had a lot more things than other people have. Not to lord over them but to share what you had with them".

Her commitment to religion continued during this time. Ariana recounted that during the 1950s and 60s, Kiripuai "was deeply, deeply, deeply religious. The highest accolade you could offer the church was one of yours. She was grooming me to take the cloth on". Ariana's response was to deliberately act in ways that made her unsuitable for the Church and Kiripuai did not pursue this path.

Although most of Kiripuai's paid work was not connected to social justice per se, she exhibited many of the characteristics of aroha, manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and kaitiakitanga that were evident in her later social justice activities. The next section examines Kiripuai's social justice leadership with iwi, hapū, whānau, the marae and education for Māori from her late fifties into her retirement.

4.4 Orientations to iwi, hapū, whānau, marae and education for Māori

In 1970, when Kiripuai was 54, the Aotearoa system of government and structures, such as the education and health systems were based on British models and values (King, 2003). Māori were dissatisfied with, and were opposed to, those values and institutions, and increased their efforts to reclaim their land and their cultural identity (Anderson et al., 2015). This Māori cultural renaissance, begun in the 1960s and continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s, focused on the revitalisation and preservation of the Māori language and tikanga for young people and future generations (Anderson et al., 2015).

It is unclear from the records when Kiripuai was appointed as a trustee for Katihiku Marae, but evidence exists that she was involved as a trustee when she was aged 59 (Winiata & New Zealand Planning Council, 1979). The trustee job was a voluntary, community role which involved many hours of unpaid labour. One of her trustee tasks was to assess education scholarship funding applications, in which, as Carkeek reported, "she was aspirational and

thought of the bigger picture, for the greater good of all concerned. She was prepared to put the energy into young people so that she could see them grow".

As a Katihiku trustee, she became part of the ART Confederation; an alliance between the iwi of Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga and Ngāti Toa Rangatira (Winiata & New Zealand Planning Council, 1979). The ART Confederation comprises trustees who represent the hapū and iwi from 19 marae, including Katihiku, situated in the geographical area between the Rangitikei River and Cook Strait (Winiata & New Zealand Planning Council, 1979). Kiripuai became increasingly involved in the ART Confederation and over time she was recognised for her leadership as a kuia. The "traditional patterns of women's leadership continue to be recognised and practised by women who conform to the traditional leadership roles; that is; the rangatira, kuia and whaea [mother, aunt, female relative]" (Henry, 1994, p. 200). In their model of Māori women's leadership styles, Henry and Wolfgramm (2018) propose that kuia are "directive, directing, esteemed, venerable, confident and manipulative when necessary" (p. 207). However, Kiripuai's niece, Margie, reported that Kiripuai was:

> organised, and yet not in a dictatorial way. She had a lovely way of asking for things to be done. It was never, 'Do this, you need to do that'. I think because of that she used to get everything done so well.

Kiripuai was first addressed as kuia when she was in her 50s (Cody, 1994). She thought she was too young for this title but was reminded that this was a compliment and that younger women had been addressed as kuia. She said:

> I became a Kuia so reluctantly I didn't want to be one. I thought that when I was first addressed as a Kuia I was still in my fifties. I hadn't got to sixty. It was Hiko Hohepa from Rotorua who was the first teacher of Māori language down at the [Ōtaki] College over here. He addressed me as 'E kui'. I suppose he could see the way I was looking at him. He said to me 'Kahore koe pirangi ki a karangatia koe, e Kui?'. I said to him 'I thought I was too young to be a kuia'. He said to me, 'That's a very big thing to be called a Kuia. Not just anybody can be called a kuia'. I thought to myself, and I've told this story before … Whatarangi and Francie arrived at a meeting one night and he stood up to mihi to them and he said 'Haere mai e Whata, korua, koutou kuia' and I thought she's only forty something and he's referring to her as a Kuia so what are you moaning about. (Cody, 1994, p. 37)

Carkeek reports that at that stage, Kiripuai was working at the clothing factory during the day and working at the marae or attending hui for the iwi in the evening and weekends. Whenever she was needed at the marae, she would drop whatever she was doing and go and help. Kiripuai stated:

> It's true that in your role as a Kuia on the marae you have to really dedicate yourself to all the activities that come up. It doesn't matter whether you've got a cold or the flu or a sore throat. You just go and have a quick gargle and swallow Strepsils, and out onto the front of the marae you go. (Butterworth & Otaki Suffrage Coalition, 1993, p. 22)

During an interview, conducted with Kiripuai for an Ōtaki oral history project, Kiripuai described her work as follows:

> We used to go over there [the marae] every Thursday after work and we always had a stew for our manuhiri [guests] that came because that was the only thing I could prepare in time because next day at 5 o'clock they arrived at Raukawa Marae. (Aomarere, 2002, p. 9)

In 1975, when Kiripuai was aged 59, the trustees of the ART Confederation were concerned about the future of the iwi and launched a plan they described as an experiment in tribal development, officially called Whakatupurunga Rua Mano-Generation 2000 (Winiata & New Zealand Planning Council, 1979). At that time, the group and the plan were led by Whatarangi Winiata, who had recently returned to Aotearoa from the US where he completed a doctorate in economics and business at Michigan University (Luke & Te Momo, 2019). The broad objective of the plan was to prepare the three iwi for the future economically, politically, socially and culturally (Winiata & New Zealand Planning Council, 1979). When the plan was put into action, Kiripuai was "a key figure in providing kai to everyone and patiently teaching the mokopuna" (descendants or grandchildren) (Luke & Te Momo, 2019, p. 487). She was described as a "deep thinker" and "someone who served at posts out the front and the back from the very earliest days of Whakatupurunga Rua Mano" (Luke & Te Momo, 2019, p. 487). This is consistent with the Māori whakatauki (proverb), *Te amorangi ki mua, te hāpai oki muri*: *The leader at the front and the workers behind the scenes*. This refers to the te ao Māori principle that people's roles out the front and behind the scenes are equally important and without either role everything would fail.

Carkeek stated that "Whatarangi Winiata asked Kiripuai's employer whether her hours of employment could be adjusted to accommodate the activities of the ART Confederation but

this was turned down and she continued to juggle full-time employment with work for the iwi". Initially, her tasks at the marae included assisting in the kitchen but this evolved into running the kitchen and eventually performing the karanga and welcoming the manuhiri at the front (Butterworth & Otaki Suffrage Coalition, 1993).

Two key reasons underpinned the Whakatupurunga Rua Mano-Generation 2000 plan: poor education outcomes for Māori students, and Māori children's lack of knowledge about their language and culture (Royal & Joyce, 2000). The plan reflected four key ideas:

1. The marae is our home and should be well maintained and respected.
2. Te reo Māori language is a taonga that is precious and must be protected.
3. People are our most valuable asset, and development and retention of them is crucial.
4. Rangatiratanga (self-determination) is crucial (Walker & Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2011).

The ART Confederation outlined several principles and initiatives to achieve the plan (Walker & Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2011); this became its education mission. Schools were seen as the way for children to learn their language and culture (Walker & Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, 2011). Targets were set for the number of young people to become professionals in agriculture, accountancy, architecture, dentistry, engineering, teaching and law. Four-day rangatahi (youth) hui were held three times a year to help achieve this. Te Waari Carkeek experienced Kiripuai's involvement with the plan firsthand when she was encouraging young people joining the workforce to be aspirational and consider entering the professions, such as dentistry, medicine, accountancy and engineering.

In 1981, Kiripuai retired from the factory and devoted herself full-time to iwi, hapū, whānau, the marae, and education for Māori (Aomarere, 1991). Before her retirement, she had not applied for her superannuation, thinking that she would leave this for someone else and she would keep working (Aomarere, 2002). However, her employer advised her that, as she was of retirement age, she needed to make arrangements for her superannuation, which she did in Levin (Aomarere, 2002). After she retired at 65, Kiripuai said she now worked just as hard or for longer hours for no money at all for the iwi and aroha (Aomarere, 2002). She worked with tenacity and commitment that many younger people would struggle with (Aomarere, 1991).

In 1984, as part of the education mission of Whakatupurunga Rua Mano-Generation 2000, a new tertiary learning institution—Te Whāre Wānanga o Raukawa—was established. The Wānanga was the first of its kind in Aotearoa and was underpinned by the four key

principles of Whakatupurunga Rua Mano-Generation 2000 (Te Puni Kōkiri Ministry of Māori Development and Federation of Māori Authorities, 2003). It was specifically designed to advance, disseminate and maintain ART Confederation iwi knowledge through teaching and research (Winiata & New Zealand Planning Council, 1979). Kiripuai was heavily involved in the development of the Wānanga and in its ongoing operations once it was established. This reflected Kiripuai's passion for education that she had experienced at a young age (Aomarere, 1991). Her daughter Ariana advises that Kiripuai was appointed as a Purutanga Māuri (Keeper of the Life Force) contributing at a governance level to the life and survival of the Wānanga and advised on tikanga and kawa (marae protocol). Ariana explained further that Kiripuai promoted the importance of appropriate tikanga by emphasising what Rāhapa had taught her; there is always a proper way to behave. Ariana, said of Kiripuai's work at the Wānanga: "She reached the highest echelons of what you can reach. So, her father's belief in education she followed all the way through, right up to the top". She was witnessed by her friend Te Waari "telling priests how to conduct themselves appropriately on the marae and advising them when they had broken tikanga".

In 1985, Kiripuai travelled to San Francisco to the opening of the Te Māori exhibition, which Mead (1986) describes as a milestone of the Māori renaissance. Te Māori was the first occasion that Māori art was exhibited internationally by Māori in a way that reflected Māori language and culture (Mead, 1986). The exhibition was unique in that Māori were involved in every aspect of the exhibition from the planning and selection of displayed works to the interpretation and guardianship of the taonga (Mead, 1986). A contingent of Māori kaumatua, supporters, performers, carvers and weavers accompanied the exhibition, as well as Aotearoa New Zealand officials. In Hirini Mead's publication of the Te Māori exhibition, *Magnificent Te Maori: Te Maori Whakahirahira: He Korero Whakanui i Te Maori*, Kiripuai is listed as one of three kaumatua from Aotearoa New Zealand (Mead, 1986). The exhibition was developed over nine years and included negotiations with museums in Aotearoa and the United States (Anderson et al., 2015). Following its 1984 opening at the New York Metropolitan Museum, the exhibition toured the St Louis Art Museum, the de Young Museum in San Francisco, and the Field Museum in Chicago (Mead, 1986). On its return to Aotearoa, the exhibition was re-named the *Te Māori: Te Hokinga Mai: The Return Home* and toured the four main cities of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin (Department of Māori Affairs Te Māori Management Committee, 1988).

Kiripuai described going to San Francisco as part of the Te Māori exhibition as "the most exciting thing that had happened in her life" (Aomarere, 1991, p. 24). When she is notified that she was going to San Francisco she said:

> here was this letter with OHMS on it and I thought, wonder where this is from. So I opened the letter and had a look at it and because I didn't have my glasses on I thought I don't think this can be true what I'm reading so I came inside and got a magnifying glass and there it was in black and white and I was so thrilled but also embarrassed because I didn't know how I was going to go back to the marae and tell my friends without sounding like I was boasting and several hours went by and I was so full of this. I didn't know whether I was putting the right ingredients in or not. It was too much for me and I told a woman, Wendy Williams I got a letter from Koro Wetere. I got an invitation to go to San Francisco and she screamed out to them and they all came to congratulate me but I really was embarrassed. (Aomarere, 1991, p. 24)

Her niece, Raukura Leather, accompanied her on the trip (Aomarere, 1991). Photos of her in front of the tour bus in San Francisco show her cloaked in a korowai (traditional Māori cloak) and smiling. When she was interviewed about the trip, she described how she enjoyed the food and meeting people (Aomarere, 1991). She stated that "everything about San Francisco I enjoyed" (Aomarere, 1991, p. 25). When a passer-by asked her why she was part of the exhibition Kiripuai replied:

> I don't know why I was given the privilege of coming here. I think there was no one else, so they had to bring me, because in the small community where I live, I'm a Kuia on the marae. She [the passer-by] took a step back and said, 'Oh yes. Well, you must be someone very important'. I said 'No'. But anyway, I *am* a Kuia. (Butterworth & Otaki Suffrage Coalition, 1993, p. 21)

Kiripuai's modesty about being chosen to be part of this exhibition reflects the Māori concepts of being whakaiti (humble) rather than whakahihi (boastful). Of the exhibition's return to Aotearoa Kiripuai states that "when Te Māori came back to New Zealand I was present in Wellington when it was there. There was something about the American people who were more in tune to what Te Māori meant. I don't know whether it was because it went there first" (Aomarere, 1991, p. 25).

Despite growing up in poverty and living in very humble circumstances in adulthood, some of her relatives thought she was wealthy. Her niece, Margie, who grew up in a middle-

class family, stated that "we used to call her 'our rich aunt', because she used to come with food, cakes and clothes and all sorts of things, and always give us money to go to the movies that we'd never been to before". Kiripuai strongly supported the message of generosity conveyed by the male carving on the top of Raukawa Marae. Te Waari Carkeek stated:

> [Kiripuai] would talk about 'Motai', that's that man on top of Raukawa Meeting House holding the spear and why he was important is because he shared what he had with others. If he had a sandwich and there were three of you, he would make sure to cut the sandwich so you all had a piece. But that was one of her philosophies. If I've got an apple and there's three of you or four of you, then I cut the apple in quarters so we all get a quarter each. She focused and believed that absolutely that you didn't keep it to yourself. She hated meanness; and so the apple was cut four ways and offered to everyone. That's what she would say, 'even though it's a little bit you all get some of what's there'.

In 1991, when she was aged 75, she was asked if she would like to have more modern appliances. She responded:

> I really don't know whether I would or not because I've got used to the things that I've got in the house and I'm quite satisfied with what I've got. I've gotten used to what I've got. I haven't got an automatic washing machine. I've got one of those agitator ones and I've got a refrigerator/freezer. I think perhaps if I was able to I wouldn't mind a more modern oven. I've got an electric cooker. I wouldn't mind one more modern than that otherwise I'm satisfied with what I've got. (Aomarere, 1991, p. 12)

Kiripuai's contributions to community, hapū, marae and iwi meant that she sacrificed a lot of her own time and energy. In 1990, Kiripuai was involved in installing a new kitchen at the marae. She stated that "when a Māori Kuia is old, there is a special strength about her. The physical body may be tired and feeble but the spirit is always strong" (Murphy, 1991, p. 88). She never expected reciprocity with her generosity; however, she was delighted when it did occur (Aomarere, 1991). She explained that her friend, Georgia, planned a surprise party for her 75th birthday:

> She brought me two loads of wood and half a dozen bags of coal and then put a party on and my family came from Lower Hutt and she'd been in touch with them and of course, they subscribed to it and so I had this lovely party with this fantastic television set. (Aomarere, 1991, p. 11)

Putting the wellbeing of others before yourself is an integral aspect of leadership (Spiller et al., 2015). The same high expectations that Rāhapa had of Kiripuai were passed on to the next generation. Although Ariana clearly respected her mother, she described Kiripuai as being "unrelenting'' in her high expectations of her.

The ART Confederation was involved in many community activities. For example, when the Rangiatea Anglican Church burned down in 1995, ART was involved in rebuilding a replica church. In 2000, the Whakatupurunga Rua Mano plan-Generation 2000 was evaluated by Horiana Joyce (2000). The evaluation showed evidence that the project that Kiripuai and others had devoted themselves to had paid dividends and reaped rewards. Joyce (2000) stated in the evaluation:

> We have seen the halt in the decline of te reo Māori in this tribal area. It is also considered that te reo Māori is now in revival and renewal in this area. We have seen in this tribal area the birth of a generation of Māori children who have te reo Māori as a first language. In Ōtaki we have seen the development of four Kohanga Reo (Māori language nests), two Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori primary schools), a Whare Kura (Māori secondary school), and Te Wānanga o Raukawa (a Māori university). Along with this development has been the development of bilingual and/or bicultural units in the two Ōtaki Primary schools and the Ōtaki College with a total immersion unit at Ōtaki Primary School. We have celebrated the graduation of young people from many tertiary institutions of learning with diplomas, Bachelor degrees, Masters and Doctorates. The abilities and capabilities of young students have been overwhelmingly realised. (Joyce, 2000, p. 50)

In later life, Kiripuai reflected that she had not been involved with the marae at a younger age. As a young child, she disliked having to go to the marae because she needed to be quiet and listen (Aomarere, 1991, p. 18). The social, political and cultural landscape changed significantly during Kiripuai's life; she now led others at the marae and elsewhere in karanga (women's ceremonial call), waiata (singing) and te reo me ngā tikanga (Māori language and protocol). She said:

> I never ever thought a time would come where I was you know for instance; I would be over there to do the karanga or waiata or things like that. It's only much later in life I've become concerned or connected with anything like that. (Aomarere, 1991, p. 19)

King (2003) argues that Kiripuai's generation led efforts to establish and revalidate the identity of Māori in Aotearoa, especially in towns and cities which were predominantly Pākehā oriented. In 2004, Kiripuai was recognised for her contributions to the Māori community when she was presented with the Tā Kingi Ihaka Award by Te Waka Toi, who dedicates this award to kaumatua (elderly person of status) who have dedicated their lives to helping retain Māori arts and culture in their communities (Creative New Zealand, 2018). The Māori values of whakawhānuangatanga (relating well to others), hapū, tikanga, and kaitiakitanga (guardianship or stewardship) that shaped her leadership were evident in the social justice activities she was committed to; te reo me ngā tikanga and her iwi, hapū and whānau. In August 2007, aged 91, Kiripuai died in hospital of complications from surgery after a very brief illness.

Her tangi reflected the status and respect she had in the community. As is customary for Māori, her tangi was held over three days at Kati Hiku and then at Raukawa Marae. Large numbers of manuhiri and mourners came to pay their respects and to grieve. The final evening of singing, speeches and reminiscing about her life proceeded late into the night. On the burial day, the funeral procession started at Raukawa Marae and proceeded to Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa where the funeral procession was met with a haka (traditional dance performance) reflecting the strength of feeling that participants felt for their kuia. Mourners walked behind the hearse and one person rode Kiripuai's bicycle, which was later interred with her. Following on from Te Whare Wananga o Raukawa, two religious services took place; the first at the Catholic Church in Pukekaraka and the second at the Anglican Church in Rangiatea. Following the services, she was buried in the graveyard alongside her mother, Rāhapa.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter is an account of Kiripuai Te Aomarere's social justice activities in achieving self-determination and equality for Māori. Kiripuai was strongly influenced by her mother and by religion, tikanga and education. Her early formative experiences and the prevailing cultural, social and political contexts gave Kiripuai a strong sense of service and commitment to her community. It is evident that Kiripuai's personal experiences, including being a single parent, required her to overcome adversity and deal with challenges over a period. She made the greatest impact in the small Māori community of Ōtaki, where she lived most of her life. Living in a Māori community and being a fluent speaker of te reo Māori, Kiripuai used her skills and exercised manaakitanga, whakawhanungatanga and kaitiakitanga in her community for the betterment of others. She had a very strong work ethic and after retiring from paid employment,

she voluntarily served the community in the areas of iwi, hapū, marae, whānau, and education for Māori.

Kiripuai's leadership in social justice was shaped by the context in which she grew up. The 1960s, 70s and 80s was the period of Māori renaissance and major changes in society, which impacted her social justice activities. The community's realisation that Māori culture, language, and ways of being and knowing were at risk of being lost or becoming extinct stimulated the initiation of a range of activities. Kiripuai was instrumental in ensuring there was an improvement in outcomes for Māori in her community culturally and in te reo me ngā tikanga. She had a major and meaningful influence on outcomes for tamariki mokopuna in her community in relation to iwi, hapū, marae, whānau and education for Māori.

E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea

I will never be lost, for I am a seed sown in Rangiātea

Chapter 5

Constance May Summers (née Jones)

Pākehā: 1 May 1919–31 December 2008

(My paternal grandmother)

Connie's life story is explored with a specific focus on the origins and orientations of her social justice leadership. Archival sources are used to describe key events from her life. Connie's childhood and early adulthood are detailed followed by the events surrounding her marriage, work and family. The story then progresses to Connie's retirement and later life.

Three vignettes are presented to more thoroughly detail Connie's social justice activities. First-person accounts from Connie are foregrounded in these vignettes. Multiple perspectives are presented, including from several of Connie's children, Bronwen, Faith and her son, Llewelyn, and from journalists, who have interviewed Connie. The first vignette describes Connie's pacifism and her imprisonment in Aotearoa during World War II. The second vignette outlines Connie's activism during the South African Springbok rugby tour to Aotearoa. The third vignette depicts Connie's temperament, which she identifies as being instrumental in her commitment to social justice.

Connie's whakapapa is presented in Appendix D.

5.1 Origins of Connie's social justice leadership

In the archival records, Connie repeatedly identifies two people who were key influences on her social justice activities: her paternal grandmother, Ann Williams; and her father, Ernest (Ernie) Jones. Therefore, Connie's story begins with Ann before it moves to Ernie.

5.1.1 Her paternal grandmother, Ann Williams

Ernie and Connie reported that Ann experienced something in 1868 that affected her deeply (Hunter, 1982). She observed a public hanging whilst walking across Shrewsbury Square, Longdon, Shropshire in England on her way to work (Summers, 2019). Ann noted that there was a significant crowd, and published accounts of the event suggest this was 5000–6000 people (Neal, 2013). Horrified by the bestiality of the people watching, Ann turned against capital punishment from that day (Summers, 2019). While it cannot be confirmed that the following hanging was the same incident that Ann witnessed, the timing, audience and location suggest that the hanging she observed was the one detailed below:

> Shrewsbury's last public hanging was that of 35-year-old John Mapp for the murder of ten year old Catherine Lewis at Longdon, near Shrewsbury. It is unclear from contemporary newspaper reports whether the motive was sexual, but it seems that Catherine refused Mapp's advances and when she did so a second time he cut her throat

> and hid the body under a hedge. Mapp was an obvious suspect for the killing of Catherine as he had previously been convicted and sentenced to transportation for the rape of a 60-year-old woman in 1859. He was tried on the 23rd of March at Shrewsbury Assizes before Sir Fitzroy Kelly. The jury had little trouble in reaching their verdict. In the condemned cell he maintained his innocence but on the eve of his execution made a full confession. He was hanged by William Calcraft at 8.00 a.m. on Thursday the 9th of April 1868, in what would be England and Wales' pre-penultimate public execution. An estimated 5,000 witnessed the spectacle carried out on the gatehouse roof. (Summers, 2019, p. 6)

The hanging of Mapp and Ann's response to this occurred within the context of the reformation of capital punishment in the United Kingdom (UK) (Knowles, 2015). There was a strong public debate regarding public hangings and their worth (Block & Hostettler, 1997). Proponents of public hangings considered the events provided an opportunity for them to voice their distaste and acted as a deterrent to those considering criminal activity (Block & Hostettler, 1997). By the 1860s, public executions were increasingly viewed as inhumane and controversial. This was reflected in the introduction of the Capital Punishment Amendment Act 1868 (United Kingdom Government, 1868) which stipulated that executions were to be carried out in prisons as opposed to public places (1868 Section 2). One reason for the amendment was that some people were hanged who were later deemed to be innocent. Amendments to the legislation were introduced to provide a lesser penalty than the death penalty for less serious offences. Although Ann was not alone in her distaste for public hangings, her abhorrence suggests that she held a strong level of humanitarianism. Knowles (2015) states that "by the 1860s public executions – with their attendant drunkenness and rowdiness – had become – as one historian has put it –'cruel and increasingly shocking' (p. 13). What Ann saw and spoke about that day appears to have had a significant effect on future generations in her family. Ann's sense of social justice, illustrated in her decision to turn against physical violence, was reflected in her son, Ernie's beliefs and actions (outlined in Section 3.1.3).

In September 1875, seven years after witnessing the public hanging, Ann with her husband, Thomas Jones, and their seven-year old son, Arthur, sailed from Manchester in the UK to Canterbury, Aotearoa (Summers, 2019). Ann and her family travelled on the Waitangi and arrived on the east coast of the South Island with 223 other people. The family joined many other immigrants who had moved to Aotearoa in the 1870s for better opportunities (King,

2003). Immigration levels peaked in Aotearoa in 1874 to such an extent that these numbers have never been exceeded (King, 2003). The immigration record for Ann, Thomas (a carpenter) and Arthur states, "now with friends in Oxford [Aotearoa, New Zealand]" (Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga Wellington, 1875).

With the exception of two of Ann's siblings who had immigrated to Aotearoa before her, Ann, Thomas and Arthur were among the first people in their immediate families to emigrate from the UK to Aotearoa (Summers, 2019). Neither of Ann's siblings appears to have lived in Oxford. Before emigrating, Ann gave birth to two other children, who died in infancy shortly after they were born. The final child born to Ann and Thomas was Connie's father, Ernie, who was born after their arrival in Oxford in October 1876 (Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga Wellington, 2019.-a).

Oxford was settled in the 1800s and developed as a township in the 1850s due to the sawmilling industry (Gillespie, 2001). Oxford was in the midst of a boom in sawmilling in Aotearoa New Zealand during 1875–1876 when Ann and Thomas arrived in the town (Hawkins, 2001). In the 1870s, eleven sawmills were operating (Gillespie, 2001). It is unclear whether Thomas worked in one of the mills; the first recorded evidence of his employment in Oxford was in the 1881 electoral roll where he is listed as a labourer (Gillespie, 2001). Women were not included in these figures because women were not eligible to vote until September 1893 (Grimshaw, 2013). However, family records show that Ann worked in Oxford for the Wells family, who held socialist beliefs. There was considerable growth in the population during the first three years that Ann and Thomas were in Oxford. "Between 1874 and 1878 the district population rose from 995 to 1925, a total increase of 930 or ninety-three percent in five years" (Hawkins, 2001, p. 192). Photos of Oxford during this period show that, like many Canterbury towns, it still looked like a pioneer town with the most prominent building being the hotel, the Harewood Arms (Wilson, 2012).

Another significant development for Oxford that Ann and Thomas would have benefitted from is the opening up of the railway to the main centre of Christchurch and its surroundings in 1875 (Hawkins, 2001). The increased accessibility of Oxford to Christchurch resulted in increased numbers of people taking up freehold land and improved economic stability in the district (Hawkins, 2001). The Jones family remained settled in Oxford; Thomas died there in 1902 (Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga Wellington,

2019.-b) and Ann died there in 1919 (Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga Wellington, 2019.-c). Both Thomas and Ann are buried in the Oxford Cemetery.

5.1.2 Her father, Ernie Jones

Ernie was nicknamed “Scorcher” because, as a young man, he rode his bicycle from Oxford to Christchurch to attend Labour Party political meetings (Summers, 2019). Reports of the Oxford Road Board refer to the many shingle roads and the significant ongoing maintenance required to the roads ("Oxford Road Board," 1895). Ernie’s bike ride of approximately 60 kilometres to Christchurch on shingle roads would have been long and arduous (Hunter, 1982). He worked very hard and very long hours in sawmills and other labouring jobs, such as farm work and bush work (Summers, 2019). In 1900, general labourers in Canterbury were paid six shillings a day, which was low relative to other occupations, such as bricklayers or carpenters, who earned more than twice this amount (New Zealand Government, 1901). When Ernie shared his story with his son Fred in 1940, Ernie reported that “It was a time of hard work. No pleasure” (Jones, 1940, p. 4).

In 1900, when he was aged 25 and she was aged 18, Ernie married Lillian Ede at the registrar’s office in Ashburton (Summers, 2019). Over a period of 23 years, they had ten children; Connie, the second youngest, was born on 1 March 1919. The family was poor and they had a very basic standard of living. Connie’s older brother, Alan, reported that “the children had to stand around the table to eat, as there were not enough chairs and they went barefoot most of the time, even in winter to keep their shoes good for school” (Summers, 2019, p. 9). Connie describes herself as getting on reasonably well with her parents but was more detached from her mother than her father (Hunter, 1982). According to Connie, her mother perceived her as more “rebellious” than her three sisters, which affected Connie’s relationship with her mother (Hunter, 1982, p. 5).

Two years after World War I broke out in 1914, the Military Service Bill was introduced on 1 August 1, 1916. The legislation stipulated that men between the ages of 26 and 46 could be conscripted to serve in the armed forces (New Zealand Government, 1916). Exceptions to conscription existed and enabled men to have their appeals considered on religious and conscientious objection grounds, and for family circumstances. Due to the size of his family, Ernie was excused from military service. Whilst Ernie was not a conscientious objector, he had strong beliefs in the movement (Glasgow, 1989). Ernie’s support for the anti-war movement is reflected in the following statement by Connie. “In the first World War, my father broke the

law when he willingly sheltered a conscientious objector friend who was due in camp that night. And in the language of the day, he also taught his large family about 'man's inhumanity to man'" (Hunter, 1982, p. Appendix III).

Ernie's keen interest in politics continued; Bob Semple, union leader and Minister of Public Works in the 1935 Labour Government, undertook a one-off visit to Ernie and Lillian's house in Oxford (Summers, 2019). Connie stated during an interview for the New Zealand Listener in 1992 that Harry Holland, the second leader of the New Zealand Labour Party (McKinnon, 2016), was due to visit them and new cutlery was purchased in expectation of this esteemed visitor. However, for unknown reasons, the visit never eventuated (Summers, 1992). Ernie's influence as a strong socialist and union supporter was evident in his children. As stated by Connie's brother, Fred, shortly after his mother's death in 1940, "All of the ten children of Ernie and Lillian's were pacifists and strong unionists" (Summers, 2019, p. 9). Due to Lillian's poor health, and to provide opportunities for the children, the family moved from Oxford to the Christchurch suburb of Spreydon in 1923 (Jones, 1940).

In 1932, when Ernie was aged 56 a dramatic industrial dispute, the 1932 tramway strike, occurred in Christchurch City. The dispute had an impact on Christchurch city and on Ernie. Connie reports that the dispute "played an important part in the forming of her political awareness" (Hunter, 1982, p. 7). The strike arose from a disagreement between the Christchurch Tramway Board (CTB) and the Tramway Employees Union (TEU) (Graham, 1978). The CTB was facing financial difficulties due to the economic depression, the decreased tram use by the public, and the increased use of motor vehicles and bicycles (Graham, 1978). Initially, the CTB and the TEU reached an agreement to avoid redundancies of tramway employees that lasted for three months. However, when this agreement ended, the CTB proposed extending the period of the agreement. The TEU opposed this proposal as it would disadvantage its union members. As a result, the CTB dismissed 12 men.

The TEU were angry about the TEU dishonouring the three-month agreement. The TEU called a meeting attended by 200 of the 383 union members and a significant majority voted to strike, which lasted 13 days. Advertisements for tram workers to volunteer and keep the trams operating during the strike attracted unemployed men experienced in tram work. This labour combined with the 39 tramway employees who did not join the strike ensured that the CTB was able to continue a public tram service.

Despite reassurances from the CTB that the strike would not impact on the public, the public was affected. By the second day of the strike, trams were interfered with by disaffected tramway employees and members of the public who supported them ("Tramway Strike," May 6, 1932). Some trams were derailed and parts of some tramlines were strewn with nails ("Tramway Strike," May 6, 1932). Police reinforcements including the special police were called. Clashes between the police and protesters grew. Seven arrests were made when a large number of protesters clashed with police at Cathedral Square and eight people were arrested when a Riccarton tram was ambushed ("Tramway Strike," May 7, 1932).

A tram driver was fatally injured by a flying brick following serious rioting in Lancaster Park at the end of a football match that involved three of the men who were volunteer tram labourers (Graham, 1978). There was significant animosity towards the volunteer labourers and tramway employees who did not join the strike. This included threats of harm to family members. Tensions about the strike began to dissipate during the second week. A tribunal, appointed to resolve the dispute, was made up of TEU representatives, mediators and CTB representatives. Thirteen days after the strike had begun, the tribunal communicated its decision on 17 May 1932: the CTB would permanently employ 60 of the volunteer labourers and all the men on strike would be employed. Future rationing of work would occur across all employees. This decision was accepted by both parties involved in the dispute and the strike was called off the same day the decision was announced. Connie reported that her father boycotted the trams for 20 years following the strike (Hunter, 1982).

Lillian died in 1939, at the age of 58. Six months later in 1940, Ernie remarried a woman he knew from the Salvation Army, Mary Jane Woodsford Maslin (Hunter, 1982). Connie said that her father wanted to recreate his comfortable married life but “it wasn’t so easy” (Hunter, 1982, p. 25). In his later years, Ernie suffered from dementia and lived in the Mary Potter Hospital, which later became a hospice, in Christchurch. The hospital was established in 1877 by Mary Potter, a Catholic sister in Nottingham, England (https://lcmchristchurch.org.nz/). Connie reported that she “visited him regularly and helped feed him and was present when he died” (Hunter, 1982, p. 25). After he died in 1966, aged 89, Connie “organised an agnostic funeral for him complete with a red flag on the coffin” (Hunter, 1982, p. 25). Hunter (1982) reports that “Connie loved her father but felt by the time he died that he was no longer the person she had known and she felt detached from him and relieved when he died” (p. 25). He was cremated, and as was his wish given his love of gardening, his ashes are buried in the Canterbury Memorial Gardens and Crematorium, Linwood Avenue, Christchurch. Mary died

in 1970, aged 96, from a heart attack. She was also cremated and her ashes buried in Christchurch (Registrar of Births Deaths and Marriages, 1970, April 21).

5.2 Orientations to social justice leadership

Connie directed her social justice activities towards pacifism and against apartheid. Her orientation to pacifism is described and Vignette 1 (below) gives a detailed account of Connie's activities related to World War II, pacifism and imprisonment. Then her marriage, work and family life are outlined with Connie's orientation against apartheid outlined and then detailed in Vignette 2.

5.2.1 Pacifism

Despite not being close to her father when he died, Connie said she was heavily influenced by him while she was growing up but was not close to her mother (Hunter, 1982). The conviction of her paternal grandmother, Ann Williams, against capital punishment that had influenced Ernie also affected Connie (Summers, 2019).

Like her father, Connie was politically active at a young age. She attended political meetings in 1930 when she was aged 11 (Glasgow, 1989), and street corner meetings with her father and brother (Hunter, 1982). Connie reported marching in May Day[2] celebrations behind Labour MP Mabel Howard (Hunter, 1982). As a child, Connie read the newspaper daily and in 1932, aged 13, she joined the Socialist Guild of Youth and attended Christchurch meetings every Sunday (Summers, 2009, January 3). The 1932 Christchurch tramway strike played an important part in forming her political awareness (Hunter, 1982). There was a stand-off between the employers and the employees due to a disagreement about improved terms and conditions of employment being sought by the employees. This disagreement resulted in the tram workers going on strike and new staff being employed to replace them. Connie's father Ernie supported the striking workers. Connie said:

> The family home was near the No. 7 terminus in Lincoln Road, Christchurch and Connie remembers listening for signs for the terminus which could tell them whether there was going to be a strike or not. Connie had a bike bought for her by her parents,

[2] May Day was initially celebrated as Labour Day; however, some socialists promoted May 1 as an alternative date for the celebration of workers' struggles.

> and from then on she cycled to school. Connie still feels badly towards the protagonists on the wrong side of the dispute. (Hunter, 1982, p. 7)

In 1933, aged 14, Connie became a pacifist and joined the No More War Movement in Christchurch (Summers, 1992). The movement was founded in 1928 by a Christchurch scientist, Frederick Page (Grant, 1986a). Prominent pacifists, such as Archibald and Millicent Baxter were some of the early office holders (Grant, 1986a). A decline in interest of the movement, the rise of fascism during World War II, increased peace activities and growing opposition to compulsory military training in Aotearoa led to the development and growth of the Christian Pacifist Society (Grant, 1986a). In 1938, aged 19, Connie joined the Christian Pacifist Society. When she was interviewed in 1989, she described her commitment to pacifism as "complete opposition to all war, all military things and really to all violence" (Glasgow, 1989, p. 5).

In the 1920s, prices for primary produce exported from Aotearoa to the UK and other destinations reduced significantly (McKinnon, 2016; Simpson, 1984). Aotearoa was heavily reliant on these exports for its economic stability (Simpson, 1984). Government attempts to address this decline were unsuccessful (Simpson, 1984) and the country slumped into a recession.

The Great Depression from 1928–1939 significantly impacted on the quality of life of everyday New Zealanders (McKinnon, 2016). During this time, Ernie was in employment and Connie was in her teenage years. She did not think she or her family suffered (Hunter, 1982). Because the unemployment rate was extremely high, the Government introduced relief work for unemployed people (McKinnon, 2016). Relief work was demoralising as it often involved labouring on the roads and on what workers perceived as futile government projects (Simpson, 1984). Social differences that had previously existed in Aotearoa society were no longer evident as everyone was so poor (Simpson, 1984). The end to the economic depression began when Labour won a landslide victory over the conservative coalition governed by Gordon Coates in 1935. Unemployment reduced significantly to 10,000 people by 1939 (McKinnon, 2016).

In 1938, Connie was part of a small group of two women and four men who met regularly to discuss pacifist matters at Friday night street meetings in Christchurch. It was at one of these meetings that Connie first met her future husband, John Summers. John was aged 22 and was a Quaker (Summers, 1992). Prior to meeting Connie, John had been employed in

a variety of jobs, mostly labouring and farm work (Summers, 2017). At his mother's insistence, he had spent time at an agricultural school in Bulls (Summers, 2017). In addition to his labouring work, he also sold books (Hunter, 1982). He came from a small family of three children and had grown up in Orepuki, Southland. He was working in Christchurch for three to four months and participated in pacifist groups when he met Connie (Hunter, 1982). He recalled Connie as "frequently giggling" at the meetings he attended (Summers, 2017, p. 69).

In 1939, at the age of 20, Connie became involved with the Methodist church. Later in 1939, she went to Wellington where her pacifist interests continued when she boarded briefly with pacifist, Archie Barrington. Although it is unclear how many women boarded in Wellington during this time, it is evident that boarding was more common there than other larger New Zealand cities (New Zealand Government, 1952). For example, the 1945 New Zealand Census reports that 319 dwellings in Wellington were "ordinary private houses, part of which is sublet", in contrast to 306 in Auckland (New Zealand Government, 1952). Archie was one of the founders of the Christian Pacifist Society (CPS), was the New Zealand secretary and was very active in the pacifist movement (Grant, 1986a). Once World War II broke out and after Connie stayed in his house, he was imprisoned for 12 months hard labour for publishing a subversive statement and attempting to hold a prohibited public meeting voicing anti-war sentiments (Pratt et al., 2016). Later that same year, Connie boarded with a good friend of Archie's and a leader in the CPS, Reverend Ormond Burton. Reverend Burton served two and a half years in prison; the longest prison sentence of all pacifists during World War II (Grant, 1986a). Following Archie's arrest, Reverend Burton became editor of the CPS bulletin. After publishing the first bulletin, he was charged on three counts: editing a subversive document, attempting to publish a subversive document and publishing a subversive document (Grant, 1986a).

In Wellington, Connie worked at the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition (that ran 8 November 1939– 4 May 1940) and for an importer of German pharmaceutical display stands (Summers, 2009, January 3). Due to World War II, her role with the importer of German display stands did not last long. When she was out of work, she stayed with her older brother, Clarry (Summers, 2009, January 3). During her time in Wellington, Connie continued to be involved in anti-war activities with the CPS, including wearing placards along Wellington streets displaying anti-war slogans. This not popular as the general public sentiment was that the war effort must be supported (Grant, 1986a). Connie recalls being jostled and punched by members of the public during this activity (Crean, 2009).

During World War II, between the beginning of 1940 and the end of 1941, CPS members broke government regulations regularly by publicly demonstrating their opposition to the war (Glasgow, 1989). The CPS perspective was that peace should be pursued as the war was both morally and ethically wrong (Grant, 2004). The New Zealand Government introduced regulations to support national interest in the time of the war and New Zealand's role in it (Taylor, 1986b). The regulations served to suppress and punish people for publicly voicing anti-war sentiments (Grant, 1986a).

Various locations were used in Wellington by CPS members to voice their opposition to the war. Indoor venues were used until 1940 when indoor meetings were banned with the introduction of the Public Safety Emergency Regulations (Taylor, 1986b). As pacifists were drawn to open-air meetings held in venues, such as Pigeon Park in Manners Street, the Public Safety Emergency Regulations were amended to make these open-air meetings unlawful. The regulations continued to be amended to match the depth and breadth of political and public opposition to anti-war sentiments. Connie participated in these meetings and was the only woman convicted and imprisoned for publicly voicing anti-war sentiments during World War II. Connie's commitment to pacifism, her arrest and her subsequent imprisonment are expanded in Vignette 1.

Vignette 1: World War II, pacifism and imprisonment[3]

Vignette 1 is compiled from excerpts from interviews with Connie (Summers, 1992) and the interview and notes from Connie's daughter, Bronwen, and extracts from writers (Ansley, 1994; Glasgow, 1989; Hunter, 1982).

Connie: I became a pacifist when I was 15 and that was primarily due to the influence of two men in Christchurch, one of whom will be well known to those of you. Norman Bell was very active in the non-conscription movement in England. But my pacifism is because of a moral basis, not a Christian basis. I became a member of the No More War movement when I was 15. I was not a Christian. I was brought up in an agnostic household. My father was not a pacifist, but he had strong beliefs in the movement, and a number of my family, two or three others had. Unlike some people, I think Ormond Burton said [that] if he had not been a Christian he would not be a pacifist. He did not see presumably

[3] Because the vignettes are presented as one block, all quotations in the vignette are presented according to APA block quote conventions despite in some cases each individual quote being less than the prescribed word limit of 40 words for block quotations.

the same relevance for pacifism as I do. Whatever I believe in religiously I would still be a pacifist. (Glasgow, 1989, p. 4)

Interviewer: How old were you when the Second World War broke out?

Connie: When the war broke out, I was 21.

Interviewer: So, your teenage years were spent in the build-up to the Second World War. You observed that that whole build-up of military tension?

Connie: Yes, that would be right.

Interviewer: Was it something you were very aware of? Was it reported a great deal in the press?

Connie: I don't actually remember it being reported in the press, although I've always been a keen newspaper reader. But because I was associated with a pacifist group of some kind during all that time, I would be very much aware of it and, at one time, I joined part of a group of about five young people, who used to go along to Victoria Square on a Friday night where some of them, including my husband, used to talk from a soapbox.

Interviewer: Why did you become interested in pacifism? What sparked it?

Connie: Well, the people that I mixed with. I come from a rather political background in the sense that my father was always interested in politics and so I was connected in a small way with what was known as the Socialist Party down here and then through that, with the youth movement connected with it. And the people that ran that youth movement, two of them were leading pacifists.

Interviewer: Now, I interrupted you before. You were telling me about your membership of these bodies. Do go on.

Connie: Well, I Joined the Christian Pacifist Society, I suppose, about 1938 and in '39 I think, I moved to Wellington. Early in '39 for a brief time and then shortly after the World War began, I went again to Wellington and lived there for approximately the first two years of the war. I used to attend street meetings the Christian Pacifist Society ran. They were held most Friday nights, sometimes two. There were two places in Wellington where they held meetings. One, of course, being Pidgeon (sic) Park, which is well known, and I did a lot of what would be called unofficial work for the Society. I did a lot of typing but giving general support. I was one of the very much younger people. After all, the leaders of the party were not people of 20 or 21 as I was, and I also did a little bit of sandwich boarding, as I call it, where you (um) on a Friday night set out and walked along the streets of Wellington for perhaps an hour and a half, wearing a sandwich board.

Interviewer: Gosh, you don't see that much these days.

Connie: [laughs] … stating your objections to the war.

Interviewer: Can you remember any of the things you had on your sandwich board?

Connie: No, I can't. I can remember one or two incidents about it. It was not an easy thing to do. In fact, I consider walking along Wellington streets with a sandwich board one of the more difficult things to do. (Summers, 1982, p. 3)

Connie: ... Ah, the last time we went out was the last time it was done. The boards were pulled off Barry. We were attacked by, I think, members of the Commercial Travellers Association, [small laugh] who were selling raffle tickets for the war effort and they stopped us going down Willis Street. But that, I think, was a very hard thing to do. There were only three of us on the occasions I went out. Ah, Barry Laird, another young woman came up and I brought up the rear. But I have a very fond memory of Mr Horace Herring, who was the Member of Parliament for Ashburton or Mid-Canterbury, stepping off the footpath in Manners Street as we walked along, and he shook hands with each of us, and it was a great gesture from my point of view [laughs].

Interviewer: What did the boards say?

Connie: Oh, I can't now remember but just opposition to the war from a Christian point of view. (Summers, 1992, p. 4)

The street meetings continued throughout 1940. Circulars were sent out and some of Connie's friends were charged with publishing seditious material. People involved in the street meetings now had to be prepared for the likelihood of arrest. Court cases were being heard and those convicted could expect to be sentenced to a year in prison. Connie went to speak at a street meeting knowing full well what the outcome would be. (Hunter, 1982, p. 13)

Connie: I went to the meeting. I had normally carried the box for other people but on this occasion, somebody carried it for me. There were two to three hundred people there at least. There had been quite good gatherings at the meetings. They had been officially prohibited by the Council in Wellington by the Mayor of the day, Mr Hislop, who didn't want those meetings held. And so, for three months, members of the Christian Pacifist Society went week by week to address the crowd assembled and week by week those people were arrested. I was the ninth person to go. I got up on the box at exactly eight o'clock and a young constable came up to me and asked me not to speak. But I stood there and said just a few words, when the superintendent of the police came along and requested me to stop and, when I

said I wouldn't, I was promptly arrested and taken down to the [Wellington] Central Police Station. The police on occasion demanded cash if people were going to be let out. On this occasion, he let me out on $20 – 20 pounds bail of my own (Glasgow, 1989, p. 1).

Connie: But I was allowed out and the following Monday, [I] appeared before the court. Up until that time, the people who had been arrested (there were eight people who had gone before me) had all been charged with conducting a prohibited meeting as well as obstructing a constable in the execution of his duty. But I was only charged with obstruction (ah) so, the maximum sentence for that in those days was three months hard labour. I wondered why they hadn't charged me with both but, of course, there was a … um … high court case going on at the time as to whether they could charge us with two things and sentence on both counts. So, I asked them. But they said it was because they had decided to be kind to me, [laughs] which I wasn't very impressed with, but (um) so, I got my three months hard labour. The magistrate saying, he didn't intend to make an exception of me; I would be treated as all the others.

Interviewer: Did you take your own case, Connie?

Connie: Oh yes, yes, I didn't employ a lawyer. I asked two or three questions and you make a very brief statement afterwards. I went down with my cases packed, of course, ready to go to prison. And … um … I went out in the 'black maria' or the 'paddy wagon,' as we now call them, that afternoon with one or two men who were being taken to Mt Crawford because the prison where I was at was really attached to the girls' borstal below the Mt Crawford prison. You know, leading to the Massey Memorial and there was a very old building at the back of the borstal, which housed short-term prisoners from the Wellington and that sort of area. Um, I don't think it was meant to hold anybody that was sentenced to more than six months. In some cases, those people would have been sent elsewhere. (Summers, 1992, p. 6)

Connie: Well, the jail was a very rough place really and (ah) I was a good deal more innocent when I was 22 than what I am now that I am 70. I found it very rough really. Conditions were very poor compared to what they are today. We were given a chamber pot and a jug and that contained water. You used that to wash and another bowl for washing your dishes, and (um) in the mornings, you had to go and empty these things. It was an appalling place where you did it. There were two toilets to serve a large number of people. They were really [appalling]. There were no lights in them. The toilets were very poor. We were locked in. When I first went there, we were locked in initially from five o'clock to six the next morning. But, during my time in prison, they decided to open a room at night, and for two hours at night, we were shut in this room, and when I say 'we', the number of people in the reformatory, there was never more than three or four. There was one woman, who had a longer sentence, who was

later moved with myself. There was an elderly woman who … the building was a very old building. The main borstal was around the back. And this again, was divided into various people. Girls went to borstal for two years roughly and they spent at least a year there and they would move from being locked up all the time to having their meals at tables and things like that. The people up at the reformatory, as it was called, didn't get that.

You only had a bath once a week. You had to carry the water up the steps each week to go to the bathroom. You got up at six to do that and you were meant to have your bath, carry your water, do your washing for the week, and (ah) all of that by eight o'clock. The clothes were very bad. In fact, I was given odd shoes when I went in, and I did the unforgivable and told one of my visitors about it because there was no matron around. And the word got back to the Civil Liberties Council down in Christchurch. David Ballantyne, the writer, wrote about it and I was told about it years later, and they complained to Wellington, and I was given two correct shoes. The clothes were only cotton. Cotton dress and cotton underwear, and unless you worked in the garden, you weren't allowed to wear a blazer or anything. And as my sentence was over the three months in winter, it was quite hard. In fact, it was the only time in my life I have ever had chilblains and that was because I worked out in the garden or else, when the weather was wet, cutting wood and lots of wood for fire. And I did that because most of the girls were given indoor work when the weather was wet, and they mended the putties that the men wore in the army. And the one matron looked at me and said, 'I suppose you won't want to do this Constance?' And I said, 'No Matron'. So, I used to be left outside the prison gates and left to cut wood when the weather was wet. (Glasgow, 1989, p. 2)

Interviewer: Did you (um, ah) meet with the borstal girls at all?

Connie: Oh yes. I worked with the borstal girls. They (um), a certain number of them, worked in the garden and (um) also you talked to them. They (um), some of them were pretty (um) ready to put you down a bit because one matron had told some of the girls before I arrived that they didn't need to worry about me. I had done, my crime was greater than what any of the girls had done that were in there. And of course, the girls that were in there, in many cases, would not be there today because these girls were up on idle and disorderly charges, which today is passed off as a normal living habit in many cases.

Interviewer: And (ah) how did they treat you?

Connie: Well, they treated me quite well. The matrons called me Constance and the girls found this name rather odd. And so, without knowing it, the girls … I was frequently called Conscience.

Interviewer: [Laughs.]

Connie: And when you think of why I was there, it really was quite a humorous situation [laughs]. (Summers, 1992, p. 9)

Interviewer: So, you served the whole three months?

Connie: Oh yes. You served the whole three months. You got nothing off. (Um), three-month sentences were never. There was no time given off for them. There was nothing taken off and when I came out, I (um) came back to Christchurch. After about two weeks, I had decided to come back to Christchurch really to help a brother, which didn't finally work out. But before I came out, I had an afternoon tea up at Parliament House with Mr McCullough … and also with Mark Briggs, who was deported amongst the 12th or 13th during the First World War and whose story can be read in *Armageddon or Calvary* by Harry Holland. Ah, in many ways, his story is as harrowing as Archibald Baxter. And Mark Briggs was an interesting man because they had brought in conscription and he, being a member of the Legislative Council, they had no vote on Caucus but (um) when the matter was raised, and this may not be public knowledge, but when the matter was raised, he raised his hand in opposition to the introduction of conscription. And Peter Fraser said 'and I should think so too' or words to that effect. So (um) they understood that a man, who had suffered as Mark Briggs had suffered, it would be strange if he supported the introduction of conscription. And of course, I had family. I had a brother die … this year at 86 and he had never voted at the last year [elections] because they introduced conscription. (Summers, 1992, p. 12)

Bronwen (Connie's daughter) stated in an interview for my research: I think it was a fairly phenomenal thing to do at the time. And of course, she had this wonderful relationship with her father, who wrote to her every week while she was in prison, which was amazing, and all of her siblings who were all against the war. … Two of her sisters' husbands went away to war but they didn't [write]. The women themselves were totally opposed to it. So, I think from that point of view – I mean, I'm not saying she didn't retain that strong belief in social justice, she did.

Bronwen: Whilst as a Christian pacifist, she was arrested. There are people who felt she dined out on this forever (other pacifists or associates). I am not sure about that really; it is not like she brought it up regularly or anything. But she certainly thought she was the only woman, who had a lifelong commitment to pacifism (see the stuff below about Moana Cole). She never joined a political party because they all believe we need a budget for the military. She did have, over time, billboards for Jim Anderton, both when he was in the Labour Party (the first time) and when he went to the Alliance

[Party]. She also leafleted for politicians in the area. (Personal communication, notes provided by Bronwen to Tui, May 11, 2019, p. 5)

She was scathing about Moana Cole, who was arrested in the US and did a year in a US jail. There are lots of websites which elaborate on this: http://www.converge.org.New Zealand/pma/gulf/moana.htm.

She would say things like 'all these people who are pacifists, how many of them would really resist if they were called up.' (Personal communication, notes provided by Bronwen to Tui, May 11, 2019, p. 5)

With others, Connie carried sandwich boards with anti-war slogans on them. One needs to realise that war fever was at a pitch and the demonstrators risked their personal safety to do this. They walked ten yards distant from each other and were often threatened by the public. (Hunter, 1982, p. 12)

Freedom of speech, the right of dissent had been curtailed in the interests of war. Christian Pacifists who tried to influence public opinion were bound to be arrested; yet on Friday nights, week after week, activists climbed on their boxes in Pigeon Park, pleaded for peace and were jailed. (Ansley, 1994, p. 26)

She often carried the box to stand on at the meetings and was known by some as the 'one with the box'. (Hunter, 1982, p. 12)

Pacifist Connie Summers has spent her lifetime fighting for justice. On the 12th of May 1941, she stood on a soapbox in Pigeon Park Wellington and after only a few words she was arrested. Connie Summers was the only woman put in jail in New Zealand in World War II for anti-war activities. (Glasgow, 1989, p. 1)

In the 1940s there was no women's prison, and she was sent to the Pt Halswell Reformatory which had a prison wing attached. Connie remembers with wicked pleasure that she waited for the policeman accompanying her to carry her suitcase into the prison for her, and his gallantry overcame the fact that she was the prisoner, and he the one in authority. This was the same Borstal where she had enquired about a job a couple of years previously. The matron who was a friend of A.C Barrington's joked to Connie that she had 'come in the back door'. The second-in-command was the widow of a police officer. (Hunter, 1982, p. 14)

Connie was allowed books but not pen and paper in the cells. Conditions were primitive and the routine was harsh. The inmates worked a five and a half-day week, rising early for a wash at the cold tap, and then breakfast of porridge and two slices of bread. After this, they were locked up again until work started at 8am. (Hunter, 1982, p. 15)

The work was heavy, and the food was inadequate for the energy they were expending. One cook was better at the job than the other but served smaller portions, so it was a beggar's choice between quality and quantity. Security was fairly tight, more so for the prison than the Borstal. The prison inmates had bars on their windows and were locked up for meals. Connie was amazed at the way of life of some of the Borstal inmates and their lack of shame. Many lived off prostitution and one had tried to abort herself with a crochet hook. Another had given birth to a child but planned to marry the father when she got out. There was a small hospital wing for VD cases. Connie found it hard to associate with these people particularly when it came to sharing clothes and utensils; at one time, when headlice were rife she refused to accept a beret that was handed to her.

Saturday afternoon was visiting time. The inmates were forbidden to discuss prison conditions-of course Connie did, and thereafter the Matron sat in at visiting time to ensure that Connie obeyed the rules. Sundays gave her the opportunity to write letters, and she corresponded regularly with her father and other members of her family who were completely supportive of what she had done. Her father in particular was very proud of her, that she had shown the strength of her convictions and was willing to suffer the consequences. (Hunter, 1982, p. 16)

The original Matron left, and another from Mt Eden Prison took her place, an altogether different woman who kept telling Connie how badly she had behaved: 'when you are older you will have more sense'. Connie did not wish for that sort of sense; She had no regrets about what she had done and would have been prepared to do it all again if the street meetings had still been continuing. (Hunter, 1982, p. 16)

On August 12, 1941, Connie was released from prison suffering somewhat from the effects of a poor diet and the strenuous work. She was told at her old workplace they would take her back as soon as a job became available-clearly they did not hold what she had done against her. It is very important to Connie that people are not vilified for what they believe in-whether others agree with them or not. (Hunter, 1982, p. 17)

There was no regret on Connie's behalf in relation to her actions and subsequent imprisonment for speaking out at Pigeon Park. If anything, she wished she had done more to oppose the war (Arthur, 1986). This is consistent with one of the letters she wrote to her brother while in prison, just 12 days before she was due to be released. She wrote that "I am not sorry for one instant over what I have done! Difficult as it has been on occasions" (Summers, 1941, August 3, p. 1). Her view was that, if she had been a man, she would have begun her opposition to the war in the first possible place by not having her name written in the register (Glasgow, 1989).

5.2.2 Marriage, work and family life

In August 1941, Connie returned to Christchurch which was very much at the forefront of peace activities during World War II. The CPS had held its first public meeting there in 1938 (Grant, 2004). Many of the committed pacifists lived in Wellington and Christchurch (Taylor, 1986b).

Connie married John Summers within a month of returning to Christchurch. Connie's brother had encouraged John to contact Connie again. Although she did not like it to be known, Connie proposed to John (personal communication, interview with Bronwen Summers by Connie's grandson, John Summers for North and South article, 20 April 2017). Bronwen reports that Connie wanted to be a lawyer. However, when Connie advised her new fiancé of this, he retorted that she could be his wife or a lawyer, but not both (personal communication, interview with Bronwen Summers by Connie's grandson, John Summers for North and South article, 20 April 2017). There were limited numbers of qualified female lawyers in Aotearoa in the 1940s. Gatfield (1996) found that 25 women were admitted to the bar between 1897 when the first woman, Ethel Benjamin, was admitted and 1941 when Connie wanted to begin her study. Qualified women lawyers who chose to marry and have children were likely to have a shorter career than those who were single and had no children (Gatfield, 1996).

Connie's acceptance of John's stance that she needed to choose between law or marriage appears contrary to her strong beliefs. However, this is consistent with her views about feminism described later in this chapter. Connie's acceptance of his position was also consistent with John's views regarding the role of women as their daughter, Bronwen, explained:

> [There were] lots of constraints on her by my father. She would never have been able to learn to drive. My father wouldn't have liked that. My father was very Victorian really. The place of women was to bear children, always look like a goddess, keep the home fires burning and always be available to make love. (personal communication, interview with Bronwen Summers by Connie's grandson, John Summers for North and South article, 20 April 2017)

He is described as "an old fashioned family patriarch and unreconstructed male chauvinist" (Horton, 1994, p. 5).

When they married, John worked in the country for several months, only coming home at weekends. Therefore, they did not see a lot of each other during this time. Connie, heavily pregnant, tramped the streets looking for flats. However, housing was very difficult to obtain as no one wanted people with children. She stayed with her father for a while after he remarried but Connie felt that her step-mother did not welcome her (Hunter, 1982). Connie spent some time in Wellington, but she came back to Christchurch and found a nice flat one month before their first of seven children, Faith, was born in July 1942. John got compassionate leave and Connie stayed in the flat for three years after the birth of their first child (Hunter, 1982). They continued their involvement with social justice activities through their association with the Christian Social Justice League (Summers, 1992).

Six months after their marriage, John was assigned to non-combatant war duties and was stationed in North Africa and Italy as a medical orderly (Summers, 2017). There are conflicting reports about how much John's war service impacted on their relationship. Their son, Llew, said:

> I think she must have struggled with my father going off to war. But it must have made it easier for her as well. She would have had to fight more if my father had stayed home. People were ridiculed during the war for not going to war. (Personal communication, interview with Llew Summers by Connie's grandson, John Summers for North and South article, 20 April 2017, p. 3)

Their eldest daughter, Faith, thought John felt guilty about going to war. She stated that "He [John] said 'well, I'm sort of a pacifist'. And he felt guilty about going to war although he was still working in a hospital" (personal communication, interview with Faith Wright (née Summers), by Connie's grandson John Summers for North and South article, 20 April 2017, p. 1). Connie said that "there [was] no difference in opinion about the matter [him going to war]" (Summers, 1982, p. 6).

In 1992, Connie said:

> He [John] was a Quaker actually, but had decided he would have to go to war because of certain views he's got, which I can't go into because they are his not mine, and he went into the medical corp. But we were married for about a year before he went overseas. Um, someone has just said to me 'no doubt that caused a lot of argument'. But it didn't. (Summers, 1992, p. 13)

While John was away during the war, Connie continued to exercise her strong beliefs. In 1942, she received a letter from the Ministry of Industrial Manpower advising her that legal proceedings would not be taken against her for transgressing a requirement for all citizens her age to assist with the war effort (Ministry of Industrial Manpower, 1942, December 24). However, the Minister expressed that he "found it difficult indeed to understand the attitude of one who is not willing to assist to save the people of this country from such evil" (Ministry of Industrial Manpower, 1942, December 24). When John returned from the war in 1945, he and Connie moved to Hororata on the Canterbury Plains where they stayed for just one year. They discovered that the ground was too hard for growing vegetables and there was no running water or electricity. Faith also became unwell (Hunter, 1982).

They returned to live in New Brighton, Christchurch. John was employed by the bookstore, Whitcombe and Tombs (later known as Whitcoulls), initially as a door-to-door book salesman and later as head of the theology department (Summers, 2017). In 1946, their second child, John, was born (Summers, 2009, January 3), followed in each successive year by Llewelyn, Gwilym and Bronwen. Money was tight and their daughter, Faith, recalled that sometimes, when floods occurred, water came up around the house and they occasionally went to the two-storey house next door (personal communication, transcription from tape of Connie Summers funeral 2009, January 3). They were fortunate to secure a state house in Richmond for four years and in 1951, their sixth child, Ursula, was born (Summers, 2009, January 3). A friend, artist Charles Brasch from Dunedin, gave them an interest-free loan, which enabled them to purchase their first home on Port Hills Road, Christchurch in 1952. Their final child, Dylan, was born in 1954 while they were there.

In 1958, with seven children, Connie and John opened a second-hand bookshop in Chancery Lane, Christchurch (Summers, 2009, January 3). The bookshop opened with two or three cartons of books and £100 (Summers, 2009, January 3). A year later, they moved the bookshop to Manchester Street and then to Tuam Street. Connie worked in the shop every week day from 9a.m. to 2p.m. when she caught the bus home to prepare dinner for the children (Summers, 2009, January 3). The only exception to the weekday routine was Friday when Connie worked all day in the shop, and someone babysat the children in the evening while Connie and John went out for dinner. Despite her strong work ethic, Connie said that it was "no easy task bringing up seven children" (Hunter, 1982, p. 22). Bronwen stated that "there was no washing machine until 1957 and hot water was only accessible by lighting the cylinder". Connie's acceptance of responsibility for the majority of the domestic labour appears

contradictory to her activism and commitment to social justice. However, Connie actively opposed feminism. She explained her position as follows:

> You see I've got this conviction about feminism that I don't believe in. I don't believe in the language that they are speaking and trying to push on us. But I believed in 1941 and I believe now [that] if you want to believe in something enough you do it whether you are a man or a woman. People didn't want me to go to prison and I was a woman and only 22, but I did go to prison.
>
> Interviewer: You say you don't believe in feminism but in many ways, you seem to be saying in a way you have lived a feminist life.
>
> Connie: Oh no, not at all. I have been a housewife for a good many years. You see I don't think of doing something as being a feminist. I have done it as a woman and men have done it as a men's organisation or a women's organisation. What are these things, the Anglican Men's fellowship or the Women's … . We recently had a women's book festival. I wouldn't go to a women's book festival because this is an exclusive thing. This is one of the divisions of the world before men had too much of their own way. I don't know it's not too much I've had to work out. The division is going another way and instead of coming together, it's now going another way. The men did this therefore we now must do that. I don't believe in it at all. (Glasgow, 1989, p. 10)

This slightly contradicts a statement Connie made in an interview in 1992, when she talked about how she had advocated for women in prison to have their rights to write letters recognised. She said:

> At the time I went in, they hadn't had anybody who pressed the situation. I knew that the men in prison were allowed quite a lot of letters out. I don't remember the exact number but up until then, most women had sent out a letter. But they didn't quite realise they were entitled to quite a lot and I put in for the number [that] I knew I was entitled to. And some of them got extra letters as a result of my having gone to prison because I wrote regularly to a number of my family and to other people as well. (Summers, 1992, p. 11)

A similar example of Connie supporting the cause of women exists shortly after World War II.

> *Interviewer:* In Christchurch, after you married, did you continue your war activities?

Connie: Well, not really to any extent. I had a child quite early on. So, during the war, I was literally confined to the house. For 18 months, I never went out at night, even once. Though for a while I joined up, well I really made the way for women to join the CO [Conscientious Objector] Fellowship. Because up until then, the CO Fellowship had been just a men's group. And (um) I thought, because women were being manpowered, I (should um) would go along. So I went along once or twice, and then one or two other women joined it. And so, I went in with that. (Summers, 1992, p. 14)

5.2.3 Anti-apartheid

Connie and John lived on Port Hills Road until 1968 when they purchased their final home in Spreydon, Christchurch. They were heavily involved in social issues, and in art and cultural activities. This included involvement in protests, such as the Vietnam War from 1965 to 1973, and the 1981 Springbok tour, during which Connie was arrested five times. The Springbok tour divided people in Aotearoa who had opposing views about whether the Springbok rugby team from South Africa, a country that practised apartheid, should be touring Aotearoa New Zealand.

Connie strongly opposed the Springbok rugby team's visit to Aotearoa. At the time of the 1981 tour, Connie was aged 63. Her age did not diminish her involvement in protests. She listened to Parliament daily, and every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon from July until September, she went to demonstrations (personal communication, notes provided by Bronwen to Tui, May 11, 2019). Connie's involvement in the Springbok tour is detailed in Vignette 2.

Vignette 2: South African Springbok rugby tour to New Zealand, 1981–1982

This vignette was compiled from interviews (published and interviews undertaken as part of my research) with members of the Summers' family (including Connie), written notes provided by Bronwen Summers (2019), the eulogy delivered by Summers (2009), an obituary written by Horton (2019) and a life history assignment on Connie written by Hunter (1982).

Connie: We protested a bit against the Vietnam War along with everybody else. But then I didn't really get involved because I worked. We ran a bookshop together. We got very much involved in the Springbok Tour issue. I have seven – we have seven – children. And (um) three daughters, two sons and husband, and my son-in-law as well as myself were arrested during the Tour. And then I had a son that went onto the field at Hamilton. And then, when the Truxton went into Auckland. I think that was the last American ship to go in. He was in the water for that. So he was picked up and taken to the police

station. So, my family [has] been all involved and all the children have taken some part. All seven children have taken some part in these protest movements.

Interviewer: That's a good score.

Connie: Yes. Well, I think you see they don't all believe what I believe. None of them have joined a pacifist organisation. But then, this is the point. You can't dictate what other people do. I don't know how many of them would class themselves as pacifist. Some of them probably do. But (um) as long as they are socially conscious, which is one of the big things I think. Because so many people aren't. They don't seem to get any sense of direction. (Summers, 1992, p. 15)

John and Connie marched together in the anti-tour marches last year. One of their daughters was involved in HART [Halt All Racist Tours], but they would have marched anyway. Connie is totally against sending funds for any aggressive or violent purpose, even in fighting for civil rights. But she completely supported the cause of the South African blacks in this instance-she and John went on every march and attended every street meeting until the tour was over. All seven of their children marched also, along with several grandchildren. Gwilym in Auckland was badly batoned and five others [children] were arrested. Connie was personally disappointed in how many demonstrators pleaded guilty as if to say they regretted what they had done. Connie made statements in court which explained that if she had pleaded guilty it would be tantamount to saying she wished she hadn't done it. (Hunter, 1982, p. 26)

Connie's voice:

> Sir, when I last appeared before the court, I closed with a quote which today I wish to start with. It comes from the late Bram Fischer V.C. who before being sentenced to life imprisonment for his opposition to the apartheid policy of the South African Government said-and he speaks for me, 'When a man is on trial for his political beliefs and actions two courses are open to him. He can either confess to his transgression and plead for mercy, or he can justify his beliefs and explain why he acted as he did. Were I to ask forgiveness today I would betray my cause. That course is not open to me. I believe that what I did was right'. I am very much aware that Bram Fischer was facing a possible death sentence while for me the maximum is a small fine-but the principle is the same.
>
> Fifty years ago I first took to the streets-a May Day procession when I walked a couple of yards behind the late Mabel Howard. Since then I have joined with others protesting for or about a variety of things which my conscience would not allow me to ignore. This has not always been easy. I remember three of us in single file and ten yards apart walking down the streets of

Wellington. We wore sandwich boards, making our opposition to the war known and were the subject of a good deal of abuse, some physical.

But I consider myself fortunate to have had the inspiration of a grandmother, a father and friends who acted according to their beliefs and were prepared to suffer if necessary for them.

People with strong moral convictions have always been needed-the future will be no exception. I am therefore proud that our seven children (and some grandchildren) took part in the marches protesting against the presence in this country of a South African Rugby team. One son received summary punishment at the hands-or batons-of the police, while five others and their father were arrested.

We are normally a law-abiding family-I don't throw litter, unlike some policemen I complained about-but we found it necessary to show our abhorrence of the apartheid system in South Africa even to the point of disobeying the law and 'inconveniencing' others. I was always deeply aware that seven of my grandchildren-half caste Māoris and Rarotongans-would have no rights in South Africa.

And Sir as I have lived in the past, so I hope in the future to live, not by the law but by my own conscience, and with Bram Fisher I say. "I believe what I did was right" 29 January 1982. (Hunter, 1982, p. Appendix III)

Bronwen (Connie's daughter): When I was running the Christchurch-dominated HART campaign ('85–'86) against Humphreys because of their importation of wine from South Africa, [Connie] came to all the shareholders' public meetings that I organised. Mum revelled in things like that. In '81 from July until September, there were demonstrations every Saturday afternoon and every Wednesday. She went on them all. Running sometimes in high heels (flat shoes are not elegant you know). (Personal communication, notes provided by Bronwen to Tui, May 11, 2019, p. 4)

Bronwen: Mum hit her stride again during the Springbok Tour, when they participated in many demonstrations, and in the course of which she was arrested five times. As a consequence of explaining to the judge her long-held beliefs, she was discharged without conviction on all charges. 'Well, the judges weren't stupid were they!' (Summers, 2009, January 3, p. 8)

Bronwen: There is more to the story of Mum standing up in court post-'81 and reading the Bram Fisher quote. She got off all five charges, but she appeared in court in high heels and a fur coat, not like the

rabble that would have been seen as at the time. (Personal communication, notes provided by Bronwen to Tui, May 11, 2019, p. 6)

Bronwen: And they allowed her to talk about her beliefs and so she had this spiel she read out every time about her beliefs about her imprisonment and about Bram Fischer, the South African, who was mentioned every time in it. And so yeah, she did have that. Whereas Dad was furious because, I think in the end, he only got arrested twice. Which was more than enough because, you know, he would easily have taken a swing at the cops if they said the wrong thing. So, she didn't want him to get arrested anyway. But (um I mean), I always remember we were all in there together. Mum, Ursula, Faith and I, and then my ex-husband, Bruce, and Llew and Dad.

Interviewer: In the Courtroom?

Bronwen: No, in the clink after we were arrested. And people would say things to me. Well, the very first time I was arrested, there was a young man. There were these forms around the room in this holding cell and he was jumping from one to the other. And his parents (he was only 18), his parents hadn't spoken to him for two years. And I said 'well you know I'm extremely lucky. I'm part of a family who totally think this is wrong and we need to take action. So, it's much easier for me to do this'.

Bronwen: The other side of that rich upbringing was the big emphasis on social justice, something that was particularly strong on our mother's pacifist side of the family. Summers as cited in Horton (2019)

5.3 Influence of Connie's temperament

In 1983, the Summers closed their bookshop. It was described as being a "literary oasis, second to none in the quality and interest of its stock" and "bibliophile's paradise" (Trussell, 1994, p. 159). The books and artwork were taken home. In her retirement, Connie spent more time in her garden, which was thickly planted with natives (Summers, 2009, January 3, p. 9). Connie's husband, John, died in December 1993, following a brief period of ill health. After the death of her husband, Connie continued to live in the art-filled villa in Spreydon. She was devastated when John died but felt that he was lucky because the significant damage caused by his heart attack close to when he died would have significantly incapacitated him (Summers, 1994).

Connie considered it important that children learned from their own experiences. At the age of 70, she said she was proud of her children, particularly their social consciousness, which she viewed as very important (Summers, 1992). She stated that she found life more difficult as she got older (Glasgow, 1989).

In 2000, Connie spoke at the unveiling of a plaque in Chancery Lane where the first John Summers' bookshop opened in 1958. The plaque, commissioned by the Christchurch Writers' Walkway Committee, acknowledged John's contribution to the artistic and literary facets of Christchurch city. While she was not actively involved in social justice issues in her later years, Connie's contributions to the CPS continued 2000. In 2002, she received a peace award from the Christchurch Mayor, Gary Moore (Moore, 2002). In the letter that accompanied the award, the Mayor stated:

> now, more than ever, we need to stand and be counted in our desire for peace, and it is people such as you who have shown us the way. I was so pleased to be the one to present you with the award on behalf of the people of Christchurch. (letter from Garry Moore 17 December 2002)

She continued to keep abreast of the activities of her 26 grandchildren and 26 great-grandchildren. In 2008, as the last surviving child of Lillian and Ernest Jones, Connie aged 89 died peacefully at home after a short illness. After a private funeral, her body was cremated and her ashes were buried with her husband John's in his beloved Orepuki Cemetery, Te Waewae Bay, Southland.

A predominant theme of Connie's social justice activities is 'temperament'. She argued that her actions were due to her temperament. Her insistence on not compromising personal beliefs is evidenced in the following statement from her. "When you believe in a cause you must be uncompromising otherwise there is no cause" (Grant, 1986b, p. 12). Connie described herself as 'obsessive' about a range of things, including everyday tasks, such as housework, and extended to her anti-apartheid views and her rigid approach to life (Glasgow, 1989).

Connie took pride in voting for the political party she most believed in rather than the party that was most likely to get into parliament (Summers, 1992). There were times when her principles provided challenges. Family members described her as 'unbending' (Ansley, 1994). This caused significant difficulties with some of her personal relationships, particularly with her son, Llew. Connie refused to have any contact with Llew because he lived in a de-facto relationship (Ansley, 1994). "She expected her family to follow her lead, even though it caused

difficulties, even alienation amongst them. She admitted she was openly critical of family members and had many rows with them" (Crean, 2009, p. D17).

Connie's strong stance on matters made her subject to public criticism. For example, several letters in the *New Zealand Listener* criticised her for her public pacifist stance given her difficulties with some of her family relationships (Byers, 1994; Still, 1994). The letters suggested that Connie's pacifist views should be reflected in her interactions with her own family. She described herself as 'black and white' but also questioned whether others were unbending too, given that they seemingly could not understand her perspective (Glasgow, 1989).

There are questions about the effect of Connie's principles on her relationships with others. Connie demonstrated a stubbornness that meant that she struggled when others, particularly family members, lived according to beliefs that differed from her own (Ansley, 1994). Despite acknowledging that family members did things differently from how she would have done them, she was proud that her children stood up for their principles. She stated, "I didn't agree with everything all of them did. I am proud of the fact they were prepared to stand up and be counted" (Glasgow, 1989, p. 7).

Connie thought that the characteristics she had inherited from her family and she had passed on were significant strengths which benefited her and her children. In one of several radio interviews, Connie said:

> I think background and what we're given is very important. That's what I've said before to my children and I just think they are lucky to have that heritage and some sense of what is right and wrong. After all, there are lots of kids who don't know anything about what is right or wrong and they don't seem to get any idea of it from life, from their parents, or anything else. (Glasgow, 1989)

Vignette 3: Temperament

The third vignette focuses on Connie's temperament from the perspectives of herself, her daughter, Bronwen, interviewers (Ansley, 1994; Glasgow, 1989; Hunter, 1982) and other writers (Crean, 2009).

Connie's voice

We have certain temperaments we're given. I have the background of these people, my grandmother, my father, who gave me these strengths. (Ansley, 1994, p. 28)

I consider myself fortunate to have had the inspiration of a grandmother, a father, and friends who acted according to their beliefs and who were prepared to suffer if necessary for them. (Hunter, 1982, p. Appendix III)

I wasn't meant to get up and speak at Pigeon Park but I found I could do no other. (Glasgow, 1989, p. 8)

I always look back with some mirth on arriving in prison as there was a reception building outside and I arrived with two young constables. And being a woman and (um) not used to what people now regard as the proper way to behave, I waited for the constable to lift my bag out of the [laughs] thing and cart it into reception, which he was kind enough to do finally. (Summers, 1992, p. 8)

What I believe, I believe; and I'm not frightened of the consequences. (Ansley, 1994, p. 26)

Anyone who knew both John and I would know it wouldn't be an easy marriage, because of the strength of the convictions…when I get a conviction it's strong, it's not something I drop by the wayside. But I loved him very dearly for over 50 years that we were married. (Ansley, 1994, p. 28)

I have had a completely supportive family. I could not have had better support than my family gave me. (Summers, 1992, p. 11)

The problem is people can think it's self-glorification. For years I mean people would find out that I'd been to prison and were most surprised to find out. I mean it's not something you stand up and make a great fuss of. Then of course if I had gone back to do it again I mightn't have got married when I did. (Summers, 1992, p. 17)

I suppose it is egotistical, but I can only say that what I did down those years is as right as it can be for me. I'm not likely to alter a certain number of beliefs that I've held for so long and so deeply. (Ansley, 1994, p. 28)

Connie: Well, one tries to be as kind and loving as they can be. One fails…Because the older I have got the more difficult I have found life to be. I don't think everybody finds it more difficult, but I do. I turn things over in my head all the time. I'm not a person who easily leaves things behind. I can think of things in my life that I can't change that are not important that were not important at the time, and they still bug me. I am an obsessive person.

Interviewer: What are the things that you feel obsessive about?

Connie: Oh well, I feel obsessive about all sorts of things if you are thinking about the things I feel obsessive about. My opposition to Apartheid. I have done what I can but in all sorts of ways. I mean the way I run my house I think I am obsessive. I run to a very rigid way. I do the same things every week exactly on the same days. If you ask me what I did this morning I can tell you exactly what I am going to do tomorrow, you know with all sorts of things. Being rigid about the way you do everything.

Interviewer: So, there are not many grey areas in the way you live your life?

Connie: Oh, very much. My husband would say to you I am a black or white person. I suppose that's true. (Glasgow, 1989, p. 7)

I think we become too compromising and we give too much away and we become too flappy and we don't know what we believe and what are we handing over to the next generation when they do that. (Glasgow, 1989, p. 10)

I'd go to the bloody stake for my beliefs; it doesn't matter that they've hurt me a good deal. (Ansley, 1994, p. 26)

I'm a person who believes that whatever people believe they must act on. It's not for me to tell them. But what they have to give me, in all cases, is my freedom to act as I must act, And this doesn't just apply to pacifism. It applies to the total business of living. (Summers, 1992, p. 13)

Bronwen's voice

She wanted to be a lawyer, but he said you can be my wife or a lawyer but not both. (personal communication, interview with Bronwen Summers by Connie's grandson, John Summers for North and South article, 20 April 2017, p. 1)

I am personally really thankful and feel quite privileged to have been brought up in such a rich family as ours. (personal communication, notes provided by Bronwen to Tui, May 11 2019, p. 5)

She was very determined. She was sharp, she was stubborn, she was unforgiving. (personal communication, interview with Bronwen Summers by Connie's grandson, John Summers for North and South article, 20 April 2017, p. 2)

She was a really strong individual. The standing joke [was] that he thought when he married her that he could meld this woman. (personal communication, interview with Bronwen Summers by Connie's grandson, John Summers for North and South article, 20 April 2017, p. 1)

She recalled the matron of the reformatory saying to her 'I suppose, Constance, you won't sew the uniforms for the army'. And we can hear her firm reply. 'Certainly not.' As that would have been helping with the war effort. (Summers, 2009, January 3, p. 2)

She took an overdose in 1975. I think it was 75. She was in Princess Margaret Hospital and the shrink wouldn't let her out, and so they [Connie and her husband, John] became a gang. They were very good at that. You know, because he [John] wanted her out, she wanted out. So, they became absolutely united to get her out. (Personal communication, interview with Bronwen Summers by Connie's grandson, John Summers for North and South article, 20 April 2017, p. 2)

She had a strict moral (read 'sexual' moral) code, and would not have Llew's partner of many years, Rose, in the house. She also let it be known to me that John (my husband) was not welcome in the house because we were co-habitating before we were married. (Personal communication, interview with Bronwen Summers by Connie's grandson, John Summers for North and South article, 20 April 2017, p. 1)

I always say we (their children) were given two gifts-for which I am personally really thankful and feel quite privileged to have been brought up in such a *rich* family such as ours.

1 Primarily from my father's side of the family, the love of GOOD literature, art, good theatre, good film, poetry and all the associated disciplines.

2 Primarily from my mother, a passion for social justice and politics (personal communication, notes provided by Bronwen to Tui, May 11, 2019, p. 5)

Llew's voice

"the whole political thing was influenced primarily by my mother and it's gone on to influence my life forever" (personal communication, interview with Llew Summers by Connie's grandson, John Summers for North and South article, 20 April 2017, p. 1). He went on to say that "I've had a lot of criticism over the years and it doesn't really mean much to me. And that's a strength that I've gained indirectly from both my mother and my father really, certainly by my mother". (personal communication, interview with Llew Summers by Connie's grandson, John Summers for North and South article, 20 April 2017, p. 1)

Interviewers' voice

She comes to the door-tiny, but giving an immediate impression of strength. (Ansley, 1994, p. 26)

Connie stated that her family background has predisposed her to be 'a jealous, moody, sulky, dour Welsh'. She doesn't feel like she can 'play' at life as many can and do. (Hunter, 1982, p. 29)

For most of her 75 years this courageous woman has lived by her principles. But living with them: does resolution become implacability; conviction turn to dogma? (Ansley, 1994, p. 28)

In her own view, Summers lived by principles. She allowed no backing down to public sentiment, no dilution of her beliefs. (Crean, 2009, p. D17)

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter detailed the life of Connie Summers from the perspective of leadership for social justice. The story focused on the origins of Connie's social justice leadership and identifies her family members and her temperament as two major influences on her social justice commitments. Connie's social justice leadership were orientated towards pacifism and anti-apartheid. Three vignettes provide detailed accounts of the origins and orientations of her

leadership. Vignette 1 focuses on the orientation of her leadership to pacifism and details her imprisonment during World War II. Vignette 2 gives an account of Connie's anti-apartheid stance during the 1981–1982 South African Springbok rugby tour to Aotearoa. Vignette 3 describes Connie's temperament and details how her temperament influenced her commitment to social justice. Connie's strong principles and strong beliefs define her stance on issues and her actions.

Ka mahi te tawa uho ki te riri

Well done, you whose courage is like the heart of a tawa tree

Reflection 3

I think that my doctoral journey is personal and related to my identity in ways that I could not have foreseen. There is an emotional price for doing this type of research. For instance, I was sad researching Kiripuai's pūrākau and learning about how some of her, and consequently my, cultural identity has been eroded over the years through colonisation.

As a female, it was very interesting thinking about Connie's paradoxical stance on social activism versus feminism. I wonder if that was partly a result of her being so close to her father or due to her character. She appeared comfortable being a woman with her domestic responsibilities and commitment to supporting her husband. However, this is what was expected of many women of her generation. This is in opposition to Kiripuai, who did not seem to need the male gaze for any sort of validation. I grew up in the post-women's liberation era, so seeing Connie as passive and dependent on the male gaze for validation seemed contradictory to her activist commitments.

Learning about Connie's life was interesting because before undertaking my research, I thought her life was very different from what the archival records showed it was. I wonder if this is related to my growing up without a mother in my home. Was I looking to Connie as my role model? Did I see her as the person to follow? Was my judgment affected by my wanting a strong female role model and, therefore, was I prepared to look beyond the unhappy state that Connie was sometimes in?

Writing these stories and pūrākau has awakened me to the importance of identity. I learned about myself through the lens of these women's narratives. Connie came across as

idealistic and determined. I think I am both of these things. She hangs onto her principles in a way that can be damaging to relationships. I think I have done this in the past but perhaps not as much as her. She had a very sharp mind.

Through investigating these women's stories, my research has helped me to figure out who I am. Importantly, it has taught me about myself and where I fit from a whakapapa perspective and a social, historical and cultural context perspective. My study has helped me understand why and how I am in a leadership role. For instance, I have learned the importance of manaakitanga and whanaungatanga from a leadership perspective. I support Ruwhiu and Elkin's (2016)'s model which combines Māori leadership with the servant model of leadership and emphasises the collective and the importance of relational qualities.

Chapter 6

Sonja Margaret Loveday Davies (née Vile)

Kai Tahu: 11 November 1923–12 June 2005

Founder of Te Rito Maioha: Early Childhood New Zealand

This chapter focuses on the origins and orientations of Sonja's social justice leadership using interviews and newspaper articles, and literature relevant to the social and political contexts. The chapter is organised into two parts. The first part focuses on the origins of Sonja's social justice leadership: influences in her early life, in her social networks, including her family, and in social, political and cultural contexts. The second part focuses on the orientations of Sonja's social justice leadership. Using first-person accounts from Sonja, her orientations to social justice leadership are summarised in four areas of commitment: union leadership, peace activities, early childhood education and her parliamentary career. I have drawn on Sonja's two autobiographies, *Bread and Roses* (Davies, 1987a) and *Marching On* (Davies, 1997), to ensure that her voice is foregrounded in her story.

Appendix E presents Sonja's whakapapa.

6.1 Origins of Sonja's social justice leadership

6.1.1 Early influences

"Sonja thinks she may have been born a dissenter" (Easton, 2001, p. 200). Sonja also thinks that her unique childhood experiences shaped her commitment to social justice leadership (Coney, 1982a). Research suggests that both genetics and environmental factors can influence leadership development (Murphy & Reichard, 2011) but further investigation needs to be undertaken into the relationship between genetics, early experiences and later outcomes for leadership (Murphy & Johnson, 2011).

When Sonja Davies was conceived in Aotearoa in 1923, her mother, Gwladys Vile, was a nurse and her father, Gerald Dempsey, was an Irish army officer engaged to someone else (Davies, 1987a). Gerald thought that Gwladys should have an abortion (Davies, 1987a). However, Gwladys proceeded with the pregnancy and birth of her first child. She completely erased Gerald from her life after Sonja's birth and it was not until many years later that Sonja briefly considered making contact with him but ultimately never did (Davies, 1987a).

Although Sonja never reunited with her father, she reported that her experience of being born out-of-wedlock had a significant influence on her commitment to social justice (Coney, 1982b). In 1982, Sonja was interviewed for *Broadsheet, New Zealand's Feminist Magazine* (Broadsheet), a monthly publication focused on issues affecting women and advocacy for women. Sonja, then 59, was asked why she was committed to social justice (Coney, 1982a, 1982b, 1982c, 1982d, 1982e). She answered that "I always wonder if it's because I was

different, because I was illegitimate, because I never really belonged" (Coney, 1982b, p. 31). This interview is important because it reflected her growing profile as a female role model and demonstrated her strong commitment to social justice (Else & New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1993). She was described as an "activist" and a "fighter" (Coney, 1982a, p. 10).

Like many unwed women who faced ostracism if a pregnancy was discovered (Kedgley, 1996), Gwladys concealed her pregnancy and kept the birth of Sonja secret from her family (Coney, 1982a). After Sonja was born, she was placed in a foster home so that Gwladys could continue to work. Foster homes became more popular in the 1920s when the former "industrial schools" for orphans were phased out due to overcrowding, a lack of quality or being viewed as for "delinquents" (Kedgley, 1996, p. 102). After being placed in a series of foster homes, Gwladys discovered that Sonja was being fed sago and water. She then told her parents, Margaret and Arthur, that Sonja existed (Coney, 1982a).

6.1.2 Social network and family influences

Without hesitation, Sonja was accepted by her grandparents and moved to Oamaru to live with them (Davies, 1987a). Sonja reported that she enjoyed and benefitted from living with her grandparents.

> They taught me to love books and reading and poetry. And they taught me that I was very important, but I wasn't more important than anyone else and that I should have a sense of responsibility towards other people and respect their property. So I grew up knowing all those things and believing that I could do anything I wanted to do. (Douglas, 2001, p. 34)

While Sonja lived in Oamaru, Gwladys continued to work as a nurse in Dunedin but visited her regularly (Davies, 1987a). Sonja's first schooling was at Oamaru School in 1928 (Davies, 1987a).

In 1928, Gwladys married her old school friend who had recently become divorced, Douglas Mackersey. Sonja thinks that she reminded Douglas of his ex-wife and consequently, her relationship with her step-father was strained. After her mother had married, Sonja continued living with her grandparents. As a result of living with them, she was exposed to, and learned about the value of being involved in political structures at a young age. She reported that her grandfather "was a very political animal" (Davies, 1987a, p. 14), who was in

regular contact with liberal politicians around the country, including the Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward.

Sir Joseph Ward was Prime Minister of Aotearoa from 1906 to 1912 and from 1928 to 1930 (Bassett, 1993). He believed that the State's role was to support business and private enterprise (Bassett, 1993). The capitalist views of Sonja's grandfather and Sir Joseph Ward differed significantly from Sonja's political views, which she described in later life as socialist (Douglas, 2001). Despite being raised in a middle-class family and having political views that differed from her grandparents, her views also conflicted with those of other family members. In a 1982 interview about her political views, she said that "all my family, all my aunts, cousins, the whole family is extremely National Party-oriented. I guess it was true that I did identify with the underdog and so I went in the opposite direction" (Coney, 1982a, p. 11).

In 1928, Sonja moved with her grandparents to Woodville, so that her grandfather could contest the Masterton electoral seat as an independent in the 1931 election. Sonja's grandfather followed in the footsteps of her great grandfather, Job Vile, who had been the first Mayor of Pahiatua and the Member of Parliament (MP) representing the Manawatu electorate between 1902 and 1905 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Job_Vile). Sonja was saddened when her grandfather was unsuccessful in securing the seat in the 1931 election (Davies, 1987a). Records show that, of the three men who stood for the electorate, he gained the lowest number of recorded votes (New Zealand Government, 1932). Despite their different views and values, Sonja was positive and affirming about her grandparents, particularly her grandfather, and his influence on her (Davies, 1987a).

Eldad and Benatov (2018) highlight the importance of attachment and the link between parenting styles and the development of leadership in adulthood. Sonja appears to have had a stable, secure attachment to her grandfather and he seems to have offered her autonomy, sensitivity, responsiveness and support. Eldad and Benatov (2018) argue that having a parental role model, who demonstrates the very same characteristics that Sonja's grandfather appeared to display, is linked to adults being more likely to exhibit these behaviours in a leadership capacity. Although Sonja's grandfather was not her parent, he fulfilled the parental role.

In 1930, seven-year-old Sonja went to live with her mother in Wellington. It is unclear why she was moved to live with her mother and step-father; it may have been the birth of a sister, Beverley, who was born three months before Sonja's move to Wellington. Her difficult

relationship with her step-father continued. Sonja reported that she spent a lot of time alone reading and she attended Kelburn Normal School (Davies, 1987a).

During her time at Kelburn School, Sonja recalls that she felt the first stirring of a social conscience. As the effects of the economic depression deepened, her mother was disparaging about the unemployed. Sonja said:

> That vision began for me when I was about eight years old. I was driving along with my mother in the tramcar and I saw all the Dunedin windows boarded up because they had been shattered and I said, 'what happened there?' She said, 'It's the unemployed, they're lazy. They don't want to work'. I said, 'I don't believe you'. That was the first time I'd ever said that to her. 'People would work if they had jobs. There aren't jobs Mother. You know that'. (Douglas, 2001, p. 34)

Sonja reported that Kelburn School is where she "developed an ability to straddle conflicting interests" (Davies, 1987a, p. 18). She encountered different types of people with different backgrounds here from those she had known in the small towns of Oamaru and Masterton.

When she was aged eight, Sonja had an experience that proved to have an impact on her subsequent social justice activities. She and her mother provided homemade layettes to a new parent. The new parent did not express the level of gratitude that Sonja's mother expected. Sonja's mother stated that "she wasn't a bit grateful" (Coney, 1982a, p. 11). At a later date when she was recalling this incident, Sonja explained that she replied to her mother 'why should she be grateful? Did you do it just to have somebody be grateful?' (Douglas, 2001, p. 34). When she reflected on this incident and her commitment to social justice in later life, Sonja said that "I think my social conscience has always been there" (Douglas, 2001, p. 34).

After the family moved to Dunedin in 1931, Sonja attended Musselburgh School (Davies, 1987a). She demonstrated strong independence by going to an Anglican church despite her parents being Presbyterian (Easton, 2001). She described it as follows:

> In my uncertain position, the Church offered support and a feeling of belonging. Somehow, it seemed very important that I go to the Church of my choice. I won, and I think I benefitted from the ordered ritual and the church music. (Davies, 1987a, p. 20)

Research suggests that receiving autonomy as a child promotes the development of leadership behaviours in adulthood (Eldad & Benatov, 2018). By choosing her church, Sonja

exercised autonomy. Her recall of this childhood experience and her use of the term ‘won’ suggests her ability to exercise independence, which was significant in this instance. Such events as this potentially supported her developing the leadership she demonstrated in adulthood.

Sonja visited many of her step-father’s family members, who were well established in the Dunedin community. When her new relatives asked who she was, her mother said she was “my brother’s child” (Davies, 1987a, p. 19). As a result of this experience, Sonja “became a nothing, and that was very demoralising” (Davies, 1987a, p. 19). During her childhood, she felt “somehow different from my peers, someone difficult to explain” (Davies, 1987a, p. 11).

Sonja described her schoolteacher at Dunedin North Intermediate School, Miles Botting, as “warm and caring” and “my first role model” (Davies, 1987a, p. 19). Role models, such as a teacher, who demonstrate moral behaviours that align with one’s ideals can promote the development of leadership (Liu et al., 2020). They can be particularly influential during the teenage years when “implicit leadership theory” (p. 7) is developing. “Adolescents are in the process of solidifying their self-identities, so having a role model, be it a parent, teacher, peer, a great person in history, or a social media influencer impacts this formation process” (Liu et al., 2020, p. 7).

In 1934, Sonja started secondary school at King Edward Technical College, referred to as, King Edward Tech, where she stayed for three years. King Edward Tech was a large school of 825 students when she initially enrolled (King Edward Technical College, 2010). The King Edward Tech school principal appears to have been another role model that influenced her social justice commitments. After she became an MP, Sonja was the guest speaker at the end-of-year prize giving at Waimea College (Davies, ca. 1982). In her speech, she referred to the “brilliant’’ King Edward Tech principal. At school assemblies, he had “impressed on his captive audience the virtues of truth, justice, and integrity, utterances which I believe had simply flowed right over me. All these years later they are held fast in my memory” (Davies, ca. 1982).

Sonja described herself as a “precocious child” (Davies, 1987a, p. 12) and “a very rebellious” teenager (Douglas, 2001, p. 35). In her teenage years, Sonja had very different views from her step-father about peace and conscientious objectors (Davies, 1987a). In 1939, after World War II was declared, she witnessed Archie Barrington and Reverend Ormond Burton, prominent members of the Christian Pacifist Society, protesting publicly against the

war. During World War II, the Aotearoa government introduced legislation that suppressed and punished people for publicly voicing anti-war sentiments (Grant, 2004). Christian Pacifist Society members opposed the war for moral reasons and they ignored these regulations. As a result, some of them were imprisoned (Grant, 1986a). Sonja's recollection of her step-father's beliefs was that "all pacifists should be lined up against a wall and shot" (Davies, 1987a, p. 26). In contrast, Sonja was "impressed by the courage" of Barrington and Burton (Davies, 1987a, p. 26).

Aged 16, due to difficulties at home, including these opposing views with her step-father, Sonja left home and got a job with a commercial artist (Else, 2010). The owner of the company sexually harassed her. "He was a stroker of bosoms and a bottom pincher. After one particularly unsavoury episode, I hit him and walked out'' (Davies, 1987a, p. 24). This incident was one of the numerous examples of sexism that Sonja recalled in her subsequent leadership roles involving advocacy for women and women's rights.

In 1940, Sonja briefly became engaged to a brother of a friend (Davies, 1987a). She negotiated a marriage contract with her fiancé which stipulated that she would not undertake domestic duties and that she would have a horse on the farm they would own together (Davies, 1987a). This caused significant embarrassment to her and her family, particularly when at a later date, she decided that she did not want the engagement to proceed (Davies, 1987a). This embarrassment may have been due to Sonja's realisation that forging her independence via the marriage contract had been a futile exercise.

In 1940, Sonja started as a trainee nurse at Bowen Hospital in Wellington (Davies, 1987a). During this time, she met Charles Davies, who held very similar values, opinions and political views to her. Like many of his generation, Charlie had emigrated to Aotearoa from the UK with his family when he was eight. His family was part of a major influx of immigrants between 1900 and 1915 (Davies, 1987a). Charlie had significant family responsibility because he was the eldest of six children and because his father had died when Charlie was aged 20 (Coney, 1982c).

When Charlie met Sonja, he was in the Army Service Corps based in the Trentham Army Camp in Lower Hutt, Wellington (New Zealand Defence Force, 2016). Trentham was initially set up to train soldiers for World War I and when World War II broke out, many cadets undertook their training there (New Zealand Defence Force, 2016). When Charlie left from

Wellington Harbour on a troop transport ship in May 1940, he and Sonja had an understanding that they would marry when he returned (Davies, 1987a).

In 1941, while working at Bowen Hospital, Sonja met an Englishman, Lindsay Nathan, who was a patient having his appendix out and studying at Victoria University (Davies, 1987a). Lindsay came from a wealthy, privileged background and was the son of a chief justice (Davies, 1987a). When she first met Lindsay, Sonja told him that she disagreed with the upper class, capitalism and him. However, his history of being expelled from a university in Switzerland due to his dissident socialist activities fascinated Sonja (Coney, 1982a). Lindsay proposed to Sonja on their first date (Davies, 1987a). They married soon after their engagement but divorced after nine weeks when they both agreed that they were an unsuitable match (Coney, 1982a). Although Sonja connected with Lindsay's similar socialist views, she considered their marriage was destined to be unsuccessful from the start because of their different backgrounds (Coney, 1982a). She said that "the whole base of his privilege and wealth underlay our relationship" (Davies, 1987a, p. 38). Sonja's unsuccessful marriage at a young age could be interpreted as her having a flighty approach to marriage or evidence that she was influenced by the social norms that prevailed at the time. The rates of marriage in 1941 showed a declining trend from a record high level of marriages per capita in the population in 1940 (Gilchrist, 1950). The marriage rate fell from 11.28 per 1000 in 1940 to 8.65 per 1000 in 1941 and 7.53 per 1000 in 1943. The lack of a sense of belonging that Sonja experienced as a child seems to have been the catalyst for the marriage, saying that "I wanted to belong to somebody. I really felt I wanted to belong somewhere-to be part of a unit" (Coney, 1982a, p. 12).

Sonja's action reflected her strong independent streak. Sonja strongly resented her step-father insisting that she receive the weekly monetary maintenance she was entitled to from Lindsay as reflected in her statement that "even at that age, I strongly objected to childless women, capable of earning a living, taking maintenance" (Davies, 1987a, p. 41). This may have been an early indication of the views Sonja would demonstrate during the 1960s' women's liberation movement when she advocated for women to have financial independence (Davies, 1987a). Sonja may also have been frustrated as a woman, given at this time women experienced many contradictions about their role in society. The Manpower regulations, designed to ensure work usually undertaken by men was still done while they were away at war, expected them to join the workforce (Cahill & Dann, 1991). After her divorce from Lindsay, Sonja experienced this first-hand when she was 'manpowered' into an electrical

factory in Wellington. Women were not remunerated sufficiently to live comfortably if they did not comply.

In November 1941, Sonja started nursing training at Wellington Hospital. Her social conscience was evident during this time when she initiated the formation of a union for nurses. She was reprimanded by the hospital matron and did not have enough support from colleagues to pursue this. Liu et al. (2020) identify internships and early career job experiences as being influential in shaping leadership. Maintaining positive interpersonal relationships with colleagues and superiors can provide challenges but it can also develop leadership knowledge (Liu et al., 2020). In this situation, Sonja may have learned the importance of gaining widespread support to achieve outcomes and critical to leadership (Ligon et al., 2008). She stated that "[i]t was my first industrial relations lesson and then, as now, I know it's no use persisting if the troops are not substantially with you" (Davies, 1987a, p. 52).

In 1943, Sonja began a relationship with Don Brinsen (Red), who was an American serviceman from Nebraska and of Scandinavian origin (Davies, 1987a). Red was on leave from the Pacific War zone and later left to fight in Guam. After Red returned to Guam, Sonja discovered she was pregnant. She told her mother, who was disappointed but supportive and her step-father, who was horrified (Davies, 1987a). When Sonja's mother expressed concern about how she would cope, Sonja replied that she would cope just as her mother had. And she did. It is also likely that having an illegitimate child affected her. Stirling (1993) stated about Sonja:

> Sonja was illegitimate and then suffered because she had an illegitimate baby herself- and not just an illegitimate baby, but an American soldier's illegitimate baby. The crux of it is that thing of 'Come on girls, go and dance for your country. But don't get pregnant because abortion is illegal and incredibly dangerous, and to have a child out of wedlock is unspeakably terrible'. (Stirling, 1993, p. 24)

Red and Sonja's daughter, Penny, was born in Te Kuiti in 1944. Eleven months after Penny's birth, Red was confirmed as dead in combat in Guam (Coney, 1982a). Sonja described herself as being at her lowest ebb during this time (Davies, 1987a). She stayed with friends and moved to Auckland for a brief period before she returned to stay in Wellington with her mother and step-father, who softened to Penny. Around this time, as with many others in the nursing profession, it was confirmed that Sonja had contracted tuberculosis. She was admitted to the hospital for an indefinite period of time to undergo treatment and she had to quickly find

alternative care for Penny (Davies, 1987a). This was the beginning of ongoing treatment and lengthy hospital stays for Sonja throughout her adult life. The temporary childcare arrangements Sonja had in place for Penny ended and Penny was sent to the St Barnabas Babies' Home in Khandallah, Wellington before she was able to stay with friends in the South Island (Davies, 1987a). Sonja never forgave her mother for not taking care of her daughter during this time (Davies, 1987a)

After Charlie returned from the war and ended his engagement to someone else, he and Sonja restored their previous relationship (Davies, 1987a). In 1946, they purchased land near Nelson where they planned to build a home using the rehabilitation grant Charlie was eligible for (Coney, 1982c). The rehabilitation loan did not materialise, so Sonja visited the relevant MP to ensure that they received this (Coney, 1982c). Her strong convictions were evidenced when she took a calf chain to chain herself to a pillar in Parliament to make her point (Coney, 1982a). As a result of her visit to Parliament, the loan was processed and they successfully built their new home (Else, 2010). Sonja continued to have health difficulties due to her tuberculosis and, following successive hospital stays, she was encouraged to relocate with the family to Nelson city (Coney, 1982c).

In 1955, Sonja became involved in political activity when the Government announced it would close the Nelson Railway unless government targets were met. Sonja described her action about the railways as "the very first thing I did really politically" (Coney, 1982c, p. 31). Sonja staged a sit-in with female protestors at Kiwi Railway Station, which was 65 kilometres from Nelson. Sonja described the protest as a "Gandhi-type protest, a peaceful protest" (Coney, 1982c, p. 31). Sonja saw peace as inextricably linked to family and wider societal life. She was arrested and convicted of being on railway property without a platform ticket and fined £10. Sonja's mother and step-father were embarrassed about the publicity associated with the railway sit-in and they advised Sonja that she was not welcome at her sister Beverley's wedding. Sonja stated that "it personally cost me a lot since because of it I didn't get to my sister's wedding and my parents didn't speak to me for two years" (Coney, 1982a, p. 31). Two years after the Kiwi Railway station protests, an aunt intervened so that Sonja could reconcile with her mother, step-father and sister (Davies, 1987a).

Despite Sonja's health challenges, in 1957, she and Charlie had a child together whom they named Mark. After being told she could not have more children, she became pregnant twice. However, these were both ectopic pregnancies.

Sonja's strong principles came at some personal cost but they also provided the first of many opportunities to become involved in her local community. She was encouraged by friends to stand for the Nelson Hospital Board because of her experience as a nurse and patient, and because of her advocacy in the railway dispute (Davies, 1987a). In 1956, Sonja was appointed to the Nelson Hospital Board. She experienced sexist behaviour from the mainly male members of the board (Davies, 1987a). For example, when she went to discuss agenda items for meetings, she found the meeting was closed to her. Such experiences heavily influenced her decision to advocate for equality for women (Davies, 1987a).

In 1960, Charlie became the trade union secretary for a conglomeration of unions, including the New Zealand Food Processing Union (Davies, 1987a). Sonja was elected to the Nelson City Council in 1961 and in 1965, she was elected to the Labour Party. The sexist behaviour she experienced on the hospital board continued in her council role. For example, when she questioned why she was not the chairperson of the works committee, as the former deputy chairperson had been, she was advised that the men would not stand for it (Davies, 1987a). After she challenged this decision, she was delegated to the electricity committee (Davies, 1987a). Sonja subsequently became deputy chairperson of the Nelson City Council.

By the early 1960s, Sonja became a Justice of the Peace. She raised with the courts and the relevant MP her dissatisfaction that she did not sit in court the way male Justices of the Peace did (Davies, 1987a). It was some years before this was resolved (Davies, 1987a).

Before I present the orientations of Sonja's social justice leadership, I consider the social and political contexts.

6.1.3 Social and political influences

This section focuses on the peace and women's liberation movements.

Peace

The protest movement in Aotearoa was characterised by protests on causes, such as civil rights, the Vietnam war, nuclear weapons and peace. In 1995, aged 72, Sonja revealed that when she was born, her mother was going to call her 'Peace' (Davies, 1995). There is a limited record of her mother's intentions, but throughout her career, Sonja was very committed to peace. She was concerned about the issue of nuclear arms and focused on peace after Hiroshima and Nagasaki were bombed in 1945 (Else, 2010, p. 3). Although she was committed to peace during World War II and supported the peace movement, she corresponded with soldiers as

well as conscientious objectors (Easton, 2001). It is unclear how she reconciled her strong pacifist views with her friendships. Easton (2001) asks whether it may have been "empathy overriding ideology" (p. 200). Her commitment to peace that began in adolescence strengthened over her lifetime. Perhaps the loss of Red when Sonja was in her 20s galvanised her beliefs about the futility of war.

Sonja's dedication to peace reflected a wider environmental context that focused on peace about nuclear disarmament (Easton, 2001). In 1984, Aotearoa declared its opposition to nuclear testing in the Pacific region (Easton, 2001). This led to the withdrawal of Aotearoa New Zealand from trans-country agreements that involved nuclear weapons, such as, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and the Australian, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty (ANZUS) (Easton, 2001). Over time, Aotearoa's anti-nuclear stance was adopted by other countries and its stance became synonymous with its leadership in peace and peace activities (Easton, 2001).

The women's liberation movement

Sonja was also influenced by the women's liberation movement that evolved from the 1960s protest movement (Dann, 1985). The 1960s, 70s and 80s was a period of significant growth and interest in women's economic and political equality. The women's liberation movement involved challenging the narrowly defined role of women and how women were treated in society (Dann, 1985). Aotearoa was influenced by internationally widespread discrimination against women and writers, such as Betty Friedan from the US, who advocated for change (Cahill & Dann, 1991). Sonja's views were shaped by this movement, which was also known as the second-wave feminist movement.

Sonja was aged 40 when Betty Friedan's ground-breaking book, *The Feminine Mystique*, was published in 1963 (Bowden & Mummery, 2014). Friedan argued that women should have the opportunity to be fully involved in the same activities that men had access to (Bowden & Mummery, 2014). Friedan's work was criticised for its classed perspective (Bowden & Mummery 2014), yet it influenced Sonja's thinking and actions. In Aotearoa in the late 1960s and early 1970s, women's liberation groups began to discuss issues affecting women and challenge society's expectation of women (Cahill & Dann, 1991). Two hundred women attended a women's liberation conference in Wellington in 1972. By 1973, this had grown to 1500 women, who attended the first United Women's Convention in Auckland (Cahill & Dann, 1991). Within this context, Sonja was influenced by her own experiences of sexism. For

example when she was fifteen she was sexually harassed by her male middle-aged boss which prompted her to leave and find alternative employment (Davies, 1987a).

The New Zealand Workers' Union asked Sonja to investigate and write about wage differences between male and female workers in the tobacco fields (Davies, 1987a). After working in the tobacco fields, she stated:

> two young men were grading with us and on our first payday, I soon found that they received appreciably higher pay for the same work. In fact, I was quicker on the job. Right then, the iron entered my soul and I pledged myself to fight for equal pay for equal work. (Davies, 1987a, p. 139)

Sonja challenged the New Zealand Labour Party Prime Minister, Walter Nash (1957–1960) when she explained that she was unable to carry out a task he had asked her to undertake (Davies, 1987a). She explained that unlike him, in addition to her Labour Party and local body commitments, she had to complete a lot of domestic duties. He replied that "it's rather unfair but that's how life is" (Davies, 1987a, p. 122).

When she was aged 46, Sonja met many of her Māori relatives and learned about her whakapapa at a Driver family reunion (Davies, 1990b). She stated that the reunion was the beginning of her self-awareness and that "she never felt so secure as she did that weekend" (p. 1). Sonja learned at the family reunion that she belonged to a large whānau and she was a Kai Tahu descendant on her mother's side. Sonja descended from her great grandfather, Richard Driver, and great grandmother, Motoitoi. Initially, she was upset that she had been denied this knowledge of her heritage but she then "became excited and somehow felt a sense of identity that was to change my life" (Davies, 1987a, p. 173). It is difficult to ascertain how this sense of identity changed her. However, she referred to this again as is mentioned in the parliamentary career sub-section of this chapter.

Sonja was dissatisfied with the 1972 Labour Party campaign and the absence of women in its policies and legislation. So, as a senior Labour Party official, she protested against this at the 1972 Labour Party Conference (Easton, 2001). This was unprecedented in an election year. She became a strong advocate for women and her public profile grew. Paradoxically, while she advocated for women and was seen as a trailblazer for women, she also experienced resentment and sexism from other women. When Sonja had become a Justice of the Peace in her 30s, many women had objected and questioned what she could know about life. She said that "I found

some of the Labour Party women hard to take. They were critical of me as a woman, wife, and mother doing the things I did" (Davies, 1987a, p. 136).

The motivation behind Sonja's commitment to women is described by Else (2010), who stated that "Sonja Davies' own experience of the conflicts and contradictions women faced formed the basis of her deep understanding and commitment to change" (p. 3). The areas that Sonja made significant contributions and the ways that she contributed are discussed in the next section.

6.2 Orientations to social justice leadership

This section explores in detail areas of Sonja's social justice leadership that she became involved with after the 1960s. The areas covered are her union leadership, her activities in the peace movement, her early childhood advocacy and her political career. Although these are presented consecutively, many of these activities occurred concurrently.

6.2.1 Union leadership

Up until this point, Sonja had been heavily engaged in part-time, largely unpaid community work (Davies, 1987a). In 1968, Charlie had a major heart attack, resulting in him needing to stop work (Davies, 1987a). Sonja briefly took up Charlie's role overseeing the conglomeration of unions. Later in 1968, Sonja moved the family to Napier and took up a role as the Hawkes Bay representative for the New Zealand Meat Processors' Union and the Wellington Clerical Workers' Union (Davies, 1987a). Sonja, now aged 45, was for the first time in 25 years, engaged in paid employment (Davies, 1987a).

The unions Sonja now represented were part of the Federation of Labour (FOL). The FOL was formed after the Labour government was elected in 1935 and united existing unions and workers' organisations (Franks & Nolan, 2011). When it was first established, the FOL comprised approximately 170,800 trade union members (Franks & Nolan, 2011). The largest delegations came from the Trades and Labour Councils' Federation of New Zealand and the Alliance of Labour. The FOL constitution stipulated that the annual conference, which comprised delegates from all affiliated organisations, would be the main mechanism for decision making (Franks & Nolan, 2011). As well as determining policy decisions, the FOL council had responsibility for electing the national council and the FOL national executive (Franks & Nolan, 2011).

In 1971, as part of the FOL, Sonja took up the role of Imperial Relations Trust Bursar. This role allowed Commonwealth citizens to study a chosen topic for three months in the UK (Davies, 1987a) and provided return airfares, British rail travel, conference fees and accommodation at York and Oxford Universities. During this three-month scholarship, Sonja gained insights into other perspectives and alternative ways of doing things. Before her departure, she said:

> It was all so unreal, and I felt torn between advancing my chosen field of interest and staying home to care for my family: the classic female bind. All the same, I was aware that I was embarking on a journey that could change my whole life – and did. (Davies, 1987a, p. 182)

After Sonja returned from the UK, Charlie was hospitalised with a reoccurrence of his heart condition, and after a period of hospitalisation, he died on November 2, 1971. Their 14-year-old son, Mark, was still at home and dependent on Sonja. This situation posed further challenges about where she would live and work (Davies, 1987a). Initially, she briefly continued to represent workers at large companies, such as Watties and Unilever (Davies, 1987a). Then, after long discussions with Mark and her friend, Dr Bill Sutch, she decided to accept a position in Wellington and move into a cottage owned by Bill Sutch and his wife, Shirley. Her friendship with Bill Sutch was another example of the relationships she garnered with people established in the wider community who shared similar philosophical beliefs. Bill Sutch was a career civil servant at the United Nations and his influence is reflected in being profiled alongside Sonja and other companies and individuals as shaping Aotearoa from 1931 to 1984 in Brian Easton's (2001) book, *The Nationbuilders*. After giving three months' notice at her job in Napier and enrolling Mark at Wellington High School, Sonja moved to Wellington with the support of friends. The literature contains very limited reference to how Sonja cared for Mark alongside her many other commitments after Charlie died and if Charlie's death changed the way she worked. After Charlie died, Sonja appeared to single-handedly juggle the many commitments she held with caring for Mark.

Her new employment in Wellington involved her becoming an advocate for female work issues. In 1972, she accepted a role as the assistant organiser for the New Zealand Public Service Association (PSA) in Wellington (Davies, 1987a). In this role, she represented the largely female workforce of night cleaners in Parliament and Government. Then in 1973, she moved to the Wellington Shop Employees' Union where she was involved in two significant

campaigns: equal pay for women and opposition to shop trading hours being extended (Easton, 2001). As part of her work, she became involved with the Council for Equal Pay and Opportunity.

During this time, she was still heavily involved in the Labour Party and continued her involvement with the male-dominated FOL by attending each annual conference. At the 1973 FOL conference, there were only 17 women amongst the 700 delegates (Easton, 2001). As part of her FOL work, Sonja travelled to Israel in 1974 to learn more about trade unions. After her return home, she introduced initiatives to Aotearoa, such as the Working Women's Council (Easton, 2001). At a meeting to discuss the proposal, Prime Minister Bill Rowling surprised Sonja by supporting the establishment of a Working Women's Council. Sonja said that "when he asked me if $80,000 would help I nearly fell off my chair but stammered 'Yes, we could probably do quite a lot with that'. I went out into the brisk air in a state of euphoria" (Davies, 1987a, p. 296).

The Working Women's Council hosted a convention, where she introduced the first Working Women's Charter, taken from an Australian conference she had attended earlier. The charter contained 16 clauses, including equal pay for work of equal value, improved working conditions for all workers and controversially, removal of any impediment to abortion (Easton, 2001). The charter was consistent with other priorities being discussed in 1975, International Women's Year. It was debated and adopted in draft form at the convention (Davies, 1987a). There were often strong disagreements between the different groups of feminists (Cahill & Dann, 1991). Dann (1991) stated that "the lines between liberals, radicals, and militants became much clearer and more divisive" (p. 81).

The Working Women's Council subsequently advocated for the charter to be accepted by the unions. Council members undertook significant advocacy amongst workers throughout the country so that union members understood the charter, its content and its intent (Easton, 2001). After consideration by union members and revisions at the 1980 FOL Conference, the Working Women's Charter was adopted, and was supported by the FOL and became FOL policy (Davies, 1987a). Sonja considered the introduction of the charter was a significant achievement. She said that "looking back now, the campaign to promote the charter was one of the most significant in my whole career. I had always trusted my 'gut' instincts and this was no exception" (Davies, 1987a, p. 300).

In 1978, Sonja became a member of the New Zealand FOL executive (Easton, 2001). This was significant because, at the time, this was one of Aotearoa's most influential and male-dominated unions (Davies, 1987a). At the 1980 FOL conference, Sonja was elected convenor of the newly established women's advisory committee. Sonja became the first female vice-president of the FOL executive in 1983. She experienced sexism and discrimination as part of her FOL role (Davies, 1987a). For example, when colleagues told the Secretary of the Waterside Workers' Union that she had been appointed to the executive, he stated that "How wonderful. We always need good typists" (Davies, 1997, p. 32). As part of her FOL role, she travelled to the Pacific, Asia and the USSR (Davies, 1997). In the early 1980s, another female, Joyce Hawe of the Clothing Workers' Union, was elected to the FOL (Davies, 1997). In 1986, Sonja retired from the FOL and moved her focus into the area of peace.

Sonja's contributions to the peace movement are examined in the following section.

6.2.2 Commitment to peace

Sonja described her commitment to peace as one of her "abiding passions" and was "number one in my book" (Davies, 1990b, p. 2). She considered that "peace begins at home" (Davies, 1995, p. 1). As noted earlier, when Sonja was in her teenage years during World War II, she supported conscientious objectors, Reverend Ormond Burton and Archie Barrington (Davies, 1987a). In her support for pacifism, she said that "I had really been interested in peace from the beginning of the Second World War and I really passionately believed that war wasn't the answer" (Coney, 1982d, p. 24).

When the Vietnam War erupted in 1955, she was very involved in New Zealanders' protests against the country's involvement (Coney, 1982b). Her commitment to peace continued when the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) was established in 1958 and committees were established throughout Aotearoa to support the cause (Easton, 2001). Sonja became secretary to the Nelson committee for the CND in 1959 (Davies, 1987a). She said that "when I was asked if I would be the Nelson Secretary for the CND I agreed and that launched me into a very busy time" (Coney, 1982d, p. 24). During this time, Sonja lived in Nelson, and a young group of school children visited her every two weeks to discuss political and community issues and current affairs. Invariably, the discussions often turned to peace (Davies, 1987a, p. 138). Easton (2001) states:

> An important function of the anti-nuclear movement was that it enabled the older people, whose views of peace were formed in the 1930s and 1940s, to mentor the next

> generation. At home in Nelson. Sonja was mentoring other young people by throwing her home open to them. (p. 202)

When compulsory military conscription was voted on at the May 1960 Labour Party annual conference in Wellington, she promoted peace and voted against conscription (Davies, 1987a). She became vice president and then president of the New Zealand Peace Council. In 1986, she became chairperson of the United Nations International Year of Peace New Zealand National Committee (Davies, 1997) and attended peace events in Japan. Before entering Parliament in 1987, she became the chair of the Women's Refuge Trust, which she considered had a strong connection to peace. When she entered Parliament as an MP in 1987, Sonja focused on peace in part of her maiden speech:

> So for me, in this half-hour speech, predictably for many of you, we come to the issue of peace. I am so proud to be part of a Government that recognised the depth of feeling out there in the community, and so promoted policies that reflected these concerns. (Davies, 1987b, p. 13)

Sonja was disappointed that her contributions to peace were not recognised during the "This is Your life" television show (Davies, 1995). However, she was delighted when a Peace Award in her name, the "Sonja Davies Peace Award" was established by the New Horizons For Women Trust in 2003 as a tribute to her life and work, (Else, 2010, p. 3). The award is available annually to promote:

> initiatives that advance peace in New Zealand. The award is available to a woman or group led by a woman who is developing an initiative that will help them create a more peaceful world at home, school, the workplace, or in the community. (https://horizon.nextgerp.com/award/sonja-davies-peace-award-14)

Sonja also showed a strong commitment to early childhood education, which she declared in her maiden speech to Parliament was vitally important (Davies, 1987b). This is discussed in the next sub-section.

6.2.3 Early childhood

Sonja led and achieved significant progress in early childhood education. The organisation she founded in 1963, called the New Zealand Association of Childcare Centres, then renamed Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa and now Te Rito Maioha, Early Childhood New Zealand, still exists nearly sixty years after its inception. This section outlines how Sonja's

leadership skills and the particular social, economic and cultural context that existed when the association was established contributed to her achievements in early childhood education and care.

As a parent, Sonja was affected when the day nursery her son, Mark, attended in Nelson was not able to comply with the Child Care Centre Regulations 1960 (Coney, 1982a). The childcare centre had insufficient toilets to meet the revised regulations. Many other centres experienced similar problems as evidenced when only two of the 41 that applied for licenses under the new regulations met requirements (May & Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association, 2003). Centres that were unable to meet the new requirements were issued with a provisional licence for 12 months provided they had appropriate staff and their health and safety policy for children was adequate (NZ Parliament, 1960). Centres unable to meet licensing requirements and not eligible for a provisional licence were faced with closure (NZ Parliament, 1960).

The closure of the centre Mark attended would have meant that Sonja was unable to participate in committee meetings, such as the Nelson Hospital Board committee where she was deputy chairperson (Coney, 1982c). As she did when Charlie's rehabilitation loan did not eventuate, Sonja acted by visiting the Minister of Social Welfare, Don McKay, in Parliament to represent the concerns of centres. As Sonja was the fifth person to visit the Minister with concerns regarding the childcare regulations, he recommended that childcare centres form a group so that they could advocate more effectively to the government (Coney, 1982c).

Involvement in the establishment of a childcare association would add to Sonja's already significant workload. She held a range of positions with community organisations: the Nelson City Council, the Labour Party, the Māori Education Foundation, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Nelson Day Nursery (Davies, 1987a). However, Sonja considered childcare was important and her interest in this area reflected her passion for social justice (May, 2001). She immediately wrote to early childhood centres proposing the establishment of a New Zealand Association of Childcare Centres (the Association).

The proposal was supported by 28 centres, and 26 representatives from the interested centres attended the inaugural meeting of the Association in October 1963 (May & Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association, 2003). Sonja demonstrated her awareness of political processes and the importance of networking by ensuring Ken Hayes (the government supervisor of childcare centres) and Stan Whitehead (deputy mayor of Nelson City

Council and a close friend) spoke at the meeting. Minister McKay had been invited to speak but was not available (May & Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association, 2003).

Jesse Donald (chairperson of the Lower Hutt Civic Day Nursery and a Lower Hutt District Council councillor) attended the first meeting intending to oppose the establishment of the Association because there was already a sufficient number of childcare organisations (Davies, 1987a). Sonja, who was elected as president, demonstrated her persuasiveness when Jesse was elected as vice-president (Davies, 1987a; May & Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association, 2003). After the meeting, Sonja and Jesse completed a tour of childcare centres in the North Island. The purpose of the tour was threefold: to evaluate the state of the childcare centres; to recommend priorities to the Association executive and to recruit association members. During the tour, Sonja and Jesse established relationships with child welfare officials and, although they visited some good quality centres, they were disappointed with many (May & Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association, 2003). At the end of the tour, the recommendations Sonja and Jesse made to the Association's executive included government support for childcare workers' pay, and training childcare workers. After their first meeting, the executive made a submission to the Minister of Education recommending a training scheme for childcare workers. The Minister responded that it was not the government's responsibility to fund childcare workers' training.

Sonja demonstrated resilience and persistence in continuing her support of childcare, which was not seen as a priority by the majority of the public (May & Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association, 2003). In the 1960s, existing early childhood provisions, such as playcentres and kindergartens were considered sufficient. However, Sonja was promoting childcare to meet the needs of a range of women, including working women. Some people were suspicious of Sonja's views and thought she was replacing the women's role in the home. This was in the context of the changing role of women in the 1960s as outlined in the women's liberation section of this chapter. At the first conference for the Association, Sonja outlined her view that "childcare was meant to supplement home life and not replace it" (May & Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association, 2003, p. 43).

Sonja mobilised people into action and helped achieve significant change (Easton, 2001). She "garnered friends in influential places" (May & Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association, 2003, p. 41). Sonja demonstrated an "upfront political style" (May &

Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association, 2003, p. 41), which was accepted in some instances but questioned in others. Although Sonja and Jess "did not claim to be childcare or education experts … not everyone felt comfortable with their style" (May & Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association, 2003, p. 28). Joyce Cross, who became the president of the Association in 1969 described Sonja as having "a reputation for being a pretty tough woman" (May & Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association, 2003, p. 49). However, there is no evidence of this discomfort. Joyce "found her most acceptable and sensible on all kinds of things" (May & Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association, 2003, p. 49).

In their history of the Association, May and Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association (2003) acknowledge the diverse nature of the early childhood sector and Sonja's ability to manage this diversity, "It is a tribute to Sonja's skill that she wielded such diverse interests into a cohesive group, determined to position childcare alongside Kindergarten and Playcentre as a good place for children and a benefit for families" (p. 45).

As with many of the other areas Sonja supported, she viewed early childhood from a social justice perspective, primarily for women but also for children (May, 2019). May (2019) describe that from its foundation, the Association "engaged in emancipatory politics of social justice for women, children and their families" (p. 19). Sonja demonstrated the same visionary style she had exhibited in other situations and she also showed her networking skills. May and Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association (2003) state:

> The annual reports were written for public presentation at conferences, when government officials, politicians, and representatives from other early childhood organisations were a captive audience. These reports are a measure of opinion in advance of their time and they present a view that realistically faced the changes happening in family and economic life. Summarising the broader issues of childcare through Sonja's eyes provides a context for understanding the gradual movement of childcare issues onto the political centre stage. At the time, however, Sonja was a lonely voice. (p. 53)

At times the motives of the Association were questioned, such as when it advocated for 24-hour childcare because occasionally parents were unable to provide childcare (parents were ill or another child in the family was born and parents were focused on caring for a new baby). It took a strong resolve and determination to achieve the progress Sonja made in developing

the organisation. She stated that "in the early sixties all we had to cope with was antagonism and suspicion from the other two pre-school organisations and almost total opposition from Members of Parliament of both parties" (Davies, 1987a, p. 144). There was a public perception that the childcare centres supported by the Association were solely for mothers in paid employment. However, Sonja's view was that they were for all women, as stated in the New Zealand Working Women's Charter, "wide availability of quality childcare with government, employer, and community support for those who need it, including industrial creches, after-school, and holiday care" (Davies, 1987a, p. 304).

In 1969, after a lot of work by the executive and the Association members, the Association offered field-based training for early childhood teachers (Coney, 1982a). Sonja continued as president for the New Zealand Childcare Association (Davies, 1987a) for 13 years and then filled the role of the national advisor (Else, 2010). Sonja's dedication to early childhood education was lifelong and she demonstrated her convictions through her actions. She used her unique childhood experiences and her insights as a parent to advocate for changes in policy direction and legislation. Sonja frequently mentioned the importance of early childhood in public speeches. When she was interviewed in 1990, she stated:

> Those first seven years are the crucial years. At the moment we have young children going to school, not on an even basis. You'll have [a child from] an upper-middle-class family that has been read to, that has had music, that has had all sorts of experiences. Then, you'll have other children coming along whose parents don't read to [them, haven't] had these experiences … I've seen with my own family the importance of self-worth. If you start them off secure and confident, they can do anything. (Davies, 1990b, p. 2)

In later life, she spoke convincingly about the importance of developing strong self-esteem and confidence in children. It is not clear whether Sonja's experiences as a young child influenced her decision to advocate for early childhood and the importance of developing self-esteem in young children. However, when Charlie met Sonja's daughter, Penny, for the first time. Sonja said that "I don't want to happen to her what happened to me" (Coney, 1982c).

Although it was not evident at the time, establishing the Association was visionary. Most families with children use early childhood education services. For example, in 2017, 63.9 percent of all children, aged 0–4 years attended early childhood education (Education Counts, 2019).

Since the inception of the Association, the previously known childcare sector, now known as the early childhood sector, comprises a range of early childhood services. In 2019, 68 percent of all enrolled children attended education and care centres, 14 percent attended kindergartens, 9 percent attended home-based services, 5 percent attended playcentre and 4 percent attended kōhanga reo (Education Counts, 2019). Equitable funding between kindergarten and childcare centres is still a key issue whereas government support for training is less of an issue.

After establishing the New Zealand Childcare Association, there is no definitive point when Sonja 'left' the organisation. Records show that she was president from 1964 to 1975. Following her presidency, she filled the role of national advisor (May et al., 2021). The weekend after Charlie died in 1971, Sonja described how she went to the annual conference in Marton. She stated of the conference:

> I remember little of that conference although I apparently presented my report and presided over the discussion. I was surrounded by my good childcare friends with whom I had shared so many experiences over the past seven years. Supportive and caring they helped me to cope in that first crucial weekend without Charlie. (Davies, 1987a, p. 214)

Sonja described the time during her involvement in early childhood as "life at the gallop" (Davies, 1987a, p. 121). After she discontinued her role as president in 1975, Sonja continued her work in other areas, such as with the trade unions and politics. The Association and early childhood provisions continued to evolve, reflecting the changing social, cultural and economic landscape. The Association, due to celebrate its 60th anniversary in 2023, continues to advocate on behalf of its members to the government. The training aspect of the organisation has developed to become the most significant revenue stream. Irrespective of its future, the Association "must be a tribute to Sonja who was the most determined and who first had the courage" (May & Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare, 2003, p. 366).

6.2.4 Parliamentary career

Sonja's political career began in 1960, when she became secretary of the Nelson branch of the Labour Party (Davies, 1987a). Following her initial involvement with the Labour Party, she became secretary of the Labour Party Electorate Committee and in 1965, was elected to the Labour Party national executive (Davies, 1987a). Sonja stood for election as a Labour Party MP several times in 1966, including for Rotorua and Taupo where she was unsuccessful. In the same year, she stood for selection in Hastings, where she won the election as a Labour Party

MP but was unsuccessful in securing the electorate. In 1978 she stood as Labour Party MP for Nelson and was unsuccessful when Mel Courtney won the election (Coney, 1982d).

Despite her initial failure to win at elections, it was predicted that she would eventually have a parliamentary career. Easton (2001) states that "had one been betting on her destiny in the mid-1960s, the money would have been on a future career in Parliament" (p. 203). Davies (1987a) thought that her outspokenness may have hampered her political ambitions. However, Easton (2001) cites two major stumbling blocks to her achieving success at that point. First, the hierarchical organisation of the Labour Party was dominated by males in senior positions. Sonja spoke about the representation of women in the Labour Party and Parliament in the 1960s and 1970s, saying that "We were a new group of women, very much influenced by the women's liberation movement, and we wanted to get better representation for women in the Party and more representation in Parliament (Davies, 1993, p. 150).

Second, Prime Minister Norm Kirk reacted strongly against rumours about alleged marital affairs (Davies, 1987a; Easton, 2001). In her autobiography, Sonja outlines how she had warned Prime Minister Norm Kirk of rumours in the community about alleged marital affairs with several un-named women. Kirk interpreted this as Sonja believing these rumours. Sonja's warning to Kirk severed their friendship irrevocably as well as putting "paid to that career path" (Easton, 2001, p. 203).

Despite not being successful in entering Parliament in the 1960s, an opportunity for her to become an MP arose in the 1980s. This time, she was asked to stand as an MP by her supporters (Davies, 1997). She was officially retired, living in Eastbourne and planning some overseas trips related to peace when she was approached by several people in the electorate and from the Labour Party, including the future Prime Minister, Helen Clark. The incumbent MP for Pencarrow, Fraser Coleman, was retiring after 20 years and a replacement was needed. After initially thinking that she was too old, Sonja committed to standing for Parliament. However, after successfully being selected as the Labour Party candidate for the seat, the election campaign that followed was dominated by controversy, including a formal complaint about the process for selecting Sonja as the candidate (Davies, 1997). This complaint was eventually found to have no validity and, despite being viewed by more conservative voters in the electorate as "too liberal," she won the seat in the 1987 election by 1735 votes (Davies, 1997, p. 61).

Sonja, aged 64, was appointed as an MP in August 1987 for the Pencarrow electorate, Wellington. Prior to entering Parliament, she was asked in an interview about her identity and who she would represent:

> Who do you represent first, Māori or Pākehā? Are you a politician first and a Māori last? She replied 'I think I've always been a political animal from the time I was eight so it's an integral part of me. I've been a politician always and I was a politician long before I knew I was Māori. I would like to feel like they're running side by side but in my heart I feel my Māoridom is the main part of my life. I will see things from a different perspective than if I'd been in just as a Pākehā'. (Davies, 1990b, p. 1)

As is customary for new MPs, when she entered Parliament she outlined her aspirations and beliefs for her parliamentary term in a maiden speech. She described herself as "a feminist, a socialist, a trade unionist, and a peace activist, all of which are lifetime commitments" (Davies, 1987b, p. 4). As a backbench MP, Sonja discovered there was significant division between the views of the front bench MPs and the backbench MPs (Clark, 2005; Davies, 1997). The new MPs quickly realised that "a 'them and us' situation existed between cabinet, its undersecretaries and backbench MPs" (Davies, 1997, p. 67). Stephen and Roberts (2005) supported this view, stating that, up until and beyond the 1987 election when the Labour Party continued in government, "the Labour Caucus and Government were deeply divided" (p. 210).

Sonja was allocated to the Education and Science, and Foreign Affairs Select Committees and the Social Welfare, Foreign Affairs and Education Committees (Davies, 1997). Sonja found that the new MPs had "joined a government engaged in far-reaching legislative change" (Davies, 1997, p. 69). This involved the privatisation of state assets. Sonja found that she and fellow backbench MPs were not able to have a significant influence because they were not part of the cabinet and cabinet members rarely gave them any attention or opportunity to voice their views (Davies, 1997). The workload was high as stated by Graham Kelly who confirms that "it was incredibly stressful and … the long hours were a real killer". Despite persevering and overcoming many obstacles to become an MP, it was not as she envisaged. Kedgley (2021) states that "Sonja had wanted to become an MP all her adult life, but having finally achieved her ambition, at age 64, she found her first three years in Parliament absolutely demoralising as she tried, and failed, to change the government's economic direction" (p. 180).

Electorate supporters questioned what Sonja was doing to achieve the change she had campaigned on (Davies, 1997). Sonja stated:

> At 6 am every morning as I stood in the shower with *Morning Report* on the radio balanced on the handbasin, it seemed that I kept hearing yet another Minister talking about the imminent sale of yet another state asset and I would leap out, bruising my shin with rage because this was the first I had heard of it. (Davies, 1997, p. 69)

Sonja was criticised for not influencing more strongly the right-wing faction of the Labour Party that was instrumental in driving the sale of state assets (Easton, 2001). Lack of consultation with people in the sectors affected by the changes, such as the State Services sector that Labour had traditionally supported, resulted in demonstrations and marches to Parliament where protests were held. As an MP, Sonja stated that "it was clear we were now part of 'them', the enemy. When we tried to speak we were hissed and booed at" (Davies, 1997, p. 78). In many ways, Sonja agreed with the concerns raised by constituents. She said that "none of us was saying that change wasn't necessary, but the Rogernomics solutions were too brutal, too arbitrary, and totally lacking in awareness of the adverse effects on people" (Davies, 1997, p. 79).

Global forces influenced the choices deemed desirable by the Labour Party. These included high national debt, where "all sectors of the economy seemed to be subsidising each other" and the country "trying to maintain a fixed exchange rate with practically no reserves" (Cullen, 2005, p. 10). No one denied that reforms were needed; it was just that the reforms were "mishandled" and did not reflect the ideological foundations, principles and direction of the Labour Party (Cullen, 2005, p. 10).

As a female MP, people placed significant but unrealistic expectations on Sonja (Stirling, 1993). This resulted in her being powerless to respond to criticism when she did not meet these impossibly high standards. In talking about Sonja as a female MP, Preston, cited in Stirling (1993) states that "the thing is, if you put them on a pedestal and they behave in any way that's human then you've got a long way to fall" (p. 23). Despite the criticism, Sonja's achievements and contributions were increasingly recognised nationally. Sonja was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Victoria University of Wellington in 1987; "the highest award a University can bestow …[and] … the means by which the University seeks to honour persons whose achievements demonstrate the intellectual and imaginative powers that the University has a responsibility to acknowledge and foster" (Victoria University of Wellington: Te Herenga Waka, 2021). In the same year, Sonja's achievements across many social causes were recognised when she was awarded the Order of New Zealand (Davies, 1997). This is the highest honour awarded by the Queen to Aotearoa citizens and requires outstanding services and

contributions to Aotearoa and the Crown ("Statutes of the Order of New Zealand," 1987). She had declined to accept the title of 'Dame', which was proposed to her on two other occasions, as she did not consider this was appropriate (Davies, 1997).

Despite the difficult political context, Sonja was re-elected by a slim majority (Davies, 1997) at the 1990 election and she was part of the opposition that returned to Parliament. (Davies, 1987a). Sonja stated:

> Although I had faced the election campaign with some trepidation, I knew that if I survived it I would go back to Parliament a very different person: tougher, more streetwise, but still, as ever, a convinced socialist and determined to continue the fight. (Davies, 1997, p. 122)

When she was aged 72, Sonja was asked: "if you had your time again in Parliament is there anything you'd do differently?" (Davies, 1995). She replied that she didn't think so. She had found it a frustrating experience, particularly in the first few years. This was an extraordinary time in Aotearoa politics when changes towards neoliberalism were made that were radical by global standards (Clark, 2005).

While she vehemently opposed many of the changes being made, there was too much against her (Davies, 1995). She stated:

> I was just so opposed to what they were doing. It just made me sick. When they were going to sell Telecom I just said to Jonathan Hunt [speaker of the House], I'm not going to be here. I knew if I crossed the floor I'd be expelled because the rule 2 for 2 says you won't do that. So I said I won't vote for it. I'll lock myself in my room and I'm not going to do it. So did Graham. But in the long run, it didn't matter did it. … And you know, they changed everything all at once, the education system, the health system. (Davies, 1995, p. 4)

The Employment Equity Act that she had worked hard to achieve came into effect in July 1990. However, she was very disappointed when this was rescinded by the National government shortly after the 1990 election (Davies, 1997). When she wrote a collective Christmas letter to her friends and whānau in 1990, she recognised the pace of change in the world and the importance of sticking to her principles:

> There's a lot to be done within the Parliamentary Labour Party (where Mike Moore is proving by far the best leader I've worked with) and in the middle of the Labour Party

> itself. We can never get back to where we were. The world has changed so much and so fast. But we can decide which principles are still valid and stick to them, come hell or high water. (Davies, 1990a, p. 1)

After staying for two terms and due to Parliamentary rules stipulating that MPs had to resign at the age of 70, Sonja retired in advance of the 1993 election. After leaving Parliament, Sonja retired to a house in the Wairarapa.

6.3 Retirement and later life, 1993–2005

In 1993, Sonja alongside 21 other notable New Zealanders wrote a chapter in a book, *What I Believe*, (Thomson, 1993) about her beliefs and philosophy. She wrote that "first of all, I believe in families, because, as the Royal Commission on Social Policy stated, they are of *real* importance" (Thomson, 1993, p. 23) and highlighted parenting, which she considered was "so important and yet it is so unsupported" (Thomson, 1993, p. 23). Given that she became a marriage celebrant in 1986, it is not surprising that she wrote that "I also strongly believe in marriage" (Thomson, 1993, p. 24). This is interesting given that her own early experience of marriage was unsuccessful. Perhaps her marriage to Charlie established a positive sense of marriage as an institution. She mentioned other priorities, such as good childcare, an effective union, peace, the United Nations as a forum for hopefully resolving and debating issues, and Aotearoa as a nation including its people (Thomson, 1993).

Sonja was resolute in her determination to continue supporting her ideal, stating that "Nothing is ever too difficult to achieve. Only inertia can defeat us" (Davies, 1997, p. 232). Graham Kelly described Sonja as having "a strong, very strong will to get what she wanted". Her emphasis on the importance of self-esteem continued throughout her life. She was 76 when she was interviewed for a book entitled, *Living Life Out Loud*, alongside 21 other women (Douglas, 2001). In her chapter, entitled *Believing*, she wrote:

> self-esteem is one of the vital ingredients for really achieving the things you want to. You can't do anything if you haven't got any faith in yourself and if you don't really like yourself. So I'd say start with yourself and build yourself up and go from there. If you've got things that you want to achieve and you feel too afraid to follow them then perhaps you need counselling to help you with your self-esteem. There's plenty of people around who can help you so go out and talk to them. (p. 40)

In 1993, she accepted many invitations to speak at Labour Party and other meetings, opposing the new government's policies, but the pressure brought on serious illness (Else, 2010, p. 3).

In Wellington, on 12 June 2005, after a brief illness, Sonja, aged 81, suddenly died of respiratory arrest, heart disease and emphysema related to her tuberculosis (Else, 2010; Registrar of Births Deaths and Marriages, 2005, June 12). Her funeral service was held at the Wellington Town Hall and was attended by 1100 people (Taylor, 2005). After she died, she was described as, a "force of nature" and, "someone who had the common touch" (Preston, 2005, p. 24). Her determination and fortitude were recognised at her funeral by the former Prime Minister of New Zealand Helen Clark who stated that "her personal courage and determination to go on and on were extraordinary attributes" (Taylor, 2005, p. 1).

Her life had been an equal measure of "triumph and tragedy" and she had been a source of inspiration for younger women in the 1970s (Preston, 2005, p. 25). On the 14th of June 2005, two days after her death Sonja was recognised by Parliament. All members stood in remembrance of Sonja as a former member of the House to observe a period of silence in respect of her memory (2005). In 2006, a kowhai tree, with a plaque, was planted in Parliament Grounds, to honour Sonja Davies (Else, 2010).

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter focused on Sonja Davies' life and the origins and orientations of her social justice leadership. The first part of the chapter discussed two themes that influenced the development of Sonja's social justice leadership: her social network and family, and the social and political context.

Family members, personal experiences and significant people in Sonja's life influenced the development of her social justice leadership. As a child, she did not have a strong sense of belonging or of being wanted. As a result of this experience, she worked in the social justice area of early childhood to ensure children were supported and had a strong sense of self, and the area of unionism to ensure employees were treated fairly. Sonja had a number of role models, including her grandparents and schoolteachers, who had a significant influence on her social justice ideas and activities. Sonja's middle-class upbringing resulted in her noticing and responding to inequities in a way that others didn't. For example, at a young age, she questioned her mother's assumption that unemployed people were lazy. In adulthood, Sonja continued to have role models, from whom she sought advice and guidance, such as Dr Bill Sutch.

Sonja grew up in a social and political context that was characterised by the protest and peace movements and women's liberation movements. The protest movement included causes, such as civil rights, the Vietnam War, nuclear disarmament and peace. The women's liberation movement resulted in significant changes in the role and status of women in Aotearoa society and internationally. Sonja's experiences and leadership reflected changes in the social and political context.

The second part of the chapter outlined the four areas that Sonja exercised leadership in social justice contexts. These were union leadership, peace activities, early childhood education and her parliamentary career. I have argued that the injustices she observed and experienced herself shaped her leadership across these four areas. Sonja was often the minority female voice, such as when she became a member of the male-dominated FOL Executive. Sonja's experiences of sexism in her personal and professional lives motivated her to advocate for the increased recognition and status of women. Rather than using her personal experiences to harbour resentment, Sonja used them to effect change. Her beliefs and commitment to social justice resulted in changes for marginalised groups and recognition of her efforts at a national level.

Sonja demonstrated a strong work ethic and a strong set of skills, such as networking, political nous, resilience and independence to contribute significantly to social justice. She was determined and passionate about the causes she supported, and the was committed to the need to redress inequities. In her biography of Sonja, Else (2010) wrote:

> Sonja Davies had enormous significance as a trailblazer for women in public life. Her outspokenness may have hampered her political career, but her warmth and courage won her support and affection for a very broad range of New Zealanders. (p. 10)

Karanga mai rā, te piringa ki te hāpai ake i te mana wahine e!

Heed our call to join together and acknowledge the power and authority of Māori women! (Forster et al., 2015, p. 324)

Chapter 7

Discussion

In this chapter, the important themes arising from the three women's stories/pūrākau are synthesised and discussed in relation to the literature on women's leadership for social justice. The synthesis is situated in the social, historical, cultural and political contexts of the time, and includes an emphasis on the role of gender in shaping the women's leadership. Chapters 4 to 6 revealed that the women's orientations to social justice leadership encompassed a range of fields: Kiripuai – iwi, hapū, marae, whānau and Māori education; Connie – pacifism and anti-apartheid; and Sonja – union leadership, peace, early childhood education and Parliament. Five major themes emerged from the cross-narrative analysis and included role models, leadership from struggle, mana wahine, social norms and the cost of social justice leadership. See Table 2.

Table 2: *The themes across the three women's narratives on the origins and orientations of their leadership*[4]

Women/wāhine	Orientations	Origins	Themes
Kiripuai	Iwi, hapū, marae, whānau Māori education	Kiripuai's whakapapa Kiripuai's mother, Rāhapa Reupena	Role models Leadership from struggle Mana wahine Social norms The cost of social justice leadership
Connie	Pacifism Anti-apartheid	Connie's paternal grandmother, Ann Williams Connie's father, Ernie Jones Temperament	
Sonja	Union leadership Peace Early Childhood Parliament	Early influences Social network and family Social, political, historical and cultural contexts	

The first section of this chapter defines each of the themes and is followed by a discussion of their influence on social justice leadership. The influence of gender, culture, social, historical and political contexts are discussed within each theme.

[4] Orientation is the area or focus of the leadership. Origin is the source or genesis of the leadership.

7.1 Definition of themes

Five important themes were identified from the cross-narrative analysis. Each theme is defined and described in turn.

7.1.1 Role models

Each of the three women had both familial and non-familial role models. Familial role models influenced the women throughout their lives while non-familial role models influenced them more during their adolescence than at any other life stage. For some of the women (e.g., Connie), specific qualities (e.g., work ethic) were exhibited by both familal and non-familial role models and in these instances, they had a strong influence on the development of the women's leadership. Sometimes, the three women and their respective role models had conflicting views on areas of common interest; however, these divergent views did not reduce the influence of these role models. The three women were also role models themselves and acquired their own followers in various and differing ways.

7.1.2 Leadership from struggle

The women's leadership seemed to stem from hardship or personal struggle. This is exemplified when Connie identified that her role models (her paternal grandmother, father and friends) "acted according to their beliefs and were prepared to suffer if necessary for them" (Hunter, 1982, p. Appendix III). The women's experiences are consistent with the leadership research, which identifies hardship as a major basis for future leadership (Shamir et al., 2005). These women faced a range of struggles. For example, Connie and Kiripuai experienced extreme poverty and they described their work and the work of others in terms of personal struggle and adversity. For example, "Sonja had wanted to become an MP all her adult life, but having finally achieved her ambition, at age 64, she found her first three years in Parliament absolutely demoralising as she tried, and failed, to change the government's economic direction" (Kedgley, 2021, p. 180). The women's struggles appear to be related to their commitment to social justice causes that were a legacy from previous generations.

7.1.3 Mana wahine

Mana wahine is used to examine the two Māori women's leadership in a philosophical way and from my perspective as a female Māori researcher. Mana wahine was both a process and a product of my research. The Māori women's knowledge of their whakapapa appeared to contribute to their understanding of themselves and their identity. Mana wahine was reflected in Kiripuai and Sonja's leadership via their demonstration of manaakitanga, whanaungatanga

and kaitiakitanga. For instance, in relation to manaakitanga on the marae, Kiripuai was described as "part of the crew feeding the multitudes and a patient teacher of the mokopuna" (Luke & Te Momo, 2019, p. 487).

7.1.4 Social norms

There were layers of social norms, particularly in relation to gender, that impacted on the women during their life time. The evolution of contexts over time meant that these norms were also changing. During the period between World War I and World War II, the role of women changed considerably (Brookes, 2016). During World War II, women were expected to occupy roles and contribute to the paid workforce in ways they hadn't done previously. Kiripuai stated that the war:

> made a great deal of difference to women. You know they had to do all the men's work. They worked on the land. A jack of all trades. They learnt how to be mechanics. Women who joined up during the war. You had to learn how to care for your vehicles. I'm sure it made women more independent, more self-sufficient. (Aomarere, 1991, p. 17)

Gender norms for women, which had previously involved heterosexual partnerships, marriage, children and domestic responsibilities, were challenged by the women's liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s (Cahill & Dann, 1991). In some respects, the roles of all three women reflected the social norms of their generation and the context of the time (e.g., they carried most of the responsibility for domestic labour in their personal lives). There were also norms of resistance when they resisted some of the social norms which were typical for their gender and generation, particularly in relation to leadership. McCallum (1993) writes that for women like Sonja, who represented a minority voice in Parliament, "their own lives demonstrated that they had managed to rise above the restrictions most women experienced" (p. ix). The three women had specific temperaments, and sets of morals and beliefs that were reflected in how they demonstrated independence and resilience in their leadership. They were shaped by their forebears, and they followed and resisted social norms.

7.1.5 Cost of social justice leadership

The women's leadership commitments cost them in three main ways. First, for all three women, close family relationships were negatively affected because of the conflicting demands of family responsibilities and leadership commitments. Second, Kiripuai and Sonja made financial sacrifices to support their social justice activities and third, Connie's liberty was impacted when she was imprisoned for three months on anti-war charges.

7.2 Influence of role models on social justice leadership

Each woman had several role models during her life, with support coming from within their family and from outside of their family. The influence of familial and non-familial role models on social justice leadership are discussed in turn.

7.2.1 Family role models

Familial role models contributed to the development of the three women's leadership, confirming Murphy and Reichard's (2011) claim that families and family relationships have an impact on leadership development.

For Māori women, whakapapa and their childhood environment are key influences in leadership (Wirihana, 2012). Kiripuai's commitment to hapū, marae, iwi and education was strongly influenced by her mother Rāhapa's values and beliefs. Throughout her childhood, Kiripuai's mother instilled in her the importance of tikanga, manaakitanga and whanaungatanga. Rāhapa taught Kiripuai these practices during the 1920s and 1930s when Māori culture was seen to have a "diminishing influence" (King, 2003, p. 361) because of the colonisation of Aotearoa in the 1800s. Despite this sociocultural and historical context, Rāhapa showed foresight instilling a Māori worldview in Kiripuai.

In some cases, the familial role models that influenced the women's leadership traversed several generations. Rāhapa moulded Kiripuai's values and beliefs about social justice and brought alive the values and beliefs of Kiripuai's deceased father and role models from previous generations. Connie's choice to become a lifelong pacifist was ultimately due to the influence of her paternal grandmother, Ann. Ann became a staunch opponent of capital punishment due to witnessing what is thought to be the UK's pre-penultimate public execution in 1868. Sonja's commitment to, and interest in, politics was shaped by her maternal great grandfather, Job Vile, who was the first mayor of Pahiatua between 1902–1905 and the MP for the Manawatu electorate (Davies, 1987a, p. 14) and her maternal grandfather, Arthur Vile, who stood unsuccessfully as MP for Masterton in 1931.

The women were influenced by cross-generational familial role models. Kiripuai learned about her Māori ancestry and her whakapapa from a young age. Sonja did not learn about her Māori ancestry until she was in her 40s and Connie was influenced by her father's and her paternal grandmother's pacifist beliefs. Growing up in a Māori environment Kiripuai experienced how powerful culture is in shaping the depths and roots of leadership.

7.2.2 Non-familial role models

The women's leadership appeared to develop in unique and significant ways during their adolescence, which aligned with the findings of Kudo et al. (2012) who reported that adolescence is a crucial stage for the development of leadership potential. The key influence of roles models shifted from familial role models to non-familial role models during this period. Connie describes the effect of role models on her during adolescence. She stated that she became a pacifist, "primarily due to the influence of two men in Christchurch one of whom will be well known to … you: Norman Bell" (Glasgow, 1989, p. 4).

Bell is described by Grant (1986a) as an "otherworldly figure and a man before his time, his refusal to wear leather shoes, as a protest against the killing of animals for food, was more than a little strange to observers in a conformist 1930's society" (p. 42). Connie referred to Bell in terms of his influence on her pacifist beliefs presumably due to his role as head of the Christchurch-based No More War Movement in 1937 (Grant, 2004). The influence of this prominent figure in the anti-war movement, (Grant, 2004) was in accord with the anti-war beliefs of Connie's father, Ernie, and her paternal grandmother, Ann.

Kiripuai described her experience of going to St Joseph's Māori Girls' College when she was aged 14 as a "turning point in my life" because she learned about her Catholic faith from two nuns, Sisters Julius and Athanasius (Cody, 1994, p. 28). While Kiripuai acknowledges the significant role her mother played in shaping her beliefs, she also refers to the influence of role models from St Joseph's college, finding Sister Julius strict but with a good sense of humour (Aomarere, 1991).

At high school, Sonja experienced the influence of a role model in her school principal, who espoused important principles of "truth, justice and integrity" at school assemblies (Davies, ca. 1982). Sonja felt that his words had "simply flowed right over her" (Davies, ca. 1982). Sonja remembered those words in her adulthood when she said at a prizegiving event that "all these years later they held fast in my memory" (Davies, ca. 1982). Sonja recognised that her grandfather moulded her social justice beliefs and described her schoolteacher as "inspirational", "warm and caring" and "in the school world, my first role model" (Davies, 1987a, p. 19).

For Connie, Sonja and Kiripuai the influence of non-familial leaders appears more evident at adolescence than at other times. This aligns with Liu et al. (2020), who argue that

“implicit leadership theory” (p. 7) is developing during adolescence and therefore, a role model, such as a teacher can be particularly influential at this age.

The three women did not always have the same beliefs as their role models. The three women’s respect for, and influence from, their role models appeared to underpin their interest in specific causes. For example, as a practising Catholic, Kiripuai identified with, and deeply respected, her mother despite her mother supporting the Anglican faith. Similarly, the three women sometimes had different beliefs from their followers on social justice causes. The theme of followers connects with role models and is elaborated further in the next section. Connie didn’t expect her children to have the same pacifist beliefs as her but she was proud that they had a strong social conscience. In 1992 Connie stated that “some of them [her children] probably do [have a social conscience]. But (um) as long as they are socially conscious, which is one of the big things, I think (Summers, 1992, p. 15).

Although Sonja’s commitment to, and interest in, politics was strongly influenced by her grandfather and her great grandfather, they both had opposing political views to her. Politically, Sonja was a Labour Party supporter. When Sonja was aged 15, the 1938 Labour Party Election Manifesto states that the Party “believes that an efficiently organised economy is one in which there is a scientific use of human and natural resources so as to promote the maximum amount of social welfare through the provision of a high minimum standard of living and is incompatible with unemployment, poverty and insecurity” (Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga Wellington, 2022). This was in opposition to the view of the New Zealand National Party, which defined itself as “anti-socialist” when it was founded in 1936 (https://nzhistory.govt.nz/page/nz-national-party-founded). Both the Labour Party and the National Party were committed to a decent life for all but they had very different perspectives on how to achieve this. Sonja repeatedly referred to how personal experience of injustice had shaped her beliefs and her career. She also described herself as “socialist”. Socialism is defined as “a theory or system of social organization that advocates the ownership or control of the means of production and distribution, capital, land etc, by the community as a whole, usually through a centralised government” (Dictionary.com, n.d.-b).

As is elaborated further in Section 7.5, Sonja believed that her social justice leadership caused difficulties with family relationships. However, she was able to “straddle [political] conflicting interests” (Davies, 1987a, p. 18) and resolve initial disharmony with family members over time as she restored these relationships. Sonja said that “all my family, all my

aunts, cousins, the whole family is extremely National Party-oriented. I guess it was true that I did identify with the underdog and so I went in the opposite direction" (Coney, 1982a, p. 11). Sonja demonstrated the ability to support the opposite political party from most of her family but still be aligned with her family. The link between leadership and independent thinking as exhibited by Sonja is explored later in this chapter.

7.2.3 Followers and followership

As well as being influenced by role models, the three women were themselves role models to others and they developed a following as a result of their leadership. Katene (2010) defines role models as people who followers use as a reference point or an anchor to guide their behaviour. Katene (2010) states that "it is clear that good followership creates good leadership. That is, without people who are willing to follow there would be no opportunity for anyone to exercise leadership" (p. 13). Although followership suggests deference to authority, this is not necessarily the case. Followership can be created from supportive and caring roles and relationships, such as parenting rather than necessarily from positional leadership (Liu et al., 2020). This is illustrated by Kiripuai when she is described in the Ngāti Raukawa Waitangi Tribunal Oral and Traditional History Report as "a key figure helping provide kai to everyone and patiently teaching the mokopuna" (Luke, 2019, p. 487). Wirihana (2012) states that "elders in the Māori community sustained immense responsibilities within their whānau, especially with regard to teaching and nurturing children" (p. 194).

Although Connie was estranged from her son, he acknowledged that "the whole political thing was influenced primarily by my mother and it's gone on to influence my life forever" (personal communication, interview with Llew Summers by Connie's grandson, John Summers for North and South article, 20 April 2017, p. 1). He went on to say that "I've had a lot of criticism over the years and it doesn't really mean much to me. And that's a strength that I've gained indirectly from both my mother and my father really, certainly by my mother" (personal communication, interview with Llew Summers by Connie's grandson, John Summers for North and South article, 20 April 2017, p. 1). The criticism Llew refers to here is likely in relation to the negative public response to the nude sculptures he created as an artist (Newton & Summers, 2020). Connie's influence on her daughter, Bronwen, was evident when Bronwen was imprisoned for protesting against the Springbok tour. During the interview for my research Bronwen stated that when she was imprisoned she explained to a fellow inmate, "you know I'm extremely lucky, I'm part of a family who totally thinks this is wrong and we need to take action so it's much easier for me to do this". Furthermore, when she was

interviewed in 2017, Bronwen said that "standing up and being counted is one of the most important things in my life. I think it was sort of instilled in us regarding social justice" (personal communication, interview with Bronwen Summers by Connie's grandson, John Summers for North and South article, 20 April 2017, p. 6).

Connie created a strong sense of the importance of social justice in her followers. Bronwen stated that she was given the "gift … [of] … a passion for social justice and politics" from her mother (personal communication, notes provided by Bronwen to Tui, May 11 2019, p. 5). This is consistent with research by Liu et al. (2020) who argue that followership develops when there is a connection between the leader and their moral perspective and the follower. Connie may have had a strong influence on her daughter because they were both women. As Liu et al. (2020) highlights, "gender specific role models may also contribute to leadership development" (p. 7). Connie demonstrated a moral basis in her social justice leadership and this commitment was evident in her daughter Bronwen's beliefs.

7.3 Influence of struggle on social justice leadership

The influence of struggle on social justice leadership was revealed through the women's experiences of poverty and their work ethic.

7.3.1 Poverty

The relationship between the women's leadership and their socio-economic circumstances is complex. Connie and Kiripuai came from very poor economic backgrounds and their impoverished upbringing appears to have helped shape the beliefs that underpin their leadership. Lyman et al. (2012) argue that "poverty can be a motivating force for political action" (p. 185). Liu et al. (2020) agree that poverty-stricken circumstances in childhood in combination with other factors can positively influence leadership development.

Connie raised her children with her husband, John, on a low income. However, this material disadvantage was not the dominant theme in her children's childhood recollections. Her daughter, Bronwen, stated that she was "personally really thankful and feels quite privileged to have been brought up in such a rich family as ours" (personal communication, notes provided by Bronwen to Tui, May 11 2019, p. 5). Connie's experiences of growing up in poverty and raising her children in impoverished circumstances were very similar to Kiripuai's. In childhood, Kiripuai had very few material possessions; however, Margie Peerless recalled that Kiripuai described herself and was described by her sister, Rakera, as "very spoilt" as a

child. This reflects the Māori worldview that people and whanaungatanga are more important than possessions and that children are taonga (Pere, 1997). These same values are evidenced in Kiripuai's actions. Carkeek (2020) stated:

> [Kiripuai] treated everyone like they were her grandchildren because the grandchildren weren't there physically, but that didn't matter because everyone else was there and so you were her mokopuna she would say. Everyone became hers and you were all treated like that.

I cannot say unequivocally that Connie's and Kiripuai's experience of poverty motivated them to have strong social justice views and that this directly impacted on their leadership. However, it is clear that these two women experienced poverty and that they both went on to demonstrate leadership against injustice. In Connie's case, it was leadership in the pacifist and anti-apartheid arenas and in Kiripuai's case, it was cultural leadership.

Albeit via different routes, the three women developed class consciousness and awareness of injustices that were reflected in their subsequent social justice leadership activities. Sonja came from a middle-class family where politics were commonly discussed in her childhood years. However, she experienced marginalisation due to being fostered out at a young age and because her mother publicly disowned her when the family was socialising with wealthy relatives (Davies, 1987a). Sonja observed unemployed people during the 1930s' economic depression and challenged her mother who labelled the unemployed as lazy (Davies, 1987a). Kiripuai descended from a tohunga family and tohunga were revered and considered leaders in te ao Māori (Katene, 2010). Connie was raised in a household that politicians visited and where politics were regularly discussed (Ansley, 1994). Therefore, the three women's various childhood experiences, combined with their families' status in their communities, appear to have supported the development of their social justice leadership.

7.3.2 Work ethic

Connie, Kiripuai and Sonja demonstrated a strong work ethic in their social justice leadership which appears to reflect generational influences. For Connie and Kiripuai, their impoverished upbringing intersected with their strong work ethic. There appeared to be insufficient funds in both Connie and Kiripuai's families to buy leisure through paid help. When Ernie described his working life during his time raising a family to his son Fred in 1940, he said that "It was a time of hard work. No pleasure" (Summers, 2019, p. 9). Therefore, having a work ethic was compulsory in their family environments in order for the labour (including

domestic labour) to be completed. Although there were commonalities in the genesis of their work ethic there were also variations in the origins of the work ethic for the three women.

Connie attributed her propensity for hard work to her parents from whom she had inherited a "protestant work ethic" (Summers, 2009, January 3, p. 1). Both of her parents were of English and Welsh ancestry and as she was fond of asserting, "of peasant stock" (Summers, 2009, January 3, p. 1). Connie was a grandchild of working-class immigrants to Aotearoa and her father worked as a forestry labourer in north Canterbury. The work ethic Connie refers to reflects the view that could have been passed down from her grandfather to her father. Immigrants to Aotearoa from Britain who worked on the land as Ernie's father Thomas did in the 1870s and 1880s "prided themselves on working extraordinarily hard" (King, 2003, p. 230). Connie was particularly proud of, and heavily influenced by, her father, Ernie. Ernie worked as a labourer and after a day's work biked approximately 60 kilometres on shingle roads from Oxford to Christchurch to attend political meetings (Hunter, 1982).

Having a strong work ethic seemed to be important to Connie and was an integral part of her identity. She demonstrated her commitment to social justice causes, such as pacifism through her work. For example, when she was in prison, Connie chose to undertake strenuous outside work, rather than working inside repairing men's Army putties. Connie followed her parents' examples and also passed the importance of a work ethic onto her children (Summers, 2009, January 3, p. 1). Leroy et al. (2015) argue that without followership, as is the case for Connie's children, there is no leadership. Evidence that Connie instilled the importance of a work ethic in her children is reflected in a statement her daughter Bronwen made. When referring to her siblings, Bronwen stated that "We learned how to work hard in the garden and the house. I think we are all still hard workers" (personal communication, notes provided by Bronwen to Tui, May 11 2019, p. 5).

Kiripuai followed her mother's strong work ethic and for both of them, their work was situated in religion and te ao Māori. Although Connie and Sonja had affiliations to religious denominations when they were younger, these affiliations were evident in their leadership in a different way from Kiripuai. For example, the protestant work ethic Connie referred to inheriting from her parents is associated with the idea that through hard work each person can improve their individual circumstances (Kirby, 2019). This contrasts with the collective model of leadership reflected in Kiripuai's actions. Rāhapa instilled in Kiripuai a strong commitment to service. Kiripuai's leadership by putting others before herself was consistent with Rāhapa

and her own religious beliefs. For example, during her annual Christmas holiday Kiripuai cared and cooked for the disadvantaged children of the Catholic parish. The role of religion in shaping the women's leadership is referred to further in Section 7.4.

Kiripuai's commitment to iwi, hapū, marae, whānau and Māori education reflects the "higher purpose" that is intrinsic to Māori leadership (Spiller et al., 2015, p. 81). Jahnke (2000) states that "the ethic of hard physical work particularly for the collective good of the whānau remains an important value in Māori society" (p. 25). Te Waari Carkeek outlined that after Kiripuai had worked a full day at the clothing factory, "she came over to Raukawa marae and worked till the early hours of the morning, went home, went to sleep, and then came back early in the morning. Basically that's the way they rolled". Māori leadership, as demonstrated by Kiripuai, recognised and prioritised the wellbeing of the collective over that of the individual (Katene, 2010). Her actions were consistent with the leadership model proposed by Ruwhiu and Elkin (2016), who support a model of Māori and leadership as service that combines the leader value of community with the Māori leader value of wairuatanga; that is a "conscious and genuine action for the holistic health of the community" (p. 315).

Sonja's leadership appears to have been less influenced by te ao Māori than Kiripuai's as Sonja did not discover her whakapapa until later in life. The origin of Sonja's work ethic emanated from her personal experiences of injustice. Else (2010) states that "Sonja Davies's own experiences of the conflicts and contradictions women faced formed the basis of her deep understanding and commitment to change" (p. 3). Sonja used her personal experiences to influence change for others. She demonstrated her strong work ethic when she worked in multiple unpaid roles in the community between 1955 and 1967. This same work ethic was evident after she re-entered the paid workforce in 1968. After starting in a union advocacy role, she reached the top echelons of union leadership and then forged a political career. Sonja's colleague, Graham Kelly, commented that, when he and Sonja worked in Parliament (between 1987 and 1993), "it was incredibly stressful and … the long hours were a real killer". The three women had a strong work ethic which is consistent with research that a heavy workload is a characteristic of social justice leadership (Knowles, 2007; Lyman et al., 2012). Furthermore, given that much of their work was unpaid, the primary motivation for their work did not appear to be financial reward.

7.4 Influence of mana wahine on social justice leadership

The women's social justice leadership was influenced by whakapapa, and manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and kaitiakitanga.

7.4.1 Whakapapa

Whakapapa is central in the Māori world and is a key element of mana wahine (Pihama, 2001). Pihama (2001) states that "mana wahine is an assertion of our intrinsic mana as descendants of our tūpuna as holders and maintainers of whakapapa" (p. 234). Kiripuai viewed her whakapapa as a gift and she understood its value. She said, "I think in every way how blessed we were because if my mother wasn't the sort of person that she was, I wouldn't have known who was going to tell me about my history" (Cody, 1994, p. 24). L Pihama et al. (2019) explain that in te ao Māori, "passing down historical knowledge is a practice that aligns to our desire and need to understand our past in order to locate ourselves in the present and shape our dreams for our future" (p. 143). Knowing your whakapapa or "genealogical ties" is very important in the Māori world and is associated with security, a sense of belonging and a strong identity (Pere, 1997, p. 26). For Kiripuai, knowing her whakapapa as told to her by Rāhapa appears to have provided her with the strength and resilience needed to exercise leadership.

Similarly, when Sonja learned about her Māori ancestry and that she was from Kai Tahu iwi, she made a link between identity and security. After the whānau reunion where she learned of her ancestry, she stated that the reunion was the beginning of her self-awareness and that "she never felt so secure as she did that weekend" (Davies, 1990b, p. 1). After initially being upset that she had been denied this knowledge of her heritage, she stated that she "then became excited and somehow felt a sense of identity that was to change my life" (Davies, 1987a, p. 173). She learned the importance of identity for supporting her leadership. She advocated for others, particularly children, to have a strong sense of self (Davies, 1990b), stating that "I've seen with my own family the importance of self-worth. If you start them off secure and confident they can do anything" (Davies, 1990b, p. 2). This is consistent with the whakatauki, 'tangata ākona ki te kāinga, tū ki te marae, tau ana' which means 'a person who is taught at home will stand with confidence on the marae'. The importance of knowing your whakapapa is consistent with the leadership literature regarding the role of identity and cultural resilience (Tapiata et al., 2020; Te Awekotuku, 1991).

7.4.2 Manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and kaitiakitanga

Kiripuai's mother and Kiripuai demonstrated manaakitanga. Kiripuai's experiences during her childhood where she observed Rāhapa demonstrating manaakitanga, such as hosting people for cups of tea when this was rationed appears to have influenced Kiripuai in adulthood. Kiripuai practised manaakitanga in her whānau, hapū, iwi, and marae activities by preparing and serving kai and welcoming people onto the marae with karanga. Kiripuai's philosophy as stated by Carkeek that she "hated meanness" reflected her belief in the importance of manaakitanga. Although Kiripuai had a low income and lived very frugally, her mokopuna thought she was wealthy because of her generosity towards them. As a demonstration of manaakitanga, Māori often go without things to ensure that their manuhiri are fed and healthy. Kiripuai's generosity to her grandchildren reflected manaakitanga and the Māori worldview that "children are the greatest legacy the world community has" (Pere, 1997, p. 4).

Kiripuai's preference to live a non-material existence is reflected in her statement that, despite not having modern appliances such as, an automatic washing machine, she was "quite satisfied" (Aomarere, 1991, p. 12). This is indicative of the fact that, in te ao Māori, "human needs, the human element, are more important than material possessions" (Pere, 1997, p. 6). Kiripuai's actions and preference for human connection over material possessions are also a reflection of aroha and whanaungatanga, which Pere (1997) describes as, "the strong bond that influences the way one lives and reacts to his/her kinship groups, people generally, the world, the universe" (p. 26).

All three women appear committed to contributing to future generations. In te ao Māori, this is known as kaitiakitanga. According to Liu et al. (2020), creating a legacy is an important characteristic of leadership. From a lifespan leadership perspective, the "legacy-making stage" is generally practised in late adulthood, at over 60 years of age (Liu et al., 2020, p. 9). All three women were involved in social justice activities in late adulthood and demonstrated a commitment to social justice which would impact on future generations. Eldad and Benatov (2018) believe that family members can play an influential role in shaping leadership behaviours. For example, in 1978 and 1979, Sonja led union advocacy to adopt a bill of rights for working women called the Working Women's Charter. When a union advocate advised Sonja that the charter had been rejected by the New Zealand Educational Institute (the primary school teachers' union), Sonja vowed to push on. She said that "it's for our grandchildren or great-grandchildren" (Cahill & Dann, 1991, p. 93). Sonja's commitment to kaitiakitanga was eventually rewarded. In 1980, Aotearoa's largest union, the Federation of Labour, adopted the

Working Women's Charter. After the charter was introduced, it improved the employment conditions for thousands of women in paid employment throughout Aotearoa (Davies, 1997).

7.5 Influence of social norms on social justice leadership

Four aspects of social norms were revealed: independence, generational contexts (including religion and gender), resilience, and temperament and beliefs.

7.5.1 Independence

The three women demonstrated independence of thought in their actions and the choices they made. Exercising this independence and leadership in the contexts that the women grew up in reflects a strength of character, particularly in relation to gender norms of this time in history. As stated elsewhere in this thesis, there were significant changes in the role of women in the 1960s, 70s and 80s (Brookes, 2016; Cahill & Dann, 1991). The three women resisted these social norms in their beliefs and their actions. They appear to have been comfortable taking a different perspective from others. This is consistent with research that identifies independence and independent thinking as important characteristics of women's leadership (Denzongpa & Nichols, 2020).

While Kiripuai came from a collective-based culture, she still exercised independence in her personal and professional life. As a sole parent, she "didn't have an easy time of it" but chose not to marry. The marriage statistics for 1946—the year that Kiripuai's daughter, Ariana, was born—show that both the rate and number of marriages were the highest on record (Gilchrist, 1950). This was due to thousands of marriageable servicemen returning from overseas after World War II (Gilchrist, 1950). Unlike many sole parents, Kiripuai had the security of a home that Rāhapa left her when she died. Therefore, as Ariana reports, she was not dependent on a husband for this. Irrespective of her reasons, Kiripuai exercised a strong sense of independence by making the choice not to marry. Kiripuai also asserted her independence in her work on the marae. As Carkeek (2020) stated, it was:

> no sweat for her to tell people how to behave on the marae. If people got up and weren't dressed properly, she would tell them to get around the back because you're dressed for the kitchen, you're not dressed for the marae. (p. 12)

Sonja demonstrated strong independence in her personal and professional life. Sonja chose to keep her child, conceived with an American soldier, when this was socially shunned (Preston, 2005). It is also likely that having an illegitimate child affected her. Stirling (1993)

states about Sonja, “Sonja was illegitimate and then suffered because she had an illegitimate baby herself-and not just an illegitimate baby, but an American soldier’s illegitimate baby” (p.24).

When her mother asked her how she would cope as a single parent, she was adamant that she would, and she did. Sonja demonstrated considerable independence when she simultaneously managed her parenting responsibilities, her health challenges due to contracting tuberculosis around this time and her leadership commitments in the community (Davies, 1987a). Furthermore, Sonja worked at a senior executive level within the male-dominated union environment. Her former colleague, Graham Kelly described the environment as being almost exclusively male:

> when I was involved in the late 60s and early 70s if you went to a union meeting or National meeting of the Federation of Labour, and you stood at the back of the hall, you could only see about two women. The rest were men.

Although Connie didn’t consider herself a feminist, she advocated for women’s rights and succeeded in achieving change on several occasions. For example, due to her actions, women were able to join a formerly male-only organisation, the Conscientious Objector Fellowship. Similarly, when she was in prison, she successfully advocated for women to receive their full mail allowance rather than just part of it as had previously been the case. Both Connie and Sonja chose to take action on causes they strongly supported when a court conviction was the likely outcome. This aligns with Rapp (2002), who stated that “leaders for social justice … resist, dissent, rebel, subvert, possess oppositional imaginations and are committed to transforming oppressive and exploitative social relations” (p. 226).

7.5.2 Generational contexts

The women’s stories/pūrākau suggest there were specific generational contexts that influenced and moulded them and their leadership. For example, they all lived through the economic depression of the 1930s, World War II, the second-wave feminist movement and the Māori cultural renaissance of the 1960s to the 1980s, and they at various life stages held religious beliefs. Kiripuai was also greatly affected at a young age by the death of two close family members during the Spanish flu pandemic. This section synthesises some of the ways in which the social, cultural and historical contexts shaped the three women and their leadership.

Although he was writing from an American perspective and with a focus on World War II veterans, Brokaw (1998) called the children born during the period of the 1900s to the 1920s— the period when Kiripuai, Sonja and Connie were born—the "greatest generation" (p. 1). This generation lived through the economic depression and World War II, and was characterised by the qualities of personal responsibility, humility and a strong work ethic. Rogne (2010) reinforced these claims from a pacifist perspective. Kiripuai, Sonja and Connie demonstrated these characteristics in their social justice leadership.

The three women lived during a social, historical and cultural time that involved much change to the role of females. In spite of the changing context associated with the second-wave feminist movement and the opportunities that opened up for women, all three women balanced their social justice leadership commitments with domestic responsibilities. This was an 'accepted' burden for women at the time. For example, in the 1960s, when Sonja raised the difficulty of juggling professional commitments with managing domestic responsibilities with the Prime Minister, Walter Nash, she was told that "it's rather unfair but that's how life is" (Davies, 1987a, p. 122). He reinforced the view held by men that being female was inherently unfair, but this was the reality.

However, each woman demonstrated unique leadership qualities in spite of the gender norms. For example, over their lifetimes, it gradually became accepted that women could work in paid employment and raise children alone. Kiripuai and Sonja were unique in their resistance of social expectations *at the same time as* having leadership responsibilities and without support. Kiripuai exercised her leadership without the support of her parents, both of whom had died. Once her husband, Charlie died, Sonja exercised her leadership without his support. Connie's unique action involved publicly expressing anti-war sentiments that resulted in her being the only woman imprisoned in Aotearoa during World War II for doing so.

The influence of religion was evident in the upbringing of each woman. The number of people identifying as Christian peaked in the post-World War II period but then declined, along with an increase in the number of people reporting they have no religious beliefs (Pratt, 2016). Kiripuai's religion was a very important influence in her leadership. Her daughter, Ariana, recalled that, during the 1950s and 60s, Kiripuai "was deeply, deeply, deeply religious. The highest accolade you could offer the church was one of yours. She was grooming me to take the cloth on".

Connie's religious commitments were not as clearly evident. She was raised in an agnostic household but became a member of the Christian Pacifist Society in her adolescent years. At that time, she stated that "Whatever I believe in religiously I would still be a pacifist" (Glasgow, 1989, p. 4). Sonja also referred to the order and ritual that religion offered her when she attended a high Anglican church (Davies, 1987a) against her parents' wishes. There is no reference made by Sonja in adulthood regarding the influence of religion on her leadership. While each woman's story revealed that religion was part of their lives, in the case of Connie and Sonja it is not clear how much their leadership was influenced by their religious beliefs. Some researchers claim that there is a strong link between religious commitments and beliefs, and leadership (Buck et al., 2019; Neumann, 2018).

7.5.3 Resilience

Resilience is an important characteristic of leadership (Liu et al., 2020). Northouse (2016) defines resilience as "the capacity to recover from and adjust to adverse situations. It includes the ability to positively adapt to hardships and suffering" (p. 204). Each woman demonstrated resilience in their social justice leadership when they dealt with resistance from others. This was evident physically (Connie), in the strength of their convictions (Connie and Sonja) and culturally (Kiripuai).

Connie was described by Ansley (1994) as "tiny-but, giving an immediate impression of strength" (p. 26). When government regulations threatened the activities of peace activists during World War II, they continued their activities and "adopted a determined policy of confronting attempts to censor their views" (Coney, 1993, p. 320). Connie was challenged physically, knocked by people and jeered at when she walked down Lambton Quay with anti-war messages (Wilson, 1989). During her imprisonment, she had chilblains on her hands and ears from working outside in cold weather (Ansley, 1994). While Gardner, Avolio, Luthans, et al. (2005) argue that hardship can contribute to resilience, Connie's leadership appears to have both derived from her resilient character and reflected her resilience.

Sonja's courage and reliance seem to have come from the strength of her convictions. Graham Kelly described Sonja's determination in her work in Parliament as she worked "assiduously and constantly" to minimise the Labour Party loss in the 1989 elections. Sonja worked in a male-dominated union environment and demonstrated considerable strength and resolve to achieve what she believed in. Graham Kelly described Sonja as having "a strong, very strong will to get what she wanted". Her determination and fortitude were recognised at

her funeral by the former Prime Minister of New Zealand Helen Clark, who stated that "her personal courage and determination to go on and on were extraordinary attributes" (Taylor, 2005, p. 1).

Kiripuai's resilience was strengthened by her deep knowledge of her whakapapa and knowing where she stood. This is consistent with the views of Te Awekotuku (1991 who states that, as Māori women move forward, their "resilience increases with [their] knowledge; reinforced with a deeper understanding of who [they] are, and whom [they] have come from" (p. 11). Rāhapa raised Kiripuai to be familiar with her identity which established her place to stand and meant that she was comfortable and able to exercise her identity in her Turangawaewae of Ōtaki. Pere (1997) defines Turangawaewae as:

> the courtyard or home area of one's ancestors, where one feels she or he has the right to stand up and be counted. It is the footstool, the place where she or he belongs, where the roots are deep. From this turangawaewae a person can move into any given context, indeed the world, knowing that she or he is sure of her or his identity and is not afraid to make a stand. (p. 50)

7.5.4 Temperament and beliefs

Each woman's temperament seems to have contributed to and influenced her leadership. For example, Kiripuai was headstrong when Rāhapa resorted to punishing her for her behaviour on two occasions even when Rāhapa did not believe in corporal punishment and did not use physical punishment with her other children (p. 11). In later life, Kiripuai described herself as spoilt as a child and she revered her mother (Cody, 1994). Rāhapa and Kiripuai appear to have had a close and complex relationship. Connie described herself as getting on reasonably well with her parents but was more attached to her father than her mother (Hunter, 1982). According to Connie, her mother perceived her as more rebellious than the other three girls in the family and this affected their relationship (Hunter, 1982, p. 5). Sonja described herself as a "precocious child" (Davies, 1987a, p. 12) and "a very rebellious" teenager (Douglas, 2001, p. 35). She stated in an interview that she was at her "most revolutionary" when she was aged 17, and she met and married Lindsay Nathan (Coney, 1982a, p. 12).

The women were unwavering in their convictions. For example, Connie said that "when you believe in a cause you must be uncompromising otherwise there is no cause" (Grant, 1986b, p. 12). Sonja was similarly unwavering in her beliefs when she said that "we can decide which principles are still valid and stick to them come hell or high water" (Davies, 1990a).

Kiripuai's values and her belief in them were evident in her actions. Her leadership was related to whakapapa, education, iwi, hapū, whānau and marae. These connections reflected Kiripuai's leadership focus and responsibilities. Frances (2013) identifies the importance of beliefs and values in leadership and states that an essential quality of a leader is "acting out of sincere and demonstrable conviction and a clear set of values" (p. 26). Although the women and their leadership shared common features, such as independent thinking and a strong belief system, it is evident that very diverse origins and orientations can be fertile grounds for leadership.

7.6 Cost of social justice leadership

There were three main costs of social justice leadership: personal (family relationship) costs, financial costs and loss of civil liberties.

7.6.1 Family relationships

Due to their dedication to social justice causes, each woman experienced difficulties in her relationship with some of her family. Kiripuai juggled single parenting with full-time employment and unpaid work for the iwi, hapū, and marae. Kiripuai's commitments meant that her daughter, Ariana, did not see her very much. Ariana said:

> I didn't actually know her very well because in my childhood she was working all day. She would leave home about 20 to eight, quarter to eight and I would go to school by myself and she would not come back until five. Then, very often she would go away to tangis and stuff.

In 2004, Kiripuai was publicly recognised for her hard work in the community by being awarded the Ta Kingi Ihaka Award. However, this came at a significant personal cost by having limited time for herself and for Ariana (Williams, 2010; Wirihana, 2012). Williams (2010) identifies balance as one of five goals for leadership and emphasises the need to ensure wellbeing is prioritised. It appears that Kiripuai's social justice leadership came at a cost to her individual and family wellbeing.

Sonja's social justice commitments contributed to tensions in her family relationships. For example, her parents were humiliated when Sonja was televised being arrested during a protest against the closure of the Nelson railway in the upper South Island. This happened on the eve of her sister, Beverley's wedding, to which she was no longer welcome. Sonja said that the railway protest "personally cost me a lot since because of it I didn't get to my sister's wedding and my parents didn't speak to me for two years" (Coney, 1982c, p. 31).

Sonja experienced the intersection of the personal costs of leadership and her gender when she had to choose between family responsibilities and social justice commitments. For example, she received a scholarship in 1971 to travel overseas to study social services in the UK, Sweden and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. On the night before she left, Sonja stated that she:

> felt torn between advancing my chosen field of interest and staying home to care for my family: the classic female bind. All the same, I was aware that I was embarking on a journey that could change my whole life - and did. (Davies, 1987a, p. 182)

Connie's beliefs also challenged her relationship with members of her family. Family members described her as unbending (Ansley, 1994). While Connie described herself as "black and white," she also questioned whether her family was also unbending given that they seemingly could not understand her perspective (Glasgow, 1989). Connie's father, Ernie, was proud that Connie was prepared to make the sacrifice needed to support the cause; in other words, follow your beliefs at all costs. This was consistent with Connie's philosophy. "I'd go to the stake for my beliefs; it doesn't matter that they've hurt me a great deal" (Ansley, 1994, p. 26).

Thomson (1993) warns that there are risks in uncritically following the beliefs of family members from previous generations. He states:

> I believe we have an undue preoccupation with the past. We all value our cultural heritage, but we need to remember that it encompasses the prejudices and superstitions of our forebears as well as their accumulated skills and knowledge and sometimes, wisdom. An excess of respect for any set of ideas or beliefs, no matter where they originate, can result in an unquestioning rigidity of thought. (p. 13)

Connie clung to her beliefs and causes. Although she was proud that she had inherited strengths from her ancestors, this was a double-edged sword. While it provided her with resilience, it also caused difficulties for her.

It is clear that the three women chose to pursue their social justice commitments at a cost to personal relationships. They demonstrated a strong commitment to their communities at the expense of their own family and its needs. This reinforces the claim of Ehrich et al. (2012) that leaders committed to serving others, "place the needs and priorities of their communities before their own needs" (p. 36).

7.6.2 Financial costs

Sonja experienced some financial costs from her commitment to social justice. For example, when Graham Kelly offered Sonja a job at the Shop Employees' Union in 1973, as Kelly stated that "she dropped two thousand in pay a year which was a lot in those days to come and do the job". Graham had asked Sonja because he knew she was committed to advancing the cause of women and the majority of shop employees were women (Davies, 1987a).

Kiripuai also experienced a financial cost due to her leadership. After she retired at 65, she "worked just as hard or for longer hours for no money at all for the iwi, and for aroha" (Aomarere, 2002, p. 9).

There was no evidence in the archival records that Connie suffered from the loss of wages during her time in prison, although this might have been expected. Rather, her statement that she "had no regrets about what she had done and would have been prepared to do it all again" (Hunter, 1982, p. 16) suggests that acting according to her beliefs outweighed any associated financial costs. Connie also had a supportive family, which she identified as being pivotal in enabling her to make this stance (personal communication, interviews undertaken with Connie Summers April, May, June 1982 by Hilary Hunter for Life History Project Soci 301, Department of Sociology, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, NZ). Records suggest that the family support was philosophical.

7.6.3 Impact on civil liberties

The loss of civil liberties as a result of their social justice commitments was most evident for Connie. Her experience of being imprisoned for publicly expressing her opposition to war reflected the social, cultural, political and historical context. During World War II, many human rights were eroded and "freedom of speech is always an early casualty in war" (Taylor, 1986a, p. 113).

Connie's actions within this context reflect the strength of her beliefs. There was political and public opposition to the pacifist views she expressed and there were serious consequences for her actions in the form of a three-month prison sentence, which involved primitive conditions and a punishing work regime (Glasgow, 1989). In prison, "the inmates worked a 5 1/2-day week, rising early for a wash at the cold tap, and then breakfast of porridge and two slices of bread. After this, they were locked up again until work started at 8 am" (Hunter, 1982, p. 15).

Connie was recognised for the courage and leadership she demonstrated in supporting peace. In 2002, she was presented with the inaugural Christian Pacifist Society Peace City Award by Garry Moore, the Mayor of Christchurch. In the letter that accompanied the award, he stated:

> now, more than ever, we need to stand and be counted in our desire for peace, and it is people such as you who have shown us the way. I was so pleased to be the one to present you with the award on behalf of the people of Christchurch. (letter from Garry Moore 17 December 2002)

There is no sense that Connie sought this recognition or was motivated by this acknowledgement. Her commitment to social justice was prioritised over any costs she experienced as reflected in her statement, "I am not sorry for one instant over what I have done! difficult as it has been on occasions" (Summers, 1941, August 3, p. 1).

7.7 Summary

In this chapter I have synthesised the five important themes that emerged from the cross-narrative analysis of the origins and orientations of the three women's social justice leadership and discussed these in relation to existing research. I have drawn out the similarities and differences in the origins and orientations of the women's social justice leadership.

All three women were influenced by role models in their leadership. Familial role models were important throughout their life times and particularly during their childhood. Non-familial role models were particularly influential during their adolescence. Adolescence appears to have been a particularly important period when leadership developed. As well as being influenced by other people, a key part of the women's leadership was that they developed followers. That is, the three women were role models to others.

The women's personal struggles and hardships seem to have shaped and reflected the challenges in their leadership. The leadership of Connie and Kiripuai appear to have been influenced by challenges, such as poverty in childhood. Using mana wahine from a methodological and practical perspective to examine these two Māori women's leadership, it seems that whakapapa and a strong sense of identity were critical for providing strength to them in their leadership and they demonstrated manaakitanga and whanaungatanga. All three women showed a commitment to the legacy of future generations.

Social norms, particularly in relation to gender and generational influences, were evident in the women's stories/pūrākau and in their leadership. The women both reflected and resisted some of the norms of their gender and generation. By undertaking their leadership activities, they experienced a range of costs, including negative impacts on family relationships (all women) financial costs (Sonja and Kiripuai), and loss of her civil liberties (Connie).

The three women were: highly conscious of the inequities experienced by others and they acted to address these inequities; exercised independence of thought; demonstrated resilience; and their values, beliefs and unique temperaments were reflected in their social justice leadership activities.

The next chapter outlines some conclusions that can be drawn from my research.

Mahia i runga i te rangimarie me te ngākau māhaki

With a peaceful mind and respectful heart, we will always get the best results

Chapter 8

Conclusions

This insider research investigated and has made visible the stories/pūrākau of three female social justice leaders whose stories/pūrākau have not been told in this way before. Using a kaupapa Māori, feminist and mana wahine framework, my research revealed that the women's leadership was oriented towards a range of social justice areas and featured role models, struggle, mana wahine, social norms and cost. Examples of other overarching influences that shaped the women's leadership were context, gender, generational effects and religion. Some paradoxes and contradictions in the origins of their leadership that were explored in the women's nuanced stories/pūrākau in Chapters 4 to 6 and synthesised and examined further in Chapter 7 are referred to in this chapter in terms of the importance of these findings for the present and for future research.

This chapter includes four sections. The first section outlines the key conclusions that can be drawn from my research; the second includes my reflections on my research with a particular focus on methodological aspects. The third section acknowledges the limitations of this study and summarises areas requiring further investigation. The fourth section briefly explores the implications of my research for social justice leadership policy and practice. The final reflection of four reflexive moments throughout this thesis that capture some of the methodological tensions in my research is placed at the end of this chapter

8.1 Key conclusions

The key conclusions from my research are based on the three research questions as stated in Chapter 3:

1. What do three women's stories/pūrākau tell us about the origins and orientations of women's leadership for social justice?
2. What are the similarities and differences in the origins and orientations of the women's leadership for social justice?
3. What do the research findings suggest for the development of women's leadership for social justice in the current context?

First, my research findings tell us several things about the origins of women's leadership for social justice. The social, historical, cultural and political contexts, including religion,

gender and generational factors were strong influences in shaping the women and their leadership. My research reinforces many themes from existing research on women's social justice leadership and identifies several new themes. As outlined in Chapter 2, existing themes on the origins of women's social justice leadership include: whakapapa and identity; te Māori and tikanga; mana wahine; family; resilience; and role models and followership. My research identified key factors that influenced the women's leadership were role models, struggle, mana wahine, social norms and the cost of social justice leadership. It is clear that complexity and nuance characterise the origins of the women's leadership for social justice.

The analysis of these women's narratives across different social justice contexts offers unique insights into the orientations and origins of their leadership. My research findings illustrate that the women demonstrated leadership across a wide range of areas. These were specific to each woman and reflected the influences that had shaped their leadership. The women demonstrated leadership in: iwi, hapū, whānau, marae, education for Māori; pacifism and anti-apartheid; and union leadership, peace, early childhood education and Parliament.

Second, there were similarities in the origins of the women's leadership for social justice. Two notable similarities emerged regarding role models across the women's narratives: familial role models influenced the women throughout their lives in both positive and negative ways whereas non-familial role models influenced the women during adolescence more than at any other life stage. Moreover, these role models had specific qualities which influenced the women. For example, in the case of Connie, she connected with one role model, Norman Bell, due to him heading the No More War Movement in Christchurch.

As well as following their role models and serving others in their leadership roles, the three women also attracted followers though being positive role models themselves (Gardner, Avolio, Luthans, et al., 2005). From a social justice perspective, the followers varied for all three women. Kiripuai's followers were iwi members. Sonja's followers were women in everyday society who were inspired and motivated by her actions. Connie's followers were her children.

The two Māori women were similar in terms of the origins of their leadership. Knowledge of their whakapapa and the sense of identity that this whakapapa knowledge supported was crucial in enabling them to carry out their leadership. Sonja stated that, when she learned about her whakapapa at 46 years old at a family reunion, it was the beginning of her self-awareness and "she never felt so secure as she did that weekend" (Davies, 1990b, p. 1). After initially

being upset that she had been denied this knowledge of her heritage, Sonja stated that she "then became excited and somehow felt a sense of identity that was to change my life" (Davies, 1987a, p. 173). This reflects that knowing our whakapapa and our position in life relative to our tūpuna is one of the most important characteristics in developing Māori leaders. This reinforces previous research findings that knowing one's identity or whakapapa (Bishop, 1996; Durie, 2001) has significance for Māori, in giving a sense of security and resilience which in turn appears to support leadership, particularly social justice leadership (Forster et al., 2015; Ruru, 2016).

All women experienced a significant workload in undertaking their leadership, but the origins of the work ethic required to exercise leadership varied for the three women. Connie's work ethic derived from her parents, whereas Sonja's work ethic originated from personal experiences of injustices. Kiripuai's work ethic was influenced by her mother and her commitment to whanau, iwi, and hapū reflects te ao Māori where the importance of the collective presides over the needs of the individual (Henry & Wolfgramm, 2018). The cultural context was also evidenced in the cases of Kiripuai and Sonja with manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and kaitiakitanga. These findings suggest that the origins of social justice leadership vary and that culture influences the values and practice of social justice leadership.

There were gender norms at play in the development of the women's leadership. They all juggled domestic responsibilities with their leadership commitments. For women growing up during the time these three women did, there were "competing trends in the interwar years- an emphasis on motherhood and the advent of the 'modern women'' (Brookes, 2016, p. 5). Given the multiple responsibilities they juggled, it is even more significant that the women led in the ways they did. In Sonja's case, the inequity she experienced as a woman juggling domestic and professional responsibilities was recognised by the then Prime Minister, Walter Nash, as being "rather unfair". She was also told by Nash, "that's just the way it is" (Davies, 1987a, p. 122). It was reinforced to Sonja that being female was inherently unfair but this was the reality.

Third, my research findings suggest that initiatives for developing women's leadership for social justice in the current context need to reflect the complexity and nuances that my research has revealed. As well as the themes that emerged from my research, there are other overarching influences that need consideration, such as the social, historical and political context. This study joins the existing body of work from Māori scholars, such as Durie (2001),

Tuhiwai Smith (2021) and Pere (1997) who have emphasised identity as an important aspect of leader development.

8.2 Reflections on research methodology and outcomes

In addition to the contributions to the literature that my research provides, this project included specific methodological characteristics that could inform the design of future social justice leadership research. As was illustrated in Chapter 7, the findings from my study offer a more nuanced and detailed perspective than previous research on key themes relating to the social justice leadership of these three women. This is one of the benefits of using a narrative inquiry approach in which "the closer, more holistic attention to the narrator's perspective can provide extremely rich insights" (Taylor et al., 2016, p. 21). Furthermore, the weaving of reflexive moments throughout this thesis illustrates and acknowledges the messiness of researching from an insider perspective across the areas of feminist theory, mana wahine and women's social justice leadership. These reflexive moments make visible some of the tensions inherent in this approach as documented in the reflexive journal.

My research methodology, including my position as a Māori researcher investigating the stories/pūrākau of my tūpuna, reflects kaupapa Māori research principles of being "by Māori, for Māori" (Ormond et al., 2006, p. 177). In addition, "Māori women have been absent from the way that research about Māori has been conducted" (L. T. Smith, 2000, p. 240). For example, it would not have been the same if I had researched and written about Kiripuai and Connie (my grandmothers) as someone outside of the whānau, nor would it have been the same if I had researched Kiripuai and Sonja (two Māori women) as a Pākehā. There are risks involved in non-Māori undertaking research on Māori, although L. T. Smith (2000) and others (Pihama, 2001; G. H. Smith, 2000; Te Awekotuku, 1991) provide examples of the ways in which kaupapa Māori research can involve non-Māori researchers.

My research, while focusing on Māori, also had a focus on gender. The use of mana wahine from a methodological and practical perspective has enabled me, as a Māori woman, to define and present the stories/pūrākau of the three women on my terms. My relationship and connection to all three women in my research in various ways and my whakapapa connection to two of the women are fundamental characteristics of kaupapa Māori research (Simmonds, 2019). My research has enabled me to re-present what it has meant to be a Māori and non-Māori woman in the past in Aotearoa from a Kaupapa Māori and mana wahine perspective. My research, particularly its focus on two wāhine Māori, has additional relevance at this time

due to the mana wahine Treaty of Waitangi[5] inquiry that began in 2021 in the Waitangi Tribunal. The mana wahine claim focuses on Māori women and whether they have experienced social, economic, cultural and spiritual discrimination, including in "their access to leadership roles due to breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi" (Te Puni Kōkiri Ministry of Māori Development & Manatū Wāhine Ministry for Women, 2022, p. 1).

Sophisticated and nuanced skills are required to manage the complexities of relationships in indigenous research. Smith (2021) refers further to the importance of trust and the complexities and time involved in gaining and maintaining this, especially when conducting insider research with an indigenous focus. Consequently in my research, sensitivity, care and trust were important, particularly when interviewing elder relatives about confidential and personal issues affecting our tūpuna.

My research has the potential to increase the three women's whānau members' knowledge of their whakapapa. Consistent with kaupapa Māori research where "protocols of respect and practices of reciprocity" are important, the stories/pūrākau of these women have been returned to the people who were interviewed as part of my research and to whānau members of the three women (Tuhiwai Smith, 2021, p. 155). It is further proposed that my research will result in an important contribution to the archives not only in terms of these stories but also the interview transcripts that contributed to them. I have applied and had acceptance from the archivist at the University of Canterbury MacMillan Brown Library, that the interview that was undertaken as part of my research for Connie be deposited into the existing John and Connie Summers collection at the library. Similarly, I have applied to the Alexander Turnbull Library, Oral History and Sound Department for the interviews that were undertaken as part of my research for Sonja and Kiripuai to be added to the archives. Discussions with the Alexander Turnbull library are in progress and it appears likely that the interviews will be deposited into the archives for future use.

From a professional perspective, I have learned about the founder of the organisation I work for, Te Rito Maioha, Early Childhood New Zealand. I have written Sonja's story from a social justice leadership perspective and shared this story with my employer with the intention

[5] The Waitangi Tribunal is a government agency with responsibility for determining whether the Crown has breached the Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The treaty is a document signed in 1840 by representatives of the indigenous Māori of Aotearoa and Pākehā Crown officials.

that the organisation can benefit from this in the future, potentially as part of the organisation's 60th anniversary celebrations in 2023.

While I have been researching and celebrating where these three women stood, this has also been an examination of where I stand. Importantly, as part of my research journey, I have learned an enormous amount about myself and about two women, Kiripuai and Sonja, who play an integral role in my whakapapa. As I have made visible in the reflections in this thesis, undertaking my research has shaped my identity and leadership. I have benefitted from learning about the leadership of these three women. Their narratives have affirmed my belief in the strength of stories/pūrākau and they have taught me about leadership and the importance of role models, personal struggle, resilience, resisting social norms and costs in shaping social justice leadership. Readers of this thesis may also gain insights about their own or others leadership and readers may use these insights in meeting the challenges of the 21st century and beyond.

Finally, an important outcome of my research is the celebration and appreciation of these female leaders' stories/pūrākau that have never been told before in this unique way. To support women's leadership now and in the future we need to make visible stories/pūrākau of female leaders from the past, as well as provide a taonga for family and whānau (Matata-Sipu, 2021). The stories/pūrākau offer opportunities for future research. In her 1999 seminal book, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, and again in the 2021 edition, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2021) outlines 25 projects which are underpinned by a commitment to social justice by indigenous communities. Storytelling is included in Tuhiwai Smith's (2021) list and constitutes one of the important ways indigenous communities can contribute to and research their future. Tuhiwai Smith (2021) elaborates:

> for many Indigenous writers stories are ways of passing down the beliefs and values of a culture in the hope that the new generations will treasure them and pass the story down further. The story and the story teller both serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people and the people with the story. (p. 166)

8.3 Limitations and areas for further investigation

There were constraints on the depth and breadth of investigation that could be explored due to limitations on words, time and the scope of my research. For example, Connie's and

Sonja's involvement in opposing the Vietnam war was not investigated. While this did not resonate as a key theme in my research, it would be an interesting topic for future research.

There are inconsistencies in how the three women's stories/pūrākau were developed. For example, because Sonja's whānau, husband and children have passed away and I do not know any other family members, I assembled her story/pūrākau based on archival materials and the use of interview material from her ex-colleague. Whereas, in comparison, Kiripuai's and Connie's stories/pūrākau were developed with the assistance of interview material from whānau members.

My research was undertaken with the understanding that it was linked to my tūpuna. However, discovering the stories/pūrākau of my paternal and maternal grandmothers has provided me with unanticipated rewards. My identity has been immeasurably shaped by knowledge of the background of two of my tūpuna. The progression of my journey in understanding my identity and my acknowledgement of the importance of my learning is illustrated throughout the four reflections at the end of chapters 1, 3, 5 and 8 of this thesis. This is consistent with the writings of Tuhiwai Smith (2021), who argues that Māori use tūpuna for guiding the future and that life rituals are conveyed through the legacy of previous generations, oral narratives and stories/pūrākau. Despite the challenges associated with this work, the immense benefits and self-knowledge I have gained from this study leads me to recommend that some aspect of self-study is included in future research, particularly kaupapa Māori research (Whitinui, 2014).

During my research, I reflected on the relationship between research and activism. Tuhiwai Smith (2021) argues that "there is no easy or natural relationship between activism and research" (p. 273). My research was about strong female social justice leaders and being involved in the process provoked questions for me about my role in social justice leadership. A conference participant gave me an important insight after a conference presentation on my research. In November 2020, I presented the pūrākau of Kiripuai at the 9th Biennial International Indigenous Research Online conference. During the facilitated discussion after the presentation I expressed that I was more reserved than Kiripuai, Sonja and Connie and that I was uncomfortable at being as openly strident and expressive as the three women I was researching. A conference participant responded that I could contribute on an equal footing with the three women by being a 'quiet activist'. Tuhiwai Smith (2021) states that "the issue of Indigenous knowledge is pivotal for the work of activists and researchers at this moment,

because it is the term or concept that currently embodies most of what remains of Indigenous cultures" (p. 276). Further work using kaupapa Māori methodologies and indigenous knowledge is a crucial area for further investigation that has emerged from my research. My research and my research findings highlight the importance of further leadership research focused on the early childhood years. Furthermore my research provides further evidence of the value of narrative approaches to understanding the sources of leadership and the implications of this for the development and support of leaders.

This investigation of three detailed narratives of female social justice leaders in Aotearoa has limited generalisability due to the small number of stories used in the methodology and the unique social, cultural, political and historical contexts in which the women grew up. For example, the themes that emerged from this analysis cannot necessarily be transferred into other contexts and an analysis of other women's stories may show different themes. Despite these constraints, this study contributes to the literature on women's leadership for social justice as has been outlined in this chapter. Furthermore, the methodological framework, which involved a two-step process of narrative assemblage followed by analysis and synthesis, provides a model for future research.

8.4 Implications for leadership practice and policy

In the growth of future female social justice leaders, policymakers can learn from my research that adolescence is a pivotal life stage for influencing leader values and beliefs. Similarly, from a practical perspective, parents or caregivers and those in an educational setting can use these research findings to inform their practice. Social justice leaders appear to be shaped uniquely by the social, cultural and historical context in combination with personal experience.

This thesis has shown that these three women's domestic lives and caring responsibilities are interwoven with their leadership in ways that is rarely evidenced for men in present day society in Aotearoa or elsewhere in the world. Those aspiring to leadership need to be aware of the cost that leadership can have and to be supported to mitigate those costs, such as the detrimental effects on family relationships. Female social justice leaders may learn from and be supported to examine how their childhood experiences have shaped their beliefs and values in adulthood. Reflection and reflective activities could support the development and understanding of their leadership skills.

As has been outlined in my study and as is evident in this chapter, my research contributes to the literature and has implications for the wider research community. The significance of these research findings is for whānau and family members connected to the three women as well as for future research and researchers investigating women's social justice leadership. The overall place of this thesis highlights complexities and nuances that have not previously been identified in women's social justice leadership narratives. While the individual stories of some female social justice leaders have previously been told (Chamberlain, 2017; Davies, 1987a, 1997; Kedgley, 2021), my research has combined and synthesised the stories of three women in a complex way that has not occured in the past. I have forged new pathways from the methodology that I have developed and utilised in my research and I anticipate that these pathways will provide opportunities for future scholars. This project has hopefully secured a clearer understanding of the important role of these women in our history. My research joins and extends existing academic scholarship that has strived to understand the origins and orientations of women's social justice leadership. The unique and nuanced findings offer insights into women's social justice leadership for policy, practice and future research.

Mate atu he tetekura ara mai he tetekura
When the leaders die, other leaders emerge

Reflection 4

At the beginning of my journey, my research seemed to reflect three aspects of myself. It seemed to reflect firstly my professional identity, secondly my identity as a woman and thirdly myself as a Māori. Although I still agree my research was about my identity, now I would argue that my research is firstly about myself as a Māori, secondly about myself as a woman, and thirdly about my professional identity. At the beginning of my research, I thought that my professional identity was the most significant. However, now that I know my whakapapa, I understand my identity as a Māori is of paramount importance.

From a whakapapa perspective, I have grown as a person in understanding that I descend from a multigenerational line of strong females. This thesis has taught me the responsibility I have to pass on the legacy of my tūpuna in both personal and professional contexts. One thing that has become clear to me from my research is that my fascination with female role models is partly due to not having a mother figure in my family when I was growing up. As a result, many other women became more important to me than they would have if Mum had been

around. This has been interesting, unexpected and useful learning from my perspective. Like Sonja Davies, knowing my whakapapa has given me a sense of security I never appreciated would come from learning about my identity.

As a professional, my research process, including the writing and reflexive journaling, has taught me many things. There are benefits from wallowing as part of the research process as opposed to focusing on efficiencies. Deep insights can come from wallowing. For instance, I wrote an insight in my reflexive journal on the 29th May 2020 that I referred to in Chapter 3. I realised that I interviewed more whānau members for Kiripuai's pūrākau than I did for Connie's and Sonja's stories. This reliance on more oral sources for Kiripuai's pūrākau than the other two women's stories reflects an important value in Te Ao Māori; that oral language is highly prized.

Whānau members who have read this thesis have told me that it has impacted on their thinking. After reading the thesis, my Aunty Bronwen told me that she was surprised when I mooted the idea of this thesis because she did not see Connie as a leader. However, having read the thesis, she could now see Connie as a leader, particularly in the sense of familial leadership as I have discussed in this thesis. Bronwen supports my idea that Connie has passed her beliefs to her children and Connie's children have passed Connie's beliefs to their children (Connie's mokopuna). My eldest sister Ange said that my research made it clear that Connie suffered inside about many things. Ange wrote that she was quietly stunned, sad and grateful after reading this thesis and she reminded me that, as a whanau, we have riches beyond these two strong women as our ancestors. She thinks this thesis honours Connie and Kiripuai in a way that they would be proud of and humbled by.

Reflecting on this thesis from the beginning till now, the following whakatauki resonates, "Kia whakatōmuri te haere mua: Approaching our past with curiosity and courage".

List of References

Primary Sources

Interviews

Aomarere, K. T. (1991, October 30). *Interview with Kiripuai Te Aomarere: Women in World War II* [Interview]. OHInt-0060-13 National Library, Wellington, New Zealand; Unpublished.

Aomarere, K. T. (2002, March 2). *Interview with Georgina Kiripuai Te Aomarere: Otaki oral history project* [Interview]. OHInt-0673-08, National Library, Wellington, New Zealand; Unpublished.

Campbell, R. (2005). *Sedition. The suppression of dissent in World War II New Zealand* R. Campbell; Vangard Films. https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/sedition-2005

Davies, S. (1990b, June 5). *Sonja Davies interview with Tungia Baker* [Interview]. OHT10-0764, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand; Te Reo Irirangi o te Upoko o Te Ika: Sound Recordings.

Davies, S. (1995, May). *Interview by Wendy Dear* [Interview]. OHColl-1098, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand; Unpublished.

Glasgow, N. (1989, n.d). *Neville Glasgow speaking with Connie Summers* [Interview]. Ref 20302, Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision, Wellington, New Zealand; Radio New Zealand Replay Radio.

Summers, C. (1982). *Life history project interview with Connie Summers [audio]* [Interview]. MB 2297; 2397; 2410, Ref FD8738 MacMillan Brown Library, Christchurch, New Zealand; Unpublished.

Summers, C. (1992). *Conscientious objectors of World War II* [Interview]. Ref OHLV-0285, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand; Hautu Productions.

Archival sources (including familial sources)

Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga Wellington. (1875). *'Waitangi' (ship)* (241)[Item ID: R4085456].

Cody, P. (1994). *Interviews with two Kuia* [Diploma of Māori Studies]. Te Wananga o Raukawa, Otaki, New Zealand.

Davies, S. (1987b). *Maiden speech* (Speech. MS Papers 11739-5. Articles and Papers relating to Sonja Davies). Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

Davies, S. (1990a). *Collective letter from Sonja Davies to her friends* [Letter. MS Papers 11739-5. Tapuhi IRN: 980212]. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

Davies, S. (ca. 1982). *Notes for annual prizegiving speech to Waimea College* [Speech. Ref. 2005-093-090. Tapuhi IRN: 980212]. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

Gilling, B. (1995). *Brief history of Ngāti Raukawa of Otaki [commissioned by whānau to mark the occasion of 21st birthday, 21 Sept, Rachel Emere Roper and provide whakapapa to Rachel, Nathan and Victoria Roper].*

Hunter, H. (1982). *Life history project (Connie Summers)*. MacMillan Brown Library Archives (T2016.79). MacMillan Brown Library, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Jones, F. (1940). *Notes compiled on Lillian Ede after her death in 1940 from interview with Ernie Jones.*

Ministry of Industrial Manpower. (1942, December 24). *Letter to Connie regarding non registration under Industrial Manpower Regulations*. John and Connie Summers Papers (MB2297, Ref 74415). MacMillan Brown Library, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Moore, G. (2002). *Letter to Connie Summers from Christchurch Mayor, Garry Moore* John and Connie Summers Papers (MB2297, Ref 74424) MacMillan Brown Library, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Registrar of Births Deaths and Marriages. (1917, September 17). *Te Karaha Aomarere Death Record 9902 pdf*.

Registrar of Births Deaths and Marriages. (1970, April 21). *New Zealand Death Certificate Mary Jane Woodsford Jones*.

Registrar of Births Deaths and Marriages. (2005, June 12). *New Zealand Death Certificate Sonja Margaret Loveday*.

Summers, B. (2009, January 3). *Eulogy*. John and Connie Summers Papers (MB2297, Ref 74415). MacMillan Brown Library, Christchurch, New Zealand. .

Summers, C. (1941, August 3). *Letter from Connie Summers (nee Jones) to Fred Jones, her brother, from prison*. John and Connie Summers Papers (MB2297, Ref74420). MacMillan Brown Library, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Summers, C. (1994). *Mixed papers. Letters: Connie Summers to Di Gregson*. John and Connie Summers papers, supplemental (MB2346, Ref 74654). MacMillan Brown Library, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Biographies and autobiographies

Davies, B. (1993). The corridors of powerlessness. In S. J. Kedgley & M. Varnham (Eds.), *Heading nowhere in a navy blue suit: And other tales from the feminist revolution*. Daphne Brasell Associates Press.

Davies, S. (1987a). *Bread and roses: Sonja Davies, her story*. Fraser Books.

Davies, S. (1997). *Marching on*. Random House NZ.

Douglas, K. (2001). *Living life out loud: 22 inspiring New Zealand women share their wisdom*. Harper Collins.

Newton, J., & Summers, L. (2020). *Llew Summers: Body and soul*. Canterbury University Press.

Stevens, K., & Wanhalla, A. (2016). I don't like Maori girls going out with Yanks: Maori–American encounters in New Zealand. In B. J & W. A (Eds.), *Mothers' darlings of the South Pacific: the children of indigenous women and US servicemen World War II* (pp. 202–227). University of Hawaii Press. https://doi.org/10.21313/hawaii/9780824851521.003.0009

Thomson, A. (1993). *What I believe. The personal philosophies of twenty–two New Zealanders*. GP Publications.

Journals and magazines

Ansley, B. (1994, September 3). A matter of principle. *New Zealand Listener*, *145*(2838), 26–28.

Bunkle, P. (1973, September). 'Where are we going and where have we' come from?...' a personal view [Editorial]. *Broadsheet (Auckland, N.Z.)*, *13*, 4–13.

Byers, B. (1994, October 1). Peace on all fronts. *New Zealand Listener*, *145*(2842), 10.

Coney, S. (1981, September). Women against the Tour. *Broadsheet (Auckland, N.Z.)*, *92*, 8–11.

Coney, S. (1982a, May). The Davies dossier. *Broadsheet (Auckland, N.Z.)*, *99*, 10–13.

Coney, S. (1982b, October). The Davies dossier. *Broadsheet (Auckland, N.Z.)*, *103*, 30–33.

Coney, S. (1982c, June). The Davies dossier. *Broadsheet (Auckland, N.Z.)*, *100*, 29–31.

Coney, S. (1982d, September). The Davies dossier. *Broadsheet (Auckland, N.Z.)*, *102*, 24–27.

Coney, S. (1982e, November). The Davies dossier. *Broadsheet (Auckland, N.Z.)*, *104*, 48–50.

Denzongpa, K., & Nichols, T. (2020). We can't step back: Women specially…A narrative case study on resilience, independence, and leadership of a Bhutanese refugee woman. *Affilia*, *35*(1), 129–145. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109919871266

Grant, D. (1986b, July 19). Standing up for peace. *New Zealand Listener*, *113*(2422), 12.

Henry, E., & Wolfgramm, R. (2018). Relational leadership – An indigenous Māori perspective. *Leadership*, *14*(2), 203–219. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/1742715015616282

Horton, M. (1994, April). [Obituary] John Summers. *Foreign control watchdog*, *75*, 5.

Horton, M. (2019, Dec). [Obituary] Llew Summers. *Foreign control watchdog*, *152*, 64–68.

Joyce, H. (2000). The legacy of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. *Otaki Historical Society Historical Journal*, *23*, 50–52.

Long, M. (1997). The Otaki Sanatorium. *Otaki Historical Society Historical Journal*, *20*, 58–69.

Murphy, V. A. (1991). Otaki 1990. *Otaki Historical Society Historical Journal*, *14*, 88.

Preston, G. (2005, June 25). Sonja Davies 1923-2005. *New Zealand Listener*, *199*(3398), 24–25.

Royal, T., & Joyce, H. (2000). Whakatupuranga Rua Mano - Generation 2000, celebrating 25 years. The Raukawa trustees and the plan - Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. *Otaki Historical Society Historical journal 23*, 48-50.

Still, M. (1994, October 1). Peace on all fronts. *New Zealand Listener*, *145*(2842), 10.

Stirling, P. (1993, October 2). Pedestal rebel. *New Zealand Listener*, *140*(2791), 22-26.

Summers, B. (2019). Ann Williams' journey: Cantlop, Shropshire 1841-1919 Oxford Canterbury NZ. *The Journal of the Shropshire family history society, 40*, 6–12.

Summers, J. (2017, December). Temperament. *North and South*, *381*, 59–74.

Wilkinson, S., & Kitzinger, C. (2013). Representing our own experience: Issues in "insider" research. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 37*(2), 251–255. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313483111

Williams, L. R. T. (2010). Leadership: Some underlying processes. *MAI Review, 2*, 1–5.

Newspapers

Arthur, G. (1986, October 14). 'Conshies' get-together. *The Press*, 13.

Crean, M. (2009, January 17). Frank pacifist stuck to anti-war beliefs. *The Press*, D17.

Neal, T. (2013, April 30). Artist questions case of prisoner sent to Shrewsbury gallows. *Shropshire Star*.

Oxford Road Board. (1895, June 8). *Oxford Observer*, 3. https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OO18950608.2.7

Sprott, B. (1919, July 2). *Diocesan Synod Address by Bishop Sprott Serious shortage of Clergy. Need for stipends to be augmented*. https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DOM19190702.2.87

Taylor, K. (2005, June 20). Sonja Davies-'A very great New Zealander'. *New Zealand Herald*. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/sonja-davies-a-very-great-new-zealander/DTTJMDJYEOBCW5EMN2YEFTBZZM/

Tramway Strike. (May 6, 1932). *The Press*, 12. https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP19320506.2.82

Tramway Strike. (May 7, 1932). *The Press*, 15. https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/CHP19320507.2.98

Books

Butterworth, K. P., & Otaki Suffrage Coalition. (1993). *Women's voices: Six lunch hour talks celebrating suffrage year in Otaki*. Otaki Suffrage Coalition.

Else, A., & New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, H. B. (1993). *Women together: A history of women's organisations in New Zealand: Nga ropu wahine o te motu*. Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs: Daphne Brasell Associates Press.

Hawkins, D. N. (2001). Harewood Forest-Oxford. In *Beyond the Waimakariri: a regional history*. Cadsonbury Publications.

Moorfield, J. (2011). *Te Whanake Te Aka Māori -English, English-Māori dictionary* (3rd ed.). Longman/Pearson.

Van der Linden, M., & St. Joseph's Maori Girls College. (1990). *St Joseph's Maori Girls' College, 1867-1990: Nga korero mo te Kura Maori o Hato Hohepa*. Dunmore Press.

Walker, P., & Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa. (2011). *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano 1975-2000: He tirohanga whakamuri*. Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

Websites

Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga Wellington. (2019.-a). *New Zealand Civil Records Indexes, 1800-1966 1876/13220*. https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/Search/Search?Path=querySubmit.m%3fReportName%3dBirthSearch%26recordsPP%3d30#SearchResults

Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga Wellington. (2019.-b). *New Zealand Civil Records Indexes, 1800-1966 1902/7707*. https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/Search/Search?Path=querySubmit.m%3fReportName%3dDeathSearch%26recordsPP%3d30#SearchResults

Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga Wellington. (2019.-c). *New Zealand Civil Records Indexes, 1800-1966 1919/4448*. https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/Search/Search?Path=querySubmit.m%3fReportName%3dDeathSearch%26recordsPP%3d30#SearchResults

Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga Wellington. (2022). *New Zealand Labour Government, CC BY-SA 2.0*. https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=51250775

Auckland War Memorial Museum. (2021). *Online cenotaph*. https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/war-memorial/online-cenotaph/search?n=rakaherea+hakaraia

Auckland War Memorial Museum. (2022). *Online cenotaph*. https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/war-memorial/online-cenotaph/search?n=mango+hakaraia

Creative New Zealand. (2018). *Ngā Tohu ā Tā Kingi Ihaka Sir Kingi Ihaka awards recognising lifetime contribution*. http://www.creativenz.govt.nz/assets/ckeditor/attachments/1679/te_waka_toi_awards_-_sir_kingi_ihaka_awards_recognising_lifetime_contribution.pdf

Dictionary.com. (n.d.-a). *Edema*. https://www.dictionary.com/browse/edema

Dictionary.com. (n.d.-b). *Socialism*. https://www.dictionary.com/browse/socialism

Else, A. (2010). *Davies, Sonja Margaret Loveday, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Te Ara-The Encyclopedia of New Zealand. https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/6di/davies-sonja-margaret-loveday

King Edward Technical College. (2010). *King Edward Technical College*. https://thecommunityarchive.org.nz/node/119223/description

New Zealand Defence Force. (2016). *Camps & Bases*. New Zealand Defence Property Group. https://www.nzdf.mil.nz/nzdf/where-we-are/trentham/

NZ Parliament. (1960). *Childcare Centre Regulations*. New Zealand Government. http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/num_reg/cccr1960243/

Statistics New Zealand. (2020). *datainfo plus*. https://www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/2018-census-totals-by-topic-national-highlights-updated

University of Canterbury. (2021). *Human research ethics policy: Research involving human participants*.

https://www.canterbury.ac.nz/about/governance/ucpolicy/student/human-ethics-policy-research-involving-human-participants/Human-Research-Ethics-Policy-%C3%A2%C2%80%C2%93-Research-Involving-Human-Participants.pdf

Secondary sources

Books and book chapters

Anderson, A., Binney, J., & Harris, A. (2015). *Tangata whenua: A history*. Bridget Williams Books. https://doi.org/10.7810/9780908321537

Ballara, A. (1998). *Iwi: The dynamics of Maori tribal organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*. Victoria University Press.

Bassett, M. (1993). *Sir Joseph Ward: A political biography*. Auckland University Press.

Bioletti, H. (1989). *The Yanks are coming: The American invasion of New Zealand, 1942-1944*. Century Hutchinson.

Birchfield, M. (1998). *She dared to speak: Connie Birchfield's story*. University of Otago Press.

Bishop, R. (1996). *Collaborative research stories: Whakawhanaungatanga*. Dunmore Press.

Block, B., & Hostettler, J. (1997). *Hanging in the balance. A history of the abolition of capital punishment in Britain*. Waterside Press.

Bowden, P., & Mummery, J. (2014). *Understanding feminism*. Taylor and Francis. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315711560

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners*. SAGE.

Brokaw, T. (1998). *The greatest generation*. Random House.

Brookes, B. (2016). *A history of New Zealand women*. Bridget Williams Books. https://doi.org/10.7810/9780908321452

Buikema, R., Griffin, G., & Lykke, N. (Eds.). (2011). *Theories and methodologies in postgraduate feminist research: Researching differently*. Routledge. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203817339.

Bulloch, S., Silver, C., & Fielding, N. (2017). Using computer packages in qualitative research: Exemplars, developments and challenges. In C. Willig & W. Stainton Rogers (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 381–397). SAGE Publications https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526405555

Butler-Kisber, L. (2018). Getting started in qualitative inquiry. In L. Butler-Kisber (Ed.), *Qualitative Inquiry: Thematic, Narrative and Arts-Based Perspectives* (2nd ed., pp. 19–38). SAGE Publications Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526417978.n8

Cahill, M., & Dann, C. (1991). *Changing our lives: Women working in the women's liberation movement, 1970-1990*. Bridget Williams Books.

Caine, B. (2010). *Biography and history*. Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/AU19602049B

Chamberlain, J. (2017). *Constant radical: The life and times of Sue Bradford*. Fraser Books.

Chapple, G. (1984). *1981: The tour*. Reed.

Chase, S. E. (2013). Narrative inquiry: Still a field in the making. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (4th ed., pp. 55–83). Sage.

Clandinin, D. J. (Ed.). (2007). *Handbook of narrative inquiry. Mapping a methodology*. Sage Publications Inc. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452226552.

Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research*. Jossey-Bass.

Clark, M. (Ed.). (2005). *For the record: Lange and the fourth Labour Government*. Dunmore Publishing.

Coney, S. (1993). *Standing in the sunshine: A history of New Zealand women since they won the vote*. Penguin.

Corliss, P. (2006). *Words at work. An annotated bibliography of New Zealand trade union literature*. Canterbury University Press.

Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design*. Sage Publications

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry & research design. Choosing among five approaches*. Sage Publications

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.

Cullen, M. (2005). Opening remarks. In M. Clark (Ed.), *For the record: Lange and the fourth Labour Government* (pp. 9–12). Dunmore Publishing.

Dann, C. (1985). *Up from under: Women and liberation in New Zealand, 1970-1985*. Allen & Unwin. https://doi.org/10.7810/9780868615707

Denzin, N., K., & Lincoln, Y., S. (Eds.). (2011). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed.). Sage Publications Inc.

Du Plessis, R., & Alice, L. (Eds.). (1998). *Feminist thought in Aotearoa New Zealand: Connections and differences*. Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (1998). *Whaiora: Maōri health development* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (2001). *Mauri ora: The dynamics of Māori health*. Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (2021). Mātauranga at the interface. In J. Ruru & L. W. Nikora (Eds.), *Ngā kete mātauranga*. Otago University Press.

Easton, B. (2001). *The nationbuilders*. Auckland University Press.

Easton, B. H. (2020). *Not in narrow seas: The economic history of Aotearoa New Zealand*. Victoria University of Wellington Press.

Edwards, B. (2001). *Helen: Portrait of a prime minister*. Exisle Publishing.

Edwards, J. (2009). *Language and identity*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511809842

Efford, L. (1945). *Penalties on conscience: An examination of the defaulters detention system in New Zealand*. The Caxton Press.

Ferguson, G. (1994). *Building the New Zealand dream*. Dunmore Press with the assistance of the Historical Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs.

Foote, W. J. (2000). *Bread and water. The escape and ordeal of two New Zealand World War II conscientious objectors*. Philip Garside Publishing Ltd.

Franks, P., & McAloon, J. (2016). *Labour: The New Zealand Labour Party, 1916-2016*. Victoria University Press.

Franks, P., & Nolan, M. (2011). *Unions in common cause: The New Zealand Federation of Labour 1937-88*. Steele Roberts.

Fraser, T. N. (2012). The legacy of leadership. From Grandmothers' stories to kapa haka. In C. Kenny & T. N. Fraser (Eds.), *Living indigenous leadership native narratives on building strong communities* (pp. 114–149). UBC Press.

Gardner, W. L., Avolio, B., & Walumbwa, F. (2005). Authentic leadership development: Emergent themes and future directions. In W. L. Gardner, B. Avolio, & F. Walumbwa (Eds.), *Authentic leadership theory and practice: origins, effects and development* (Vol. 3, pp. 387–406). Elsevier.

Gatfield, G. (1996). *Early women lawyers: Careers of women admitted as Barristers and Solicitors in New Zealand, 1897-1959*. Equity Works Ltd.

Gibson, S., Williams, M., & Cairns, P. (2019). *Protest Tautohetohe: Objects of resistance, persistence and defiance*. Te Papa Press.

Gilchrist, J. (1950). *Statistics New Zealand official yearbook 1947-1949* (55th ed.). https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1947-49/NZOYB_1947-49.html#idsect1_1_34609

Gillespie, O., A. (2001). *Oxford the first 100 years*. Cadsonbury Publications.

Grant, D. (1986a). *Out in the cold. Pacifists and conscientious objectors in New Zealand during World War II*. Reed Methuen Publishers Ltd.

Grant, D. (2004). *A question of faith. A history of the New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society*. Philip Garside Publishing.

Grimshaw, P. (2013). *Women's Suffrage in New Zealand*. Auckland University Press.

Gunn, S., & Faire, L. (Eds.). (2016). *Research methods for history* (2nd ed.). University Press.

Harris, A. (2004). *Hīkoi: Forty years of Māori protest*. Huia Publishers.

Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2012). *Handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis* (2nd ed.). SAGE. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483384740

Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Leavy, P. (2007). *Feminist research practice: A primer*. SAGE Publications. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412984270

Kedgley, S. J. (1996). *Mum's the word: The untold story of motherhood in New Zealand*. Random House New Zealand.

Kedgley, S. J. (2021). *Fifty years a feminist*. Massey University Press.

Kenny, C., & Ngaroimata Fraser, T. (Eds.). (2012). *Living indigenous leadership native narratives on building strong communities*. UBC Press.

Kim, J.-H. (2016). *Understanding narrative inquiry: The crafting and analysis of stories as research*. Sage Publications https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4135/9781071802861

King, M. (1984). *Te Puea: A biography* (2nd ed.). Hodder and Stoughton.

King, M. (1988). *Being Pakeha: An encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance*. Hodder and Stoughton.

King, M. (2003). *The Penguin history of New Zealand*. Penguin Books.

King, M., & Van de Klundert, M. (1997). *God's farthest outpost: A history of Catholics in New [sic] New Zealand*. Viking.

Knowles, J., B. (2015). *The abolition of the death penalty in the United Kingdom. How it happened and why it still matters*. The Death Penalty Project.

Lange, R. (1999). *May the people live: A history of Maori health development 1900-1920*. Auckland University Press.

Leadbeater, M. (2013). *Peace, power & politics: How New Zealand became nuclear free*. University of Otago Press.

Leonie, P., Linda, T. S., Naomi, S., Joeliee, S.-P., & Kirsten, G. (Eds.). (2019). *Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1987-1998* (Vol. I). Te Kotahi Research Institute The University of Waikato.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (Eds.). (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Sage. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767(85)90062-8.

Locke, E. (1992). *Peace people: A history of peace activities in New Zealand*. Hazard Press Limited.

Luke, D., & Te Momo, F. (2019). *He Iti Nā Mōtai Te Hono Ki Raukawa: Oral and Traditional History Report*. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_151826233/Wai%202200%2C%20H001.pdf

Lyman, L., Strachan, J., & Lazaridou, A. (2012). *Shaping social justice leadership: Insights of women educators worldwide*. Rowman & Littlefield Education.

Macfie, R. (2021). *Helen Kelly: Her life*. Awa Press.

Matata-Sipu, Q. (2021). *Stories of 100 indigenous women: Nuku*. Sherlock & Co. Publishing.

May, H. (1985). *Mind that child: Childcare as a social and political issue in New Zealand*. Blackberry Press.

May, H. (2019). *Politics in the playground: The world of early childhood in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Rev. ed.). Otago University Press.

May, H., & Bethell, K. (2017). *Growing a kindergarten movement in Aotearoa New Zealand: Its people, purposes and politics*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

May, H., Card, A., & Carroll-Lind, J. (2021). *Ngā kohinga kōrero a te aumangea. Kia mana te ara kohungahunga ki Aotearoa. Life stories on the frontline. Gowing a childcare movement in Aotearoa* (H. May, A. Card, & J. Carroll-Lind, Eds.). Te Rito Maioha Early Childhood New Zealand.

May, H., & Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/New Zealand Childcare Association. (2003). *Concerning women considering children: Battles of the Childcare Association 1963-2003*. New Zealand Childcare Association.

McCallum, J. (1993). *Women in the house: Members of parliament in New Zealand*. Cape Catley.

McKinnon, M. (2016). *The broken decade: Prosperity, depression and recovery in New Zealand, 1928-39*. Otago University Press.

Mead, S. M. (1986). *Magnificent Te Maori: Te Maori whakahirahira : he korero whakanui i Te Maori*. Heinemann.

Metge, J. (1976). *The Maoris of New Zealand: Rautahi* (Rev. ed.). Routledge & K. Paul.

Mikaere, A. (2003). *The balance destroyed: The consequences for Māori women of the colonisation of tikanga Māori* (Vol. Monograph 1). Published jointly by the International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education and A. Mikaere.

Mikaere, A. (2019). Māori women: Caught in the contradictions of a colonised reality. In L. Pihama, L. Tuhiwai Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1987-1998* (Vol. I, pp. 137–154). Te Kotahi Research Institute The University of Waikato.

Mikaere, A., Kahukiwa, R., & Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa. Te, T. (2017). *The balance destroyed* (Revised ed.). Te Tākupu, Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

Murphy, S. E., & Reichard, R. J. (2011). *Early development and leadership: Building the next generation of leaders*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203818343

New Zealand Government. (1952). *Population census, 1945* (Vol. XI). Government Printer. https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1951-52/NZOYB_1951-52.html

Newnham, T. O. (1983). *By batons and barbed wire: A response to the 1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand* (2nd ed.). Real Pictures.

Norman, W. (2019). Te aha te mea nui? In L. Pihama, L. Tuhiwai Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1987-1998* (Vol. I, pp. 13–18). Te Kotahi Research Institute. The University of Waikato.

Northouse, P., G. (2016). *Leadership theory and practice* (7th ed.). Sage.

Patton, M. Q. (2015). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods: Integrating theory and practice: The definitive text of qualitative inquiry frameworks and options* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications, Inc.

Pere, R. M. (2019). To us the dreamers are important. In L. Pihama, L. Tuhiwai Smith, N. Simmonds, S.–P. Joeliee, & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings* (Vol. I, pp. 4–12). Te Kotahi Research Institute. The University of Waikato.

Pere, R. T. (1997). *Te wheke: A celebration of infinite wisdom* (2nd ed.). Ao Ako Global Learning New Zealand Ltd.

Petty, B. M. (2008). *New Zealand in the Pacific War: Personal accounts of World War II*. McFarland.

Pickles, K. (2009). Colonisation, empire and gender. In G. Byrnes (Ed.), *The new Oxford history of New Zealand* (pp. 219–241). Oxford University Press Australia and New Zealand.

Pihama, L., Campbell, D., & Greensill, H. (2019). *Whānau* storytelling as indigenous pedagogy: *Tiakina te pā harakeke*. In J.-a. Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiiem, J. B. J. Lee-Morgan, J. De Santolo, & L. T. Smith (Eds.), *Decolonizing research: Indigenous storywork as methodology* (pp. 137–150). ZED Books

Pihama, L., Simmonds, N., Waitoki, W., & Te Kotahi Research, I. (2019). *Te taonga o taku ngākau: Ancestral knowledge and the wellbeing of tamariki Māori* (Vol. 1.). Te Kotahi Research Institute, The University of Waikato.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1995). Narrative configuration in qualitative analysis. In J. A. Hatch & R. Wisniewski (Eds.), *Life history and narrative* (Vol. 1, pp. 5–23). Falmer Press. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/0951839950080103

Pratt, J., Barrington, A. C., & Barrington, J. (2016). *The prison diary of A.C. Barrington: Dissent and conformity in wartime New Zealand*. Otago University Press.

Rennie, N. (1989). *Power to the people: 100 years of public electricity supply in New Zealand*. Electricity Supply Association of New Zealand.

Rice, G. (2018). *That terrible time: Eye-witness accounts of the 1918 influenza pandemic in New Zealand*. Hawthorne Press.

Rice, G., & Bryder, L. (2005). *Black November: The 1918 influenza pandemic in New Zealand* (2nd ed.). Canterbury University Press.

Richards, T. L. (1999). *Dancing on our bones: New Zealand, South Africa, rugby and racism*. Bridget Williams Books. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.7810/9781877242007

Riessman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative analysis* (Vol. 30). Sage Publications.

Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. Sage Publications.

Salla, A. (2001). Women & war, men & pacifism. In I. Skjelsboek & D. Smith (Eds.), *Gender, peace and conflict* (pp. 68–77). SAGE Publications. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446220290.n5

Scott, D., & Morrison, M. (2006). *Key ideas in educational research*. Continuum.

Shears, R., & Gidley, I. (1981). *Storm out of Africa: The 1981 Springbok tour of New Zealand*. Macmillan.

Simmonds, N. (2000). Never-ending beginnings: The circularity of mana wāhine. In L. Pihama, L. Tuhiwai Smith, N. Simmonds, J. Seed-Pihama, & K. Gabel (Eds.), *Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1999-2019* (Vol. II, pp. 155–164). Te Kotahi Research Institute. University of Waikato.

Simmonds, N. (2019). Mana wahine: Decolonising politics. In P. Leonie, T. S. Linda, S. Naomi, S.-P. Joeliee, & G. Kirsten (Eds.), *Mana wahine reader: A collection of writings 1999-2019* (Vol. II, pp. 105–117). Te Kotahi Research Institute. University of Waikato.

Simpson, T. (1984). *The sugarbag years: An oral history of the 1930s depression in New Zealand* (2nd ed.). Hodder and Stoughton.

Smith, G. H. (2000). Protecting and respecting indigenous knowledge. In M. Battiste (Ed.), *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision* (pp. 209–224). UBC Press.

Smith, L. T. (2000). Kaupapa Maori research. In M. Battiste (Ed.), *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision* (pp. 225–247). UBC Press.

Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies research and indigenous people*. Zed Books.

Spiller, C., Barclay-Kerr, H., & Panoho, J. (2015). *Wayfinding leadership: Ground-breaking wisdom for developing leaders*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Tapiata, R. J., Smith, R., & Akuhata-Brown, M. (2020). *Te kai a te rangatira: Leadership from the Māori world*. Rawiri J. Tapiata, Renee Smith & Marcus Akuhata-Brown with Bridget Williams Books.

Taylor, N. (1986a). *The New Zealand people at war. The home front* (Vol. II). Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs.

Taylor, N. (1986b). *The New Zealand people at war. The home front* (Vol. I). Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs.

Taylor, S. J., Bogdan, R., & DeVault, M. (2016). *Introduction to qualitative research methods* (4th ed.). John Wiley & Sons.

Te Awekotuku, N. (1991). *Mana wahine Maori: Selected writings on Maori women's art, culture and politics*. New Women's Press.

Tuhiwai Smith, L. (2021). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples* (3rd ed.). Zed Books. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350225282.0008

Walker, R. (2004). *Ka whawhai tonu matou: Struggle without end* (Revised ed.). Penguin Books.

Wilson, J. (2012). *Historic Canterbury*. David Bateman

Winiata, M., & Fraenkel, M. (2014). *The changing role of the leader in Māori society: A study in social change and race relations*. Blackwood and Janet Paul.

Yin, R., K. (2014). *Case study research design and methods* (Vol. 5). SAGE Publications.

Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). SAGE Publications.

Periodicals

Austin, H. M. (2016). Women in education, science and leadership in New Zealand: A personal reflection. *Studies in Higher Education*, *41*(5), 914–919. https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2016.1147725

Bishop, R. (1998). Freeing ourselves from neo-colonial domination in research: A Maori approach to creating knowledge. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *11*(2), 199–219. https://doi.org/10.1080/095183998236674

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, *9*(2), 27–40. https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027

Brigden, C. (2012). Tracing and placing women trade union leaders: A study of the Female Confectioners Union. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, *54*(2), 238–255. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022185611435468

Briskin, L. (2011). Union renewal, postheroic leadership, and women's organizing: Crossing discourses, reframing debates. *Labor Studies Journal*, *36*(4), 508–537. https://doi.org/10.1177/0160449x11422608

Buck, M. A., Mercer, W. N., St. Clair, N. S., & Herbers, M. S. (2019). The joy of learning: A case study of a transformative educator and activist. *Adult Learning*, *30*(3), 101–110. https://doi.org/10.1177/1045159518821326

Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2016). Thematic analysis. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *12*(3), 297–298. https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2016.1262613

Cook, T., & Schwartz, J. M. (2002). Archives, records, and power: From (postmodern) theory to (archival) performance. *Archival Science*, *2*(3-4), 171–185. https://doi.org/10.1007/bf02435620

Cunliffe, A. L. (2016). Republication of "On becoming a critically reflexive practitioner". *Journal of management education*, *40*(6), 747–768. https://doi.org/10.1177/1052562916674465

Ehrich, L., Ehrich, J., & Knight, J. (2012). Narcissistic and service-oriented leadership: Contrasting perspectives. *Leading and Managing*, *18*(2), 34–45.

Eldad, R., & Benatov, J. (2018). Adult attachment and perceived parental style may shape leadership behaviors. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, *39*(2), 261–275. https://doi.org/10.1108/lodj-06-2016-0155

Forster, M. E., Palmer, F., & Barnett, S. (2015). Karanga mai ra: Stories of Māori women as leaders. *Leadership*, *12*(3), 324–345. https://doi.org/10.1177/1742715015608681

Frances, R. (2013). Authentic leaders: Women and leadership in Australian Unions before World War II. *Labour History*(104), 9–30. https://doi.org/10.5263/labourhistory.104.0009

Gardner, W. L., Avolio, B. J., Luthans, F., May, D. R., & Walumbwa, F. (2005). "Can you see the real me?" A self-based model of authentic leader and follower development. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *16*(3), 343–372. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2005.03.003

Jahnke, H. T. (1997). Towards a theory of mana wahine. *He pūkenga kōrero: A journal of Māori studies*, *3*(1), 27–36.

Jahnke, H. T. (2000). Ngā wāhine toa, ngā wāhine rangatira: Women as strong. *Te ūkaipō*, *2*, 23–31.

Kaminski, M., & Yakura, E. K. (2008). Women's union leadership: Closing the gender gap. *Working USA, 11*(4), 459–475. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-4580.2008.00219.x

Katene, S. (2010). Modelling Māori leadership: What makes for good leadership? *MAI Review, 2*, 1–16.

Kennedy, V., & Cram, F. (2010). Ethics of researching with whānau collectives. *MAI Review, 3*, 1–8.

King, A. J., Johnson, D. D. P., & Van Vugt, M. (2009). The origins and evolution of leadership. *Current biology, 19*(19), R911-R916. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cub.2009.07.027

Kirby, B. (2019). Pentecostalism, economics, capitalism: putting the Protestant Ethic to work. *Religion, 49*(4), 571–591. https://doi.org/10.1080/0048721X.2019.1573767

Kirton, G., & Healy, G. (2012). 'Lift as you rise': Union women's leadership talk. *Human Relations, 65*(8), 979–999. https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726712448202

Knowles, H. (2007). Trade union leadership: Biography and the role of historical context. *Leadership, 3*(2), 191–209. https://doi.org/10.1177/1742715007079052

Kudo, F. T., Longhofer, J. L., & Floersch, J. E. (2012). On the origins of early leadership: The role of authoritative parenting practices and mastery orientation. *Leadership, 8*(4), 345–375. https://doi.org/10.1177/1742715012439431

Kuntz, J. C., & Livingston, H. (2020). Surveying women leaders' career trajectories: Implications for leadership development in New Zealand organisations. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology, 49*(2), 34–45.

Lee, J. (2009). Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method. *MAI Review, 2*, 1–12.

Lee, Y.-O., & Lee, R. M. (2012). Methodological research on "sensitive" topics: A decade review. *Bulletin of Sociological Methodology, 114*, 35–49. https://doi.org/10.1177/0759106312437139

Leroy, H., Anseel, F., Gardner, W. L., & Sels, L. (2015). Authentic leadership, authentic followership, basic need satisfaction, and work role performance: A cross-level study. *Journal of Management, 41*(6), 1677–1697. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206312457822

Ligon, G. S., Hunter, S. T., & Mumford, M. D. (2008). Development of outstanding leadership: A life narrative approach. *The Leadership Quarterly, 19*(3), 312–334. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2008.03.005

Liu, Z., Venkatesh, S., Murphy, S. E., & Riggio, R. E. (2020). Leader development across the lifespan: A dynamic experiences-grounded approach. *The Leadership Quarterly, 32*(5), 1–21. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2020.101382

Locke, C. (2015, 2015/07/03). Building solidarity at the flax-roots: standing committees for women, Maori and Pacific Island members inside the Wellington Hotel and Hospital Workers' Union, 1979–1989. *Labour and Industry, 25*(3), 170–184. https://doi.org/10.1080/10301763.2015.1069016

Mahuika, N. (2019). A brief history of whakapapa: Māori approaches to genealogy. *Genealogy, 3*(2), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy3020032

Meyer, K., & Willis, R. (2019). Looking back to move forward: The value of reflexive journaling for novice researchers. *Journal of gerontological social work, 62*(5), 578–585. https://doi.org/10.1080/01634372.2018.1559906

Minthorn, R. S. Z., & Shotton, H. J. (2019). Indigenous Women's Approaches to Educational Leadership: Creating Space for Indigenous Women in Education. *International Journal of Human Rights Education 3*(1). https://repository.usfca.edu/ijhre/vol3/iss1/6

Mishler, E. G. (1995). Models of narrative analysis: A typology. *Journal of Narrative and Life History, 5*(2), 87–123. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1075/jnlh.5.2.01mod

Mita, M. (2000). Storytelling: A process of decolonisation. *The Journal of Puawaitanga. Special Issue: Indigenous Women and Representation, 1*, 7–9.

Murphy, S. E., & Johnson, S. K. (2011). The benefits of a long-lens approach to leader development: Understanding the seeds of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly, 22*(3), 459-470. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2011.04.004

Neumann, D. (2018). "I just want to do God's will:" Teaching Martin Luther King, Jr. as a religious leader. *Social Studies, 109*(1), 45–56. https://doi.org/10.1080/00377996.2018.1431197

Oliffe, J. L., Kelly, M. T., Gonzalez Montaner, G., & Yu Ko, W. F. (2021). Zoom interviews: Benefits and concessions. *International journal of qualitative methods, 0*, 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069211053522

Oplatka, I. (2018). Understanding emotion in educational and service organizations through semi-structured interviews: Some conceptual and practical insights. *Qualitative report, 23*(6), 1347–1363. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2018.3259

Ormond, A., Cram, F., & Carter, L. (2006). Researching our relations: Reflections on ethics and marginalisation. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 2*(1), 174-193. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/117718010600200108

Pratt, D. (2016). Secular New Zealand and religious diversity: From cultural evolution to societal affirmation. *Social inclusion, 4*(2), 52–64. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v4i2.463

Rice, G. W. (2019). Remembering 1918: Why did Māori suffer more than seven times the death rate of Non–Māori New Zealanders in the 1918 influenza pandemic? . *New Zealand Journal of History, 53*(1), 90–108.

Roche, M. A., Haar, J. M., & Brougham, D. (2015). Māori leaders' well-being: A self-determination perspective. *Leadership, 14*(1), 1–15. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/1742715015613426

Rogne, L. (2010). The greatest generation revisited: Conscientious objectors and the "good war". *Humanity & society, 34*(1), 3–38. https://doi.org/10.1177/016059761003400102

Ross, L. E. (2017). An account from the inside: Examining the emotional impact of qualitative research through the lens of "insider" research. *Qualitative Psychology, 4*(3), 326–337. https://doi.org/10.1037/qup0000064

Ruwhiu, D., & Cone, M. (2013). Pragmatic leadership: A return to wisdom. *Journal of Management & Organization, 19*(1), 25–43. https://doi.org/10.1017/jmo.2013.2

Ruwhiu, D., & Elkin, G. (2016). Converging pathways of contemporary leadership: In the footsteps of Māori and servant leadership. *Leadership, 12*(3), 308–323. https://doi.org/10.1177/1742715015626326

Ryan, L. (2013). Edna Ryan and leadership: The Womens Trade Union Commission, 1976. *Labour History*(104), 119–130. https://doi.org/10.5263/labourhistory.104.0119

Schwartz, J. M., & Cook, T. (2002). Archives, records, and power: The making of modern memory. *Archival Science, 2*(1), 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435628

Shamir, B., Dayan-Horesh, H., & Adler, D. (2005). Leading by biography: Towards a life-story approach to the study of leadership. *Leadership, 1*(1), 13–29. https://doi.org/10.1177/1742715005049348

Simmonds, N. (2011). Mana wahine: Decolonising politics. *Women's Studies Journal, 25*(2), 11–25.

Sleeter, C. E. (2016). Critical family history: Situating family within contexts of power relationships. *Journal of Multidisciplinary Research, 8*(1), 11–23.

Strachan, J. (1999). Feminist educational leadership: Locating the concepts in practice. *Gender and Education, 11*(3), 309–322. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/09540259920609

Te Momo, F. (2011). Whakanekeneke rangatira: Evolving leadership. *MAI Review, 2*, 1–4.

Te Rito, J. (2007). Whakapapa: A framework for understanding identity. *MAI Review, 2*, 1–10.

Theoharis, G. (2008). Woven in deeply: Identity and leadership of urban social justice Principals. *Education and Urban Society, 41*(1), 3–25. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124508321372

Trussell, D. (1994). Dreamscape 1 and Dreamscape 2 [book review]. *Landfall, 2 Nos 1*(188), 158–160.

Tuhiwai Smith, L. (2006). Researching in the margins: Issues for Māori researchers A discussion paper. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 2*(1), 4–27. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/117718010600200101

van Knippenberg, B., van Knippenberg, D., De Cremer, D., & Hogg, M. A. (2005). Research in leadership, self, and identity: A sample of the present and a glimpse of the future. *The Leadership Quarterly, 16*(4), 495–499. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2005.06.006

Voyce, M. (1989). Maori Healers in New Zealand: The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907. *Oceania, 60*(2), 99–123. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1834-4461.1989.tb02347.x

Whitinui, P. (2014). Indigenous autoethnography: Exploring, engaging, and experiencing "self" as a native method of inquiry. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 43*(4), 456–487. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241613508148

Websites

Consedine, R. (2018). *Anti-racism and Treaty of Waitangi activism - Organising against racism, 1970s to early 21st century* Te Ara-The Encyclopedia of New Zealand. https://teara.govt.nz/en/ephemera/26679/women-against-the-1981-tour

New Zealand Parliament. (2005). *Hansard Debates*. New Zealand Parliament. https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/47HansD_20050614_00000011/obituaries-sonja-davies

Victoria University of Wellington: Te Herenga Waka. (2021). *Honorary degrees and Hunter fellowships statute*. https://www.wgtn.ac.nz/documents/policy/governance/honorary-degrees-and-hunter-fellowships-statute.pdf

Wilson, J. (2022). *Canterbury places-Rangiora district*. https://teara.govt.nz/en/canterbury-places/page-6

Theses

Cumming, B. C. (2007). *Parents, siblings and pacifism: The Baxter family and others (World War One and World War Two)* [Unpublished BA (Hons)]. University of Otago. http://hdl.handle.net/10523/5856

Gordon-Burns, D. (2014). *" ... And did she cry in Māori?": Recovering, reassembling and restorying Tainui ancestresses in Aotearoa New Zealand* [Unpublished doctoral thesis]. University of Canterbury. https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10092/9977/Thesis_fulltext.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Graham, M.-A., B. (1978). *The Christchurch tramway strike, 1932*. [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Canterbury.

Henry, E. (1994). *Rangatira wahine: Māori women managers and leadership*. [Unpublished master's thesis]. The University of Auckland.

Karaka-Clarke, T. H. R. (2020). *Ngā Whenu Ranga Tahi: Drawing from Māori principles of wellbeing: Transforming online synchronous teaching and learning of Te Reo Māori* [Unpublished doctoral thesis]. University of Canterbury. https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/handle/10092/100072

Pihama, L. (2001). *Tīhei mauri ora: Honouring our voices: Mana wāhine as a kaupapa Māori theoretical framework.* [Unpublished doctoral thesis]. The University of Auckland http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.470.7833&rep=rep1&type=pdf

Ruru, S. M. (2016). *Māori women's perspectives of leadership and wellbeing* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Waikato. https://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/handle/10289/10635

Ruwhiu, P. A. (2009). *Ka haere tonu te mana o ngā wahine Māori: Māori women as protectors of te aō Māori knowledge* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Massey University. https://mro.massey.ac.nz/handle/10179/1793

Taukamo, T. (2011). *'He reka te wai o te hua pango: The darker the berry the sweeter the juice.' The experiences of Māori women in educational leadership in mainstream secondary schools* [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Waikato. https://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/handle/10289/5595

Wirihana, R. (2012). *Ngā pūrākau o ngā wāhine rangatira Māori o Aotearoa: The stories of Māori women leaders in New Zealand* [Unpublished doctoral thesis]. Massey University. https://mro.massey.ac.nz/handle/10179/4672

Yates-Smith, A. (1998). *Hine! e hine: Rediscovering the feminine in Māori spirituality* [Unpublished octoral thesis]. University of Waikato.

Government documents

Department of Māori Affairs Te Māori Management Committee. (1988). *Te Māori: He tukunga korero: A report*. Te Maori Management Committee Department of Maori Affairs.

New Zealand Government. (1901). *Statistics of the colony of New Zealand for the year 1900: With statistics of local governing bodies for the year ended March 31st 1901*. https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1901-census/1901-report-on-results-census/1901-report-results-census.html

Military Service Act, (1916). http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/msa19167gv1916n8266/

New Zealand Government. (1932). *The General Election 1931 (return relative to). Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1932, Session I-II, H-33*. https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1932-I-II.2.3.2.31.

State Services Commission. (1980). *Early Childhood Care and Education: A report of the State Services Commission working group*. New Zealand Government.

Statutes of the Order of New Zealand, https://www.legislation.govt.nz/regulation/public/1987/0067/latest/DLM119163.html?search=qs_act%40bill%40regulation%40deemedreg_statues+of+the+order+of+new+zealand+1987%2f67_resel_25_h&p=1&sr=1 (1987).

Te Puni Kōkiri Ministry of Māori Development, & Manatū Wāhine Ministry for Women. (2022). *Submission to the CEDAW general discussion on the rights of indigenous women*. https://women.govt.nz/documents/submission-general-discussion-rights-indigenous-women-and-girls

Te Puni Kōkiri Ministry of Māori Development and Federation of Māori Authorities. (2003). *He Whakatinana i te Tūrua Pō*. Te Puni Kokiriri Ministry of Māori Development and Federation of Māori Authorities.

Capital Punishment Amendment Act, (1868). https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/31-32/24/contents

Winiata, W., & New Zealand Planning Council. (1979). *Whakatupuranga rua mano-Generation 2000: An experiment in tribal development* (4). New Zealand Planning Council.

Appendix A: Consent Form

Women's leadership for social justice: Three women's stories. Consent form for family/whānau member

---

Department: School of Educational Studies and Leadership,
College of Education, Health and Human Development
Telephone: +64 3 0274222627
Email: tui.summers@pg.canterbury.ac.nz
16 May 2020
ERHEC Ref: 2019/04 ERHEC-LR application

Consent form for family/whānau member

☐ I have been given a full explanation of the project and have had the opportunity to answer questions.

☐ I understand what is required of me if I agree to take part in the research as outlined on the information sheet.

☐ I understand my participation in the research is voluntary and I may withdraw from my involvement in the project at any time without penalty. Withdrawal of participation will also include the withdrawal of any information I have provided should this be practically achievable.

☐ I understand any information that I provide will be confidential to the researcher and the transcriber. Any published information will not identify me unless I prefer to be identified.

> ☐ I don't want to be identified I understand a pseudonym will be used in relation to any contributions I make to the research.
>
> The pseudonym I would like is ...../I accept the pseudonym I am allocated by the researcher (cross out one) OR
>
> ☐ I want to be identified. I would prefer that my name is used.

☐ I understand all data collected will be stored securely at the researcher's address: 612 Old Tai Tapu Road and a back-up copy will be securely stored at the University of Canterbury.

☐ I understand the interview could be useful for future research purposes. Therefore, I have specified below my permission for the storage of the interview after the completion of my research.

> ☐ I give permission for the interview to be securely stored in archival storage indefinitely.
>
> ☐ I give permission for the interview to be retained until 10 years after the project, at which time it will be destroyed.

☐ I understand that if I require further information or advice I can contact the lead researcher, Tui Summers (tui.summers@pg.canterbury.ac.nz). If I have any complaints I can contact the Chair Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

☐ I understand the risks associated with taking part and how they will be managed.

☐ I would like a summary of the research results.

By signing below and indicating in the check boxes I consent to being involved in my research and the associated conditions:
Name: ……
Date:……
Signature:……
Email address (for summary of research findings if applicable):…….

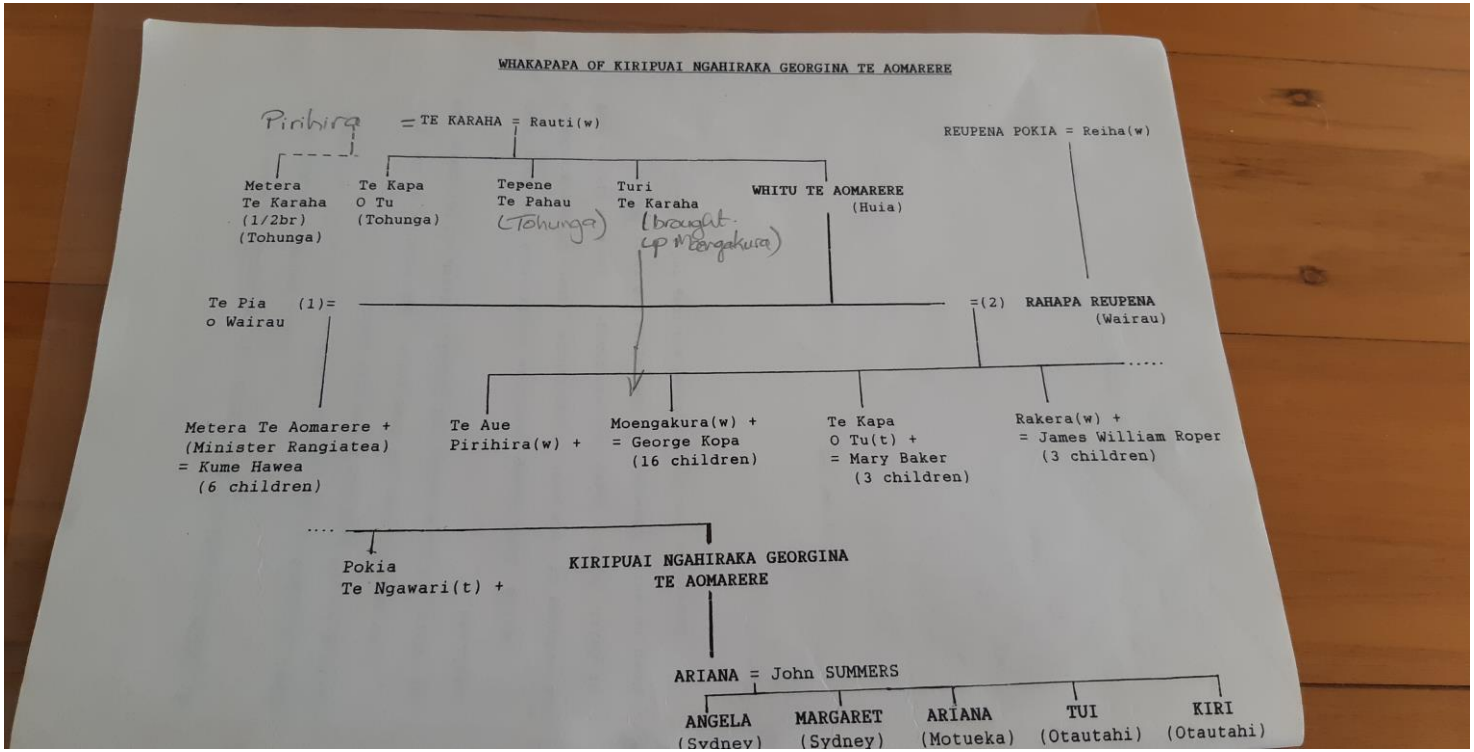
The researcher, Tui Summers will contact you within a week to arrange return of the consent form.

Appendix B: Interviews (unpublished and/or undertaken as part of my research) and personal communications*

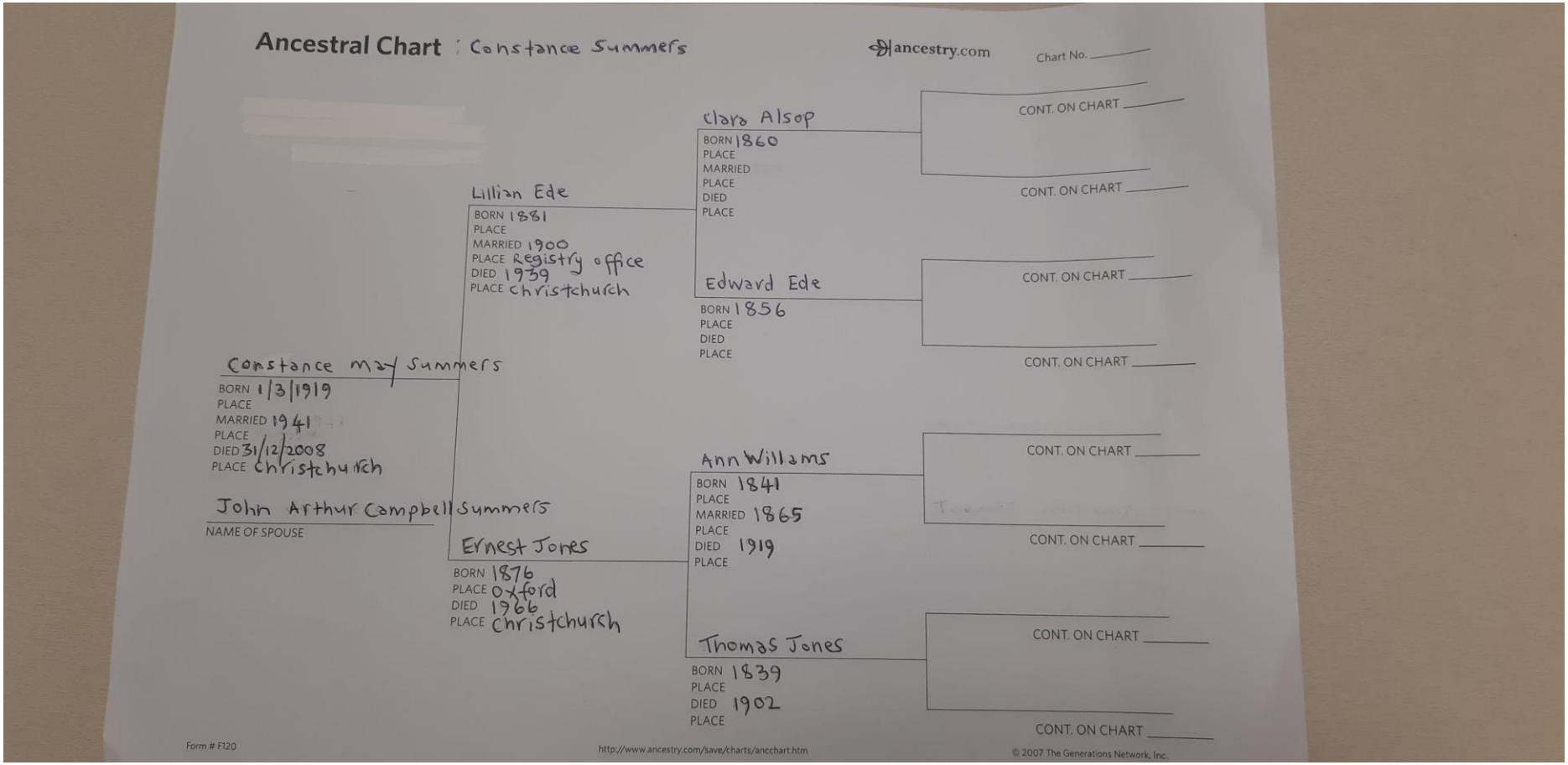
	Kiripuai Te Aomarere	Sonja Davies	Connie Summers
Interviews undertaken as part of my research	Ariana Te Aomarere (Kiripuai's daughter) 2 May, 2020	Graham Kelly (a former colleague of Sonja during her parliamentary and union careers) 30 November, 2020	Bronwen Summers (Connie's daughter) 11 May, 2019
	Te Waari Carkeek (Kiripuai's friend) 2 May, 2020		
	Margie Peerless (Kiripuai's niece) 5 June, 2020		
Non-archived and unpublished interviews accessed from other sources			Bronwen Summers: Interviewed by Connie's grandson, John Summers, for *North and South* article, 20 April, 2017
			Faith Wright (Connie's daughter): Interviewed by Connie's grandson, John Summers, for *North and South* article, 20 April, 2017
			Llew Summers (Connie's son): Interviewed by Connie's grandson, John Summers, for *North and South* article, 20 April, 2017
			Connie Summers: Interviewed by Hilary Hunter for SOCI1 301: Life History Assignment April–June 1982, Department of Sociology, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand
Personal communications			Transcription from tape of Connie Summers' funeral, 3 January, 2009
			Notes provided by Bronwen to Tui, 11 May, 2019
			Notes compiled on Lillian Ede after her death in 1940 from interview with Ernie Jones

*not included in reference list

Appendix C: Whakapapa for Kiripuai Te Aomarere



Appendix D: Whakapapa for Connie Summers



Ancestral Chart : Constance Summers

ancestry.com

Chart No. _____

Constance May Summers
BORN 1/3/1919
PLACE
MARRIED 1941
PLACE
DIED 31/12/2008
PLACE Christchurch

John Arthur Campbell Summers
NAME OF SPOUSE

Lillian Ede
BORN 1881
PLACE
MARRIED 1900
PLACE Registry office
DIED 1939
PLACE Christchurch

Ernest Jones
BORN 1876
PLACE Oxford
DIED 1966
PLACE Christchurch

Clara Alsop
BORN 1860
PLACE
MARRIED
PLACE
DIED
PLACE

Edward Ede
BORN 1856
PLACE
DIED
PLACE

Ann Williams
BORN 1841
PLACE
MARRIED 1865
PLACE
DIED 1919
PLACE

Thomas Jones
BORN 1839
PLACE
DIED 1902
PLACE

CONT. ON CHART _____

Form # F120

http://www.ancestry.com/save/charts/ancchart.htm

© 2007 The Generations Network, Inc.

Appendix E: Whakapapa for Sonja Davies

Glossary of Te Reo Māori Terms

Aotearoa	Indigenous name for New Zealand
Ariki	High chief
aroha	Love
Atua	God or higher being
Awa	River
e kui	referring to an elderly lady
Te Whāre Wānanga o Raukawa	Māori university located in Ōtaki, North Island, Aotearoa
Hahi (used without macron in text)	Church
Haka	cultural dance performance
hapū	sub-tribe
Hato Hohepa	St Joseph's Māori Girls' College
Motai	Ngāti Raukawa ancestor
He pononga a Te Atua	A genuine servant of God
Hui	Gathering
iwi	tribe or tribal group
kahoni kitea	face to face or physical presence
Kai	Food
kaikaranga	the woman who makes the first call on the marae during pōwhiri ritual
kāinga	home or place of settlement
kaitiaki	custodians
kaitiakitanga	guardianship or stewardship
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
Kāpiti	A location/region on the west coast of the lower half of the North Island, Aotearoa New Zealand
karakia	ritual chant
karanga	women's ceremonial call
kaumātua	elderly men or women
kaupapa Māori	Māori approach or principles
kawa	marae protocol
Kingitanga	Māori kingdom
kohanga reo	Māori language nests/preschools
kōrero	speech or discussion
korowai	traditional Māori cloak

Kui	Grandma
kuia	elderly women
Kura kaupapa Māori	Māori Primary school
mana	prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma - *mana* is a supernatural force in a person, place or object.
Mana atua	Sacred spiritual power from the Atua
manaakitanga	generosity
manuhiri	Guests
Māori	Indigenous people of Aotearoa
Māoritanga	Māori culture, values and beliefs
marae	the open area in front of the *wharenui* where formal greetings and discussions take place
mātauranga	Māori knowledge
maunga	mountain
māuri	life force
mihi	to greet, pay tribute, acknowledge, thank
mokopuna	grandchildren
motai	ancestor of Ngāti Raukawa iwi
ngā tamatoa	young Māori political action group from the Māori renaissance
Ngati Raukawa	tribal group from the Maungatautari–Tokoroa area, some of whom moved with Te Rauparaha to the Ōtaki area
Ngati Toa	Tribal group south of Kāwhia, the Kapiti-Ōtaki area and parts of the northern South Island.
pa	fortified village
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
pepeha	introduction
pipi	a type of shellfish
pono	genuine, sincere
puha	sow thistle
puna	spring or well
pūrākau	Story
Purutanga Mauri	Keeper of the Life Force
rangatahi	Youth
rangatira	Chief
Tā Kingi Ihaka	Kingi Ihaka was a Māori broadcaster, Anglican Priest and Māori Land Commissioner

tamariki	children
tangi	funeral
taonga	treasures/artefacts
taonga tuku iho	heritage, something handed down
te ao Māori	Māori worldview
Te Ati Awa	Tribal group to the north-east of Mount Taranaki including the Waitara and New Plymouth areas. A section of Te Āti Awa moved to parts of the Wellington area and the northern South Island in the 1820s
te reo Māori	Māori language
Te reo me ngā tikanga/ te reo me ona tikanga	Māori language and protocol
Te Rito Maioha	an Aotearoa-based early childhood organisation
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	a document signed between representatives of the Crown and iwi rangatira regarding the sovereignty of Aotearoa in 1840
Te Waka Toi	Creative New Zealand. Part of the Crown agency, The Ministry for Culture and Heritage
Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa/ Te Wananga o Raukawa	A Māori university founded by Ngāti Raukawa in Ōtaki, Aotearoa
tikanga	Māori customs
tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination
tohemunga	A type of shellfish
tohu	qualification
tohunga	chosen expert
tūpuna	ancestors, grandparents, grandfather, grandmother (plural)
waewae tapu	newcomer/visitor who has not been to that place before
Wahine/wāhine	Woman/women
waiata	songs
wairua	spiritual
wairuatanga	spirituality
Waitangi	The place where the Treaty of Waitangi was first signed in 1840
waka	canoes
whaea	mother, aunt, female relative
whakahihi	boastful
whakaiti	humble
whakapapa	genealogy, lineage, descent

whakatauki	proverb
Whakatupurunga Rua Mano-Generation 2000	A tribal development plan initiated by ART Confederation (an alliance between the iwi of Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga and Ngāti Toa Rangatira)
Whakawhanaungatanga	relationship building, relating to others
whānau	extended family or family group or kin
whanaunga	relatives
whanaungatanga	connections and relationships
whare kura	Māori secondary school

This glossary has been compiled from Moorfield, J. C. (2003–2022). *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary*. Retrieved from https://Māori dictionary.co.nz