

Chapter One

In Australia and New Zealand in the second half of the twentieth century, a great deal of social, cultural and political change took place. This is especially true in relation to Indigenous rights and the status of women. While there had been important Indigenous protest movements and groups formed seeking civil or land rights in the past, protest accelerated from the 1960s and entered the mainstream. Around the same time, a second wave of feminist activism from the 1970s, following the first wave in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, impacted upon the status of women. A number of Indigenous women became nationally known in both countries for their activist efforts or political work during this period, as well as for their efforts and achievements in other fields. Tennis star Evonne Goolagong won her first Wimbledon tournament in 1971, the same year Kiri Te Kanawa made her tremendously successful debut in a major operatic role on the Covent Garden stage. Both women are among the best-known Indigenous women in their respective countries, and were among the first to become nationally and internationally celebrated.

The second wave of feminism, the so-called Māori renaissance and the strong Aboriginal civil and land rights movements of the period form the context in which many famous Indigenous women emerged, and the background against which their experiences and achievements were represented in the media. Some prominent women were involved particularly in one movement, others' concerns spanned more than one, and still others wished to focus upon their own field of activity without being politically active. In this chapter I explore the changing policies and approaches to race relations and Indigenous affairs in Australia and New Zealand, the impacts and aims of Māori and Aboriginal protest movements and the rise of the second wave feminist movement. I also discuss the shifts which occurred in the media industry in Australia and New Zealand during the twentieth century, changes shaping the immediate context in which representations of Indigenous women were produced. Readers familiar with this historical background, or eager to begin exploring famous Indigenous women's media experiences, may like to skip ahead to Chapter Two.

Assimilation, Integration, Self-Determination

Many parallels can be traced in past government policies relating to Indigenous peoples in Australia and New Zealand, as well as significant differences. In the nineteenth century, many observers on both sides of the Tasman believed Aboriginal and Māori people to be dying races, their declining population numbers assumed to signal the unavoidable fate of Indigenous peoples after

contact with Europeans.¹ In this discourse of extinction, the figure of Trukanini became a central symbol in Australia, as discussed in the Introduction.² As I noted there, continuing constructions of Trukanini as representing the demise of her people undercut the claims of the contemporary Tasmanian Aboriginal community for recognition and land rights. Indeed, nineteenth-century beliefs about the inevitability of Indigenous peoples' extinction potentially assuaged settlers' guilt over the appropriation of Indigenous land, the introduction of infectious diseases and the many other ills brought by European settlement. As Anthony Moran observed in the Australian case, questions about the place of Aboriginal people in a white Australian nation could be disregarded or brushed over while it was believed that Aboriginal people would become extinct.³ Common depictions of Aboriginal people shifted from emphasising their resistance to European settlement by describing them as savage or violent, to stressing the inevitability of their passing. Such notes of sorrow and 'nostalgia' appeared 'in direct proportion to the speed with which [Aboriginal people] were believed to be dying out'.⁴ If Trukanini had a place in national imaginings in Australia, as we have seen, it was often as the tragic relic of a lost and primitive people.

Despite similarities in racial thinking that suggested both Māori and Aboriginal peoples would become extinct, policies from the time of settlement differed in important ways in New Zealand from those in the Australian colonies. Post-hoc adoption of the legal principle of *terra nullius* meant that the continent that was to become the Commonwealth of Australia was deemed empty land, able to be settled without consideration of Aboriginal occupation.⁵ Settlement was accompanied by significant violence, continuing longest in the more remote areas

1 R. Lange, *May the People Live: A History of Maori Health Development 1900-1920* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), p. 53; R. McGregor, *Imagined Destinies: Aboriginal Australians and the Doomed Race Theory, 1880-1939* (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 1997), p. ix; J. Stenhouse, "'A Disappearing Race Before We Came Here": Doctor Alfred Kingcome Newman, the Dying Maori, and Victorian Scientific Racism', *New Zealand Journal of History* 30, no. 2 (1996), pp. 135-136. Note, however, that these parallel discourses about Indigenous extinction in Australia and New Zealand differed in a number of ways. R. McGregor, 'Degrees of Fatalism: Discourses on Racial Extinction in Australia and New Zealand', in *Collisions of Cultures and Identities: Settlers and Indigenous Peoples*, ed. P. Grimshaw and R. McGregor (Melbourne: Department of History, University of Melbourne, 2007), pp. 245-261.

2 In this respect, the figure of Trukanini sometimes symbolised the culpability of European settlers in the annihilation of Aboriginal peoples. Lyndall Ryan and Andrys Onsman have both observed such representations of Trukanini as a 'symbol' of the 'extermination' or 'attempted genocide' of Aboriginal peoples. A. Onsman, 'Trukanini's Funeral', *Island*, no. 96 (2004), p. 45; L. Ryan, 'The Struggle for Trukanini 1830-1997', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings* 44, no. 3 (1997), p. 165.

3 A. Moran, 'White Australia, Settler Nationalism and Aboriginal Assimilation', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 51, no. 2 (2005), p. 172.

4 R. Waterhouse, 'Australian Legends', *Australian Historical Studies* 31, no. 115 (2000), p. 209.

5 The doctrine of *terra nullius* did not apply in Australia before 1889. B. Buchan, 'Traffick of Empire: Trade, Treaty and *Terra Nullius* in Australia and North America, 1750-1800', *History Compass* 5, no. 2 (2007), p. 387.

of Queensland and the Northern Territory.⁶ While humanitarian concerns for the welfare of Aboriginal people prompted the adoption of policies of protection, such policies led to the corralling of Aboriginal people on missions and reserves.

In New Zealand too, Māori rights were often trampled in the face of settler hunger for land. Unlike in Australia, however, a treaty was signed with Māori, the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Exactly what the Treaty offered Māori remains disputed, largely due to differences between the English text and the Māori text, the latter being the one signed by the majority of the chiefs who chose to sign.⁷ The most important question revolves around the issue of sovereignty. According to the English text, sovereignty was ceded to Queen Victoria, while according to the Māori text, the lesser power of ‘kāwanatanga’ (governance) was ceded. The Māori text also promised Māori the continued exercise of chieftainship (‘te tino rangatiratanga’) and the continued possession and enjoyment of resources.⁸ Yet as the settler population came to outnumber the Māori population, the Treaty proved a small obstacle indeed to the rapid alienation of Māori land, which was accomplished partly through institutions of government such as the Native Land Court. Thus, although Māori did not suffer violence and legal restrictions to the extent that Aboriginal people did, and which continued into the second half of the twentieth century, a legacy of dispossession and disadvantage was created in both Australia and New Zealand by the turn of the century.

Far from being dying races, it became evident in the first decades of the twentieth century that Māori and Aboriginal populations were increasing. In Australia, concern grew in the settler society about the existence of a mixed-descent population. Schemes of biological absorption were sometimes promoted as a solution, particularly in the 1930s in Western Australia and the Northern Territory, the intention being that Aboriginal blood would be diluted until the policy of a White Australia became a reality.⁹ In 1937, a national conference of administrators resolved that the ‘destiny’ of people of mixed descent was ‘their ultimate absorption by the people of the Commonwealth’, a statement that has sometimes been read as approving biological absorption.¹⁰ Such policy

6 A. McGrath, ‘A National Story’, in *Contested Ground: Australian Aborigines Under the British Crown*, ed. A. McGrath (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1995), p. 18.

7 P. Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 47-49.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51; C. Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin in association with Port Nicholson, 1987), pp. 40-42.

9 R. McGregor, ‘“Breed Out the Colour”: Or the Importance of Being White’, *Australian Historical Studies* 33, no. 120 (2002), pp. 287-290. On ideas of biological absorption, see also: W. Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia*, 2nd ed. (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2005), especially Chapter 8.

10 R. Broome, *Aboriginal Australians: Black Responses to White Dominance, 1788-2001*, 3rd ed. (Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2002), p. 165; S. Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, 2nd ed. (Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 188.

decisions were never straightforward, however, and opposing voices suggested instead cultural absorption, or even the retention of culture within a framework of equality.¹¹

Intermarriage was both more common and more accepted in New Zealand, and such concerns about the growth of a mixed race population were not evident. The first half of the twentieth century saw the establishment of programmes to improve Māori health and housing, as well as land development schemes for Māori. During the 1920s, while Gordon Coates held responsibility for Native Affairs, efforts were made to support Māori arts and crafts, and several land claims were settled.¹² Māori were to have, according to the Labour Party from the 1930s, 'equality with racial individuality'.¹³ Similarly, New Zealand's Governor-General Lord Bledisloe referred in 1934 to New Zealand having 'two peoples' but 'one nation'. While reality did not entirely reflect this utopian vision, Michael King has argued that this 'myth' did provide some safeguard against 'the more extreme manifestations of prejudice' by supplying 'a moral imperative to which at least lip-service was paid'.¹⁴ During these years, Te Puea Hērangi was one of Māoridom's most significant figures, and her influence reached into government circles. She was a strong leader who played a central role in initiating economic, political and cultural revival, particularly for the people of the Waikato. While Trukanini's name was often associated with being last, Te Puea's was connected with the very different concept of renewal.

After World War Two, important shifts began to occur in approaches to Indigenous affairs in both the Australian states and New Zealand. As the horrors of the Nazi regime became clear, racial science ideas fell into disfavour, and efforts were initiated internationally to end racial discrimination. Biological, as opposed to cultural, absorption was no longer seriously promoted. In both Australia and New Zealand, policymaking was potentially shaped by an awareness of international scrutiny in relation to matters of racial discrimination and a concern to differentiate policies from those of the apartheid regime in South Africa. The mid-twentieth century also saw rapid urbanisation of the Māori population and of some sections of the Aboriginal population, leading to shifts in government policies on both sides of the Tasman. In both countries, forms of assimilatory policy were adopted, aiming to absorb Māori and Aboriginal people into Pākehā or white Australian ways of life. Assimilation policies adopted in the 1950s in Australia offered Aboriginal people equal standards of living, rights and opportunities

11 See for instance the discussion in: C. Thomas, 'From "Australian Aborigines" to "White Australians"', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, no. 1 (2001), pp. 22-23.

12 M. King, 'Between Two Worlds', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. W. H. Oliver (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 291.

13 C. Orange, 'An Exercise in Maori Autonomy: The Rise and Demise of the Maori War Effort Organisation', *New Zealand Journal of History* 21, no. 1 (1987), p. 157.

14 King, p. 300.

to those of white Australians.¹⁵ Such equality, however, was premised on the destruction of Aboriginal culture. Paul Hasluck, a major architect of Australian assimilation policy, expected that all that would be left of Aboriginal cultures would be, in Russell McGregor's evocative phrase, 'fragments of folklore'.¹⁶ To a large extent the focus was placed on those of mixed descent, as they were considered most capable of being taught white ways of living. In a practical sense, assimilation in Australia meant the continued removal of children from parents and families, the indenture of girls as domestic servants, inspections and surveillance of private lives, and the tying of benefits and civil rights to whether or not Aboriginal people were considered to be living in a European way. Many of the rights of citizenship were only granted to those who became exempted from protection legislation, a humiliating exercise that many refused to undergo.

Assimilation was always a contested term, and debates over its meaning and practice have continued among scholars today. Assimilation could mean simply equality of Aboriginal people with white Australians, or it could mean the disappearance of Aboriginal culture.¹⁷ Russell McGregor has demonstrated that leading advocates of assimilation in Australia had quite different visions of what the policy might mean, and of what level of destruction of culture it implied.¹⁸ Moreover, while many scholars and commentators in Australia have considered assimilation to refer to a particular policy in existence between the 1930s and the 1970s, it can also be understood as a destructive approach which has continued throughout the years since 1788.¹⁹

As Anna Haebich has suggested, assimilation in Australia was and is 'a powerful act of national imagining'.²⁰ Such a vision was tied to a view of the nation as constituted in a White Australia. If Aboriginal people had not cooperated in disappearing physically, they were expected to disappear culturally, into a culturally homogenous nation, thus denying the possibility of any contestation over 'who owns, and whose identity is fused with, the land'.²¹ A vision of the nation which celebrated cultural homogeneity in this way suggests important implications for the place that high-achieving and famous Aboriginal people might be expected to hold in the nation, and for the ways in which they might be represented in popular culture such as print media. In particular, Haebich has demonstrated that a tendency to uphold Aboriginal people who were successful

15 A. Haebich, 'Imagining Assimilation', *Australian Historical Studies* 33, no. 118 (2002), p. 62.

16 R. McGregor, 'Assimilationists Contest Assimilation: T. G. H. Strehlow and A. P. Elkin on Aboriginal Policy', *JAS, Australia's Public Intellectual Forum*, no. 75 (2002), p. 46.

17 R. Kerin, 'Charles Duguid and Aboriginal Assimilation in Adelaide, 1950-1960: The Nebulous "Assimilation" Goal', *History Australia* 2, no. 3 (2005), pp. 85.1-85.2.

18 McGregor, 'Assimilationists Contest Assimilation', pp. 43-50.

19 T. Rowse, 'Introduction: Contesting Assimilation', in *Contesting Assimilation*, ed. T. Rowse (Perth: API Network, 2005), pp. 1-2.

20 Haebich, p. 62.

21 Moran, pp. 169-170.

in white terms as exemplars of assimilation existed in some sectors of official discourse in the mid-twentieth century, as occurred in the case of artist Albert Namatjira.²² This trope of representation is further pursued in the following chapters. As well as celebrating successful Aboriginal people as assimilated into white Australian life, such a vision of the nation might contribute to the representation of cultural difference as mere *exotica*, or to the repression of it, in depictions of these figures. These possibilities too are explored in the case studies which follow.

Assimilatory policies in New Zealand were less repressive and intrusive than those in Australia, but still involved significant destruction of culture. Māori people held positions in government and the bureaucracy, and Māori were not subject to the restrictive laws and denial of citizenship rights that many Aboriginal people continued to experience well into the 1960s and even the 1970s. As with Aboriginal people in Australia, however, Māori in New Zealand were expected to adopt a Pākehā way of life, a pressure which led to much hurt and loss. Women and girls were perceived to have an important role in assimilation, or integration, through their roles as mothers and homemakers, as they were in Australia.²³ In 1960, the Hunn report recommended the adoption of a policy of integration in place of assimilation, and outlined this policy vision. Integration was to ‘combine’ Māori and Pākehā ‘elements’, thus creating ‘one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct’.²⁴ The way of life being advocated, the report argued, was not a Pākehā one, but a ‘modern’ one which other peoples also lived.²⁵

In 1962, J. M. Booth and J. K. Hunn made clear in a small pamphlet that integration referred both to ‘the physical sense of the mingling of the two populations’ and the ‘mental and cultural senses’. Referring to ‘the dictionary definition’ of the verb ‘to integrate’ as being ‘to make whole’, they explained that integration denoted ‘the making of a whole new culture by the combination and adaptation of the two pre-existing cultures’. Moreover, it was stressed that the policy did not ‘imply social uniformity’, but instead ‘a unification arrived at personally by each individual of a range of cultural elements derived from both Polynesian

22 A. Haebich, *Spinning the Dream: Assimilation in Australia 1950-1970* (North Fremantle: Fremantle, 2008), pp. 152, 355.

23 See: F. Bartlett, ‘Clean White Girls: Assimilation and Women’s Work’, *Hecate* 25, no. 1 (1999), p. 11; B. Brookes, ‘“Assimilation” and “Integration”: The Māori Women’s Welfare League in the 1950s’, *Turnbull Library Record* 36 (2003), pp. 11, 14-15; H. Goodall, ‘“Assimilation Begins in the Home”: The State and Aboriginal Women’s Work as Mothers in New South Wales, 1900s to 1960s’, *Labour History*, no. 69 (1995), pp. 75-101; A. Haebich, ‘Bridging the Gap: Assimilation and Aboriginal Women and Their Households’, *Tasmanian Historical Studies* 9 (2004), pp. 4-20; K. Jenkins and K. M. Matthews, ‘Knowing Their Place: The Political Socialisation of Maori Women in New Zealand Through Schooling Policy and Practice, 1867-1969’, *Women’s History Review* 7, no. 1 (1998), pp. 85-105.

24 J. K. Hunn, *Report on Department of Maori Affairs: With Statistical Supplement* (Wellington: R. E. Owen, 1961), p. 15.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

and European cultures'.²⁶ Australians, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, who supported the drive for equal rights and opportunities but opposed the destruction of Aboriginal culture had sometimes advocated a similar policy of integration in Australia.²⁷ However, integration too often meant in practical terms an expectation that Māori adapt to Pākehā ways of life, rather than the other way around. If white New Zealanders imagined their nation as constituted by two distinct peoples, the Māori element was expected to contribute only non-threatening cultural performances and exotic emblems.

Significant change in Indigenous affairs occurred in both Australia and New Zealand from the 1960s. Under the impact of growing protest from Aboriginal and Māori peoples, shifting public opinion and international pressures, both countries changed direction, adopting policies of limited self-determination. In New Zealand, important changes occurred in the direction and operation of the Department of Māori Affairs in the late 1970s and early 1980s, with a shift towards a philosophy of community development.²⁸ Discrimination was legislated against in the 1971 *Race Relations Act*, and an office of Race Relations Conciliator was established. During this period, Whetū Tirikātene-Sullivan became the second Māori woman to be elected a Member of Parliament (MP), following Iriaka Rātana, who was first elected in 1949. Tirikātene-Sullivan became the first Māori woman appointed a Cabinet Minister when Labour took power in 1972, holding the portfolios of Tourism and the Environment, as well as being Associate Minister of Social Welfare. In the House Tirikātene-Sullivan took strong stands on both Māori issues and women's issues, including introducing a Māori Language Bill to promote the use and teaching of te reo Māori, the Māori language, and arguing for women's right to safe and legal abortion during the 1977 debate on the Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion Bill. In these years too, the Waitangi Tribunal was established to consider Treaty grievances, in 1975, although it only became properly effective after it was given retrospective power in 1985 to consider grievances dating to 1840. Numerous claims have since gone before the tribunal, with several significant settlements resulting. Issues of cultural loss also began to be addressed, as for example in the setting up of kohanga reo centres (language nests) which allow children to spend their early years in a total immersion Māori language environment.

26 J. M. Booth and J. K. Hunn, *Integration of Maori and Pakeha* (Wellington: Department of Māori Affairs, 1962).

27 It is important to note that while many have seen little difference between assimilation and integration, activists in the middle years of the twentieth century often did see this difference, in that integration might deliver civil rights without taking culture away. J. Chesterman, *Civil Rights: How Indigenous Australians Won Formal Equality* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2005), p. 22.

28 On this shift, see: A. Fleras, 'From Social Welfare to Community Development: Maori Policy and the Department of Maori Affairs in New Zealand', *Community Development Journal* 19, no. 1 (1984), pp. 32-39.

In Australia, despite the reluctance of some states (particularly Queensland), repressive policies such as those restricting Aboriginal people's movements were gradually removed. In 1975, the Whitlam government passed a *Racial Discrimination Act*. Larger numbers of Aboriginal people became involved in the bureaucracy, and Aboriginal people achieved greater input into policy development. The establishment of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), although it was later dismantled, represented a significant step towards self-determination. The founding chairperson of ATSIC was Lowitja O'Donoghue, who had spent many years working in Aboriginal affairs both from within the government and the bureaucracy and from outside these structures, including having served terms as chairperson of the National Aboriginal Conference and, after its abolition, the Aboriginal Development Commission. In the early 1990s, O'Donoghue was considered by some to be a possible choice as Governor-General. Other shifts were occurring as well during the second half of the twentieth century. The Mabo case in the High Court in 1992 overturned the principle of *terra nullius*, recognising the existence of native title and opening the possibility of land claims where native title had not been extinguished. Although this possibility was severely curtailed by legislation brought in by the Howard government in 1998, the recognition of native title remained a significant step.

Indigenous Activism in Australia and New Zealand

Since settlement by Europeans in Australia and New Zealand, Aboriginal and Māori people have continually protested the injustices of colonisation. Māori resisted colonial pressures in many ways, both individually and collectively. One response was the establishment of the Kīngitanga, or Māori King movement. The Kīngitanga arose in the 1850s at the initiative of Tāmihana Te Rauparaha and Mātene Te Whiwhi. Tāmihana Te Rauparaha had travelled to England and met Queen Victoria, returning convinced of the need to create a Māori monarchy which could unify disparate tribes and thus assist Māori in resisting the pressures of colonisation.²⁹ At the turn of the twenty-first century, the Kīngitanga remained an effective and widely respected force in Māoridom and in wider New Zealand society. Crowned in 1966 and made a dame in 1970, Te Arikinui Te Ātairangikaahu was the sixth Māori monarch and the first woman to hold the Māori throne. She

29 M. King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (North Shore: Penguin, 2003), p. 212; S. Oliver, 'Te Rauparaha, Tāmihana ?-1876', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007, accessed 14 March 2008, available from http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/default.asp?Find_Quick.asp?PersonEssay=1T75; W. H. Oliver, 'Te Whiwhi, Henare Matene ?-1881', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007, accessed 14 March 2008, available from http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/default.asp?Find_Quick.asp?PersonEssay=1T89.

became a well-respected figure both nationally and internationally, receiving many foreign dignitaries and members of the British royal family on their visits to New Zealand. In the nineteenth century, however, the establishment of the Kīngitanga was one of the causes of conflict leading to the wars fought in the North Island in the mid-nineteenth century, as was conflict over land sales.³⁰

Some resistance movements were religious in character, such as the Pai Mārire or Hauhau movement that emerged in the mid-nineteenth century. Begun by Te Ua Haumēne, who in 1862 had a vision in which the Archangel Gabriel instructed him to ‘cast off the yoke of the Pakeha’, the movement’s ‘guiding principle’ was the ‘goodness and peace’ of its name (pai mārire).³¹ Although Te Ua Haumēne intended the movement to be peaceful, some of his adherents did not share this intention, leading to further warfare between Māori and British troops.³² One of the best-known moments of peaceful resistance occurred at Parihaka, where non-violent actions such as disrupting land surveying were used, until imperial troops and volunteers arrived in late 1881, demolishing the village and arresting or scattering the inhabitants.³³ During World War One Te Puea also adopted peaceful means of resistance in her leadership of the anti-conscription movement in the Waikato.

In Australia, Indigenous resistance to European settlement was also widespread, although different in nature to that in New Zealand. In Tasmania, Tarenorerer (known to sealers as Walyer) led a band of warriors in attacks against Europeans and their livestock between 1828 and 1830.³⁴ Writing in 1870, James Bonwick detailed the activities of a woman he called Walloa, who was presumably the same person. He described this woman, who ‘rose, like a Joan of Arc ... to deliver her people’, as ‘this tigress of the north’ and ‘the dark Semiramis’.³⁵ Tarenorerer is now remembered and celebrated for her bravery in resisting the invasion of her people’s lands.

As well as armed resistance, Aboriginal people wrote letters and signed petitions seeking an end to injustices. In the early twentieth century, organisations began to form demanding Aboriginal rights and improvements in the welfare of

30 Governor George Grey considered the Kīngitanga a threat to British control which had to be suppressed. Historians have debated the precise causes of the fighting, as is reflected in the various names given to the wars, as the Land Wars, the Māori Wars, or the more neutral New Zealand Wars.

31 L. Head, ‘Te Ua Haumene ?-1866’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007, accessed 14 March 2008, available from http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/default.asp?Find_Quick.asp?PersonEssay=1T79.

32 King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, p. 217.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 220-221.

34 V. m. Matson-Green, ‘Tarenorerer [Walyer] (c. 1800-1831)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, updated continuously, accessed 2 August 2007, available from <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/AS10455b.htm>.

35 J. Bonwick, *The Last of the Tasmanians, or, the Black War of Van Diemen’s Land* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1870), pp. 219-220.

Aboriginal people. The ‘first united politically organised Aboriginal activist group’ was the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association, established in 1924.³⁶ In the 1930s, organisations such as the Aboriginal Progressive Association (APA) in Sydney and the Australian Aborigines’ League in Melbourne were formed. One of the most evocative and well-known actions of protest taken in the early twentieth century was the holding of a Day of Mourning in 1938, as white Australians celebrated the sesquicentenary of British colonisation. This event expressed Aboriginal protest at the ‘callous treatment of our people’ during those 150 years.³⁷ Pearl Gibbs, who had been part of establishing the APA and was also involved in the Sydney Feminist Club, was one of the key organisers of that event.³⁸ She was tireless in the fight for rights for Aboriginal people throughout her life, for instance founding with Faith Bandler and others the Aboriginal-Australian Fellowship in 1956 and setting up a hostel for Aboriginal people in need of hospital care and their families in New South Wales (NSW).³⁹

During the middle of the twentieth century, new organisations formed on both sides of the Tasman seeking improvements in the lives of Māori and Aboriginal people. The push at this time was largely for advances in welfare and an end to discrimination, as well as an extension of civil rights to Aboriginal people in Australia. White Australians often worked in organisations alongside Aboriginal people during these years. A national organisation was established in the Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement (FCAA), later to become the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (FCAATSI). This organisation is perhaps best remembered for its campaign for a referendum on removing two sections of the Constitution perceived as discriminatory: section 51, which prevented the federal government making laws in regard to Aboriginal people, and section 127, which stated that Aboriginal people should not be counted in censuses. Two key figures in the campaign for the referendum were Kath Walker (later to change her name to Oodgeroo Noonuccal) and Faith Bandler. Both women were part of a deputation to Prime Minister Menzies in 1963 which asked that a referendum be called, and Walker made an impression on Menzies when she told him as he gave her a sherry that supplying alcohol to an Aboriginal person in Queensland could see him jailed.⁴⁰ When the referendum was held in 1967, a positive vote of over ninety

36 J. Maynard, ‘Vision, Voice and Influence: The Rise of the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association’, *Australian Historical Studies* 34, no. 121 (2003), p. 91.

37 B. Attwood, *Rights for Aborigines* (Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin, 2003), p. 54.

38 S. Gilbert, “‘Never Forgotten’: Pearl Gibbs (Gambanyi)”, in *Uncommon Ground: White Women in Aboriginal History*, eds. A. Cole, V. Haskins, and F. Paisley (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2005), pp. 109-110.

39 *Ibid.*, pp. 120-122.

40 F. Bandler, *Turning the Tide: A Personal History of the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1989), p. 98; K. Cochrane, *Oodgeroo* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1994), p. 67.

percent was returned, and although the significance of the referendum is often misunderstood, it has since assumed the status of ‘a famous event in Australia’s political history’.⁴¹

Another well-known act of protest which made visible the extent of discrimination suffered by Aboriginal people was the Freedom Ride in 1965, modelled on a similar event in the United States. Led by Charles Perkins, a group of University of Sydney students travelled through northern NSW in a bus to draw attention to the discrimination faced by Aboriginal people, meeting angry opposition in towns such as Walgett and Moree.⁴² As John Chesterman has shown, the achievement of civil rights for Aboriginal Australians was largely due to such activism within Australia, combined with concern on the part of the government to avoid international pressure about Australia’s failure to meet international human rights standards, which activists were able to use to their advantage.⁴³

In New Zealand, one of the most important national voices for Māori in the mid-twentieth century was the Māori Women’s Welfare League (MWWL), Te Rōpū Māori Toko i te Ora. Formed in Wellington in 1951 at a conference which had brought together welfare committees from around New Zealand, the MWWL sought improvements in education, health, housing and employment, particularly focusing on Māori women and children, as well as fostering Māori culture.⁴⁴ Such work was vital in the context of the rapid post-war urbanisation of Māori people. The organisation’s first Dominion President, Whina Cooper, was to become one of the pre-eminent figures of Māoridom in the second half of the twentieth century and the leader of the 1975 land march, one of the most visible acts of Māori protest during those decades. Michael King observed that Cooper’s status as the ‘public face’ of the league meant that she was soon ‘the best-known Maori woman in the country’ and ‘a frequent subject for newspaper stories and features’.⁴⁵ She travelled throughout the country speaking to Māori women about the organisation’s objectives, creating and strengthening branches.⁴⁶ In April 1954, the organisation had ‘at least 3,842 members’, forming 303 branches.⁴⁷ Cooper initiated one of the MWWL’s early major projects, a survey of Māori housing needs in Auckland which was carried out by unpaid members and which

41 Attwood, p. x.

42 Broome, p. 180.

43 Chesterman, pp. 36, 39.

44 T. Rei, ‘Te Rōpū Māori Toko i te Ora/Māori Women’s Welfare League 1951-’, in *Women Together: A History of Women’s Organisations in New Zealand: Nga Rōpū Wāhine o te Motu*, ed. A. Else (Wellington: Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs and Daphne Brasell, 1993), pp. 34-35.

45 M. King, ‘Cooper, Whina 1895-1994’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 7 April 2006, accessed 7 May 2007, available from http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/Find_Quick.asp?PersonEssay=5C32.

46 I. Byron, *Nga Perehitini: The Presidents of the Māori Women’s Welfare League, 1951-2001* (Auckland: Māori Women’s Development, 2002), pp. 15-16; M. King, *Whina: A Biography of Whina Cooper* (Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1983), pp. 172-173.

47 A. Harris, ‘Dancing With the State: Māori Creative Energy and Policies of Integration, 1945-1967’ (PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 2007), p. 100.

revealed the inadequacy of much Māori housing, eventually leading to action to improve the situation by the Departments of Māori Affairs and Housing and the Auckland City Council.⁴⁸ During the 1950s and 1960s the league advocated integration, seeking to attain Pākehā standards of living and opportunities without loss of culture, and this led the organisation into the ‘contradictory position’ of seeking ‘to uphold both modernity and tradition’.⁴⁹

After the formation of the Māori Council, then all male, the league lost some of its force as a source of national leadership for Māori.⁵⁰ Set up in 1962, the council was treated with some suspicion as a creation of the government, and of the National Party which was then in power, but it addressed similar issues to those focused upon by the MWWL and showed itself willing to oppose the government in the matter of legislative changes relating to Māori land.⁵¹ Like the MWWL, the Māori Council then considered integration, conceived as an end to discrimination, to be a positive approach.⁵²

From the late 1960s, new generations of activists arose in Australia and New Zealand, often taking a more militant stance in their demands for change. More than pursuing an end to discrimination or the achievement of civil rights and equality of opportunity, Indigenous organisations in Australia now focused more intently than they had previously done on specifically Indigenous rights, particularly land rights. A young, urban group of Aboriginal leaders used more militant tactics of protest, and the term ‘black power’ began to be used, adopted from the United States movement.⁵³ A Black Panther Party was formed, taking inspiration from both the ‘programme’ and the ‘style’ of its namesake party in the United States.⁵⁴ No longer content to work through white-dominated organisations, this new generation of leaders advocated ‘an Aboriginal or black consciousness’ more powerfully than previous groups had done, and rejected assimilation or integration in favour of self-determination.⁵⁵ These younger leaders were disillusioned by the lack of change they saw following the 1967 referendum, despite the ‘high expectations’ it had created.⁵⁶

48 King, *Whina*, pp. 175-177.

49 Brookes, “‘Assimilation’ and ‘Integration’”, pp. 12-13, 16; B. Brookes, ‘Nostalgia for “Innocent Homely Pleasures”’: The 1964 New Zealand Controversy over *Washday at the Pa*’, *Gender and History* 9, no. 2 (1997), pp. 242-261.

50 Brookes, “‘Assimilation’ and ‘Integration’”, p. 16; R. Walker, *Struggle Without End/Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, revised ed. (Auckland: Penguin, 2004), p. 203.

51 Walker, pp. 205-206.

52 Brookes, “‘Assimilation’ and ‘Integration’”, p. 16.

53 Attwood, p. 321; Broome, p. 188.

54 Attwood, p. 324.

55 Ibid., pp. 322-323; Macintyre, p. 235.

56 G. Foley, ‘Black Power in Redfern 1968-1972’, *The Koori History Website*, updated 5 October 2001, accessed 19 May 2008, available from http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/essays/essay_1.html.

One of the most effective acts of protest in the 1970s was the creation of an Aboriginal tent embassy in 1972. Erected as a response to Prime Minister William McMahon's 1972 Australia Day speech refusing to accept land rights, the embassy graphically displayed the feeling of many Aboriginal people that they had become aliens in their own land.⁵⁷ Although it later returned, the embassy was removed by police in July of that year, and the violent clash between police and activists was covered on television. Roberta (Bobbi) Sykes was recognised as one of the key leaders in this new generation of activists. Described by Alan Trengove in the *West Australian* in 1974 as 'black, beautiful, angry and articulate', she took a central role in the tent embassy protest, and was arrested when it was removed in July 1972.⁵⁸ Throughout these years, a growth in Aboriginal 'pride and identity' was clearly evident, expressed in the emergence of a number of community projects for Aboriginal welfare, in the increase in artistic and cultural productions and groups, and in the development of Aboriginal studies courses.⁵⁹ Aboriginal pride and cultural identity was also expressed in the poetry and writing of Oodgeroo, as in the works of other poets, writers, artists and filmmakers.

In New Zealand too, the 1970s and 1980s saw the rise of a new generation of young, urban Māori activists. The MWWL, like many Māori people working in the public service, began to be criticised by this new generation as being too conservative and not assertive enough.⁶⁰ Ngā Tamatoa (young warriors) was the first of the new urban-based groups to 'make its influence felt', after it was established in Auckland in the late 1960s, emerging from the Auckland University Māori Club.⁶¹ Although the 'radicals' in the group, who drew inspiration from Black Power leaders in the United States and provoked 'adverse publicity with their rhetoric of brown power, Māori liberation, separate government and even a separate foreign policy' did not control the group, Ngā Tamatoa was willing to take 'radical protest action' as well as to work within the system.⁶² Among the aims of the group were the retention and management of Māori land, the cessation of Treaty of Waitangi celebrations and the inclusion of the Māori language in school curricula.⁶³

Several major protests over the alienation of Māori land occurred from the 1970s as well. The first of these was the land march through the length of the North

57 Attwood, p. 345; B. Attwood and A. Markus, *The Struggle for Aboriginal Rights: A Documentary History* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1999), p. 174.

58 R. Sykes, *Snake Dreaming* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 2001), p. 386; A. Trengove, 'Bobbi Sykes – Controversial Champion of Her People', *West Australian*, 7 November 1974, p. 46.

59 Broome, pp. 201-203.

60 King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, pp. 480-481; Mira Szaszy quoted in V. Myers, *Head and Shoulders* (Auckland: Penguin, 1986), p. 241.

61 King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, pp. 484-485.

62 Walker, pp. 210-211.

63 King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, p. 485.

Island to Parliament led by Whina Cooper, which brought media attention to Māori grievances in relation to the loss of land. Another media event was the 1977 occupation of Bastion Point (Takaparawhā) by the Ōrākei Māori Action Group, protesting plans to subdivide rather than return land that had been wrongfully taken from Māori. The protest lasted 507 days before the protesters were violently removed by police. Not far away, at Raglan, Tuaiwa (Eva) Rickard led the Tainui Awhiro people's campaign to have land returned which had been taken during World War Two for use as an aerodrome. Following the war, the land was developed as a public golf course rather than being handed back, and a sacred burial site was turned into a bunker. Rickard was arrested in 1978 along with other protesters after occupying the land. The land was eventually returned, and was used as a base for employment programs and for the Māori sovereignty movement. A strengthening of Māori pride was also evident from the 1970s in the emergence of Māori authors, artists and filmmakers such as Patricia Grace, Keri Hulme, Robyn Kahukiwa and Merata Mita, and in efforts to preserve and strengthen te reo Māori, the Māori language. By the end of the decade, some observers had begun to refer to a Māori 'renaissance'.⁶⁴

Antipodean Feminist Movements

Women in the Australian colonies and in New Zealand formed organisations and campaigned for equality for women in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. In this first wave of feminism, the focus was on attaining equal rights by legislative change. Prominent among the changes sought by first wave feminists were the removal of discriminatory laws such as those restricting married women's property rights, denying women the franchise, refusing women the right to a divorce in all but extreme cases and favouring men in determining the custody of children. Campaigning for the franchise, women stressed not only their right as adult members of society, many of whom paid taxes to the governments in whose formation they had no part, but also that women would have a purifying influence on politics and on society.⁶⁵ Australia and New Zealand were among the first countries in the world in which women gained the vote, in New Zealand in 1893, South Australia in 1894, Western Australia in 1899 and at the federal level in Australia in 1902. In South Australia, women also gained the right to stand for election in 1894, and this was also the case at a federal level in 1902.⁶⁶

64 Ibid., p. 487.

65 V. Burgmann, *Power and Protest: Movements for Change in Australian Society* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1993), pp. 77-78.

66 M. Sawyer and M. Simms, *A Woman's Place: Women and Politics in Australia* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1993), p. 6.

Māori women won the franchise along with Pākehā women in 1893 in New Zealand, while Aboriginal people remained unable to vote in some states of Australia, until as late as 1965 in Queensland.⁶⁷ One of those remembered for her efforts towards women's suffrage is Meri Te Tai Mangakāhia, who put a motion to the Kotahitanga (Māori unity movement) Parliament in 1893 that women be able to vote and be elected as members, and who appears to have been the first woman to address the Parliament when she was asked to speak to the motion.⁶⁸ While Māori women were sometimes active in women's organisations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in New Zealand, such inclusion of Aboriginal women 'as fellow activists' was not imaginable in Australia at the same time.⁶⁹

Although descriptions of the feminist movement as having waves imply the existence of a lull between them, women's organisations were not inactive in the years between the achievement of the franchise and the emergence of women's liberation groups in the 1970s.⁷⁰ Women's organisations such as the WCTU and the National Council of Women remained active in both Australia and New Zealand, as did a host of other organisations. These groups continued to campaign for women's rights, pursuing issues such as equal pay, the right for women to act as jurors and the right of married women to paid employment.⁷¹ Some white feminist reformers also pursued goals relating to the social and economic positions of Indigenous women. As Alison Holland has shown in the Australian context, for instance, the WCTU in the mid-twentieth century displayed considerable concern over wider issues of peace, humanitarianism and Aboriginal rights.⁷²

67 Chesterman, p. 110. The 1902 *Franchise Act* denied Aboriginal people the federal vote, except where they had the state vote and were on the electoral rolls prior to 1901. Electoral officials decided who was deemed Aboriginal for these purposes. Australian Electoral Commission, *History of the Indigenous Vote* (Kingston: Australian Electoral Commission, 2006), p. 5. Although only Western Australia and Queensland ever explicitly denied Aboriginal people the state vote, states such as NSW and Victoria used other methods to prevent Aboriginal people from voting. Chesterman, p. 134.

68 A. Ballara, 'Mangakāhia, Meri Te Tai 1868-1920', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007, accessed 14 May 2008, available from http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/default.asp?Find_Quick.asp?PersonEssay=2M30.

69 P. Grimshaw, 'Interracial Marriages and Colonial Regimes in Victoria and Aotearoa/New Zealand', *Frontiers* 23, no. 3 (2002), p. 12.

70 Burgmann, pp. 78-79; M. Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1999), p. 9.

71 Lake, pp. 9-10.

72 A. Holland, 'To Eliminate Colour Prejudice: The WCTU and Decolonisation in Australia', *Journal of Religious History* 32, no. 2 (2008), p. 259. On WCTU involvement with issues of Aboriginal rights in Australia, see also P. Grimshaw, 'Gender, Citizenship and Race in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Australia, 1890 to the 1930s', *Australian Feminist Studies* 13, no. 28 (1998), pp. 199-214. On the WCTU's agenda towards and involvement with Māori women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see P. Grimshaw, 'Women and the Legacy of Britain's Imperial "Civilising Mission" in New Zealand, 1894-1914', in *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures*, eds. K. Darian-Smith, P. Grimshaw and S. Macintyre (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2007), pp. 169-186. For a comparative perspective,

For many women in this period, marriage meant the end of paid employment and the assumption of the roles of mother and homemaker. Although the Second World War had given rise to considerable change in women's social positions, particularly in relation to work, after the war women faced social pressures to return to the domestic life of home and family. During the 1950s, the ideal of the suburban nuclear family prevailed on both sides of the Tasman, promoted by women's magazines such as the *Australian Women's Weekly* and the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*. This was the ideal which assimilation policies expected Aboriginal and Māori people to adopt, in contrast to traditional communal lifeways.

During the 1960s and 1970s, a second wave of feminism emerged in many Western countries, leading to significant social, political and cultural changes in both Australia and New Zealand. Second wave feminism incorporated a variety of different incarnations of feminism, from radical to socialist to liberal. Newly formed women's liberation groups existed alongside more conservative feminist organisations such as the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL). Established in Australia in 1972, WEL pursued changes through legislation and lobbying rather than more radical goals, thus remaining closer to the liberal feminist goals of the first wave.⁷³ On the whole, however, as Christine Dann noted in the New Zealand context, the second wave of the feminist movement saw a surge in women's 'organisation and militancy'.⁷⁴

By 1972, about forty women's liberation groups had been formed in Australia, and about twenty in New Zealand.⁷⁵ The aims of the women's liberation movement in New Zealand and Australia were comparable to those espoused in other Western societies, and included equal pay, the cessation of discrimination based on sex, 'autonomy' in relation to the body and 'liberation from the role of "housewife"'.⁷⁶ One particularly contentious campaign was for the right to abortion that was both legal and safe. Consciousness-raising groups, conventions and events such as the International Women's Year and the United Nations Decade for Women drew attention to obstacles and inequalities faced by women and emphasised the value of women's contributions and abilities both within and apart from a domestic setting.⁷⁷ Many feminists active in this second wave movement sought

see P. Grimshaw, 'Indigenous Women's Voices in Colonial Reform Narratives – Victoria and New Zealand/Aotearoa', in *Women's Politics and Women in Politics: In Honour of Ida Blom*, ed. S. Sogner and G. Hagemann (Oslo: Cappelen Akademisk Forlag, 2000), pp. 173-196.

73 Lake, pp. 237-239.

74 C. Dann, *Up From Under: Women and Liberation in New Zealand 1970-1984* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin in association with Port Nicholson, 1985), p. 4.

75 G. Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia: 1942-1988 The Middle Way*, vol. 5 (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 201; King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, p. 462.

76 Mein Smith, p. 237.

77 R. Dalziel, 'Political Organisations', in *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand: Ngā Rōpū Wahine o te Motu*, ed. A. Else (Wellington: Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs and Daphne Brasell, 1993), p. 66.

something more than equal rights, advocating instead wider change to society to incorporate perceived feminine values. As Marilyn Lake has pointed out in the Australian context, ‘what was revolutionary was the attack on sex roles, and more radically, the family’.⁷⁸ The 1970s and 1980s, more so in Australia than in New Zealand, saw the ‘institutionalisation’ of feminism in government programmes and bureaucratic structures aimed at advancing women’s equality and social positions.⁷⁹ As was the case in relation to Indigenous activism, feminist concerns thus gained a degree of governmental legitimacy through being implicated in policy shifts and changes in bureaucratic structures.

Indigenous women sometimes became involved in the second wave feminist movement. In New Zealand, activist, businesswoman and MP Donna Awatere Huata (then Awatere) observed that ‘in the early days’ she and writer and academic Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku were ‘the most visible Maori women in the women’s movement’.⁸⁰ In Australia, Pat O’Shane was a strong supporter of both Indigenous and women’s rights. As she explained in an edited interview with Susan Mitchell in 1984, she found it ‘difficult to say I’m black first and a woman second or vice versa’.⁸¹ However, as for many African-American women in the United States, disillusionment often set in as Indigenous women observed that the feminist movement was centred on issues that were predominantly the concern of white, middle-class women. In New Zealand, splits between Māori and Pākehā women, and between lesbian and straight women, had by the 1980s made annual nationwide women’s conventions unworkable.⁸² Failing to understand that Indigenous women often experienced racism as a greater form of oppression than they did sexism, and that many Indigenous women saw a need to stand with Indigenous men in fighting racism, non-Indigenous feminists generally viewed Indigenous and migrant women as simply suffering additional ‘degrees of oppression’.⁸³ Māori and Aboriginal women in the 1970s and 1980s often felt that their energy must first go to the struggles of their people. As O’Shane wrote in *Refractory Girl* in 1976, for Aboriginal women ‘our major fight is against racism’.⁸⁴

As well, the aims and perspectives of the feminist movement did not always sit easily with Indigenous cultural values. One example of such a conflict is evident

78 Lake, p. 232.

79 Ibid., p. 253.

80 D. A. Huata, ‘Walking on Eggs’, in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit and Other Tales From the Feminist Revolution*, eds. S. Kedgley and M. Varnham (Wellington: Daphne Brasell, 1993), p. 122.

81 S. Mitchell, *Tall Poppies: Nine Successful Australian Women Talk to Susan Mitchell* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1984), p. 153.

82 King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, p. 462.

83 On this issue in Australia, see: H. Goodall and J. Huggins, ‘Aboriginal Women Are Everywhere: Contemporary Struggles’, in *Gender Relations in Australia: Domination and Negotiation*, eds. K. Saunders and R. Evans (Marrickville: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992), pp. 401-402; Lake, pp. 249-250.

84 P. O’Shane, ‘Is There Any Relevance in the Women’s Movement For Aboriginal Women?’, *Refractory Girl*, no. 12 (1976), p. 33.

in the number of Māori women who upheld the prohibition in some iwi (tribes) against women speaking on the marae ātea (the meeting place courtyard, where visitors are welcomed and issues debated), a prohibition frequently attacked by white observers as being discriminatory. The emergence of new feminist thought such as postcolonial feminism and women of colour feminism was a response to the inadequacies of Western forms of feminism which tended to universalise the experiences of women. Māori and Aboriginal women sometimes developed forms of feminist thinking tied to their own cultures. For Māori women, this is sometimes expressed in the phrase ‘mana wāhine’ (the dignity or strength of women). Te Awekōtuku observed that there was a common view that ‘being Maori and feminist must be a contradiction’ since ‘feminism is some imported Pakeha idea’, but that she did not take this view herself since ‘feminism is what we make it’. She advocated being feminist in ‘a Maori way’ and ‘reclaiming and celebrating what we have been, and what we will become’.⁸⁵ Sometimes asked if there could be ‘a unique form of Maori feminism’, social reformer and thinker Mira Szaszy observed that she could not find a corresponding word in Māori, pointing instead to the goddesses of legend and the ‘dignity’ of women in Māori culture as the ‘closest’ parallels she could find to Western ideas of feminism. Within the MWWL, she observed a ‘spirit’ among the women as they ‘worked without self for the good of the whole’ which she thought ‘the nearest I can get to a Maori definition of feminism’.⁸⁶ The rise of a second wave of feminism and the varied engagements of Māori and Aboriginal women with the movement were an important part of the social, cultural and political contexts within which media representations of famous Indigenous women were produced and disseminated.

The Media Industry in New Zealand and Australia

Dramatic shifts have also occurred in the media industries since the first newspapers were published in the Australian colonies and in New Zealand in the nineteenth century. From those few newspapers have developed media conglomerates, publishing magazines as well as newspapers, producing radio and television broadcasts, and generating web-based news and entertainment sites. While some publications, such as the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Age*, have existed throughout that period of change, others appeared and vanished relatively quickly, and still others experienced a variety of incarnations as they were taken over, renamed, merged or redesigned. By the middle of the twentieth

85 N. Te Awekōtuku, *Mana Wahine Maori: Selected Writings on Maori Women's Art, Culture and Politics* (Auckland: New Women's Press, 1991), p. 10.

86 M. Szaszy, ‘Opening My Mouth’, in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit and Other Tales From the Feminist Revolution*, eds. S. Kedgley and M. Varnham (Wellington: Daphne Brasell, 1993), p. 84.

century, a flourishing print media industry had developed in both Australia and New Zealand, with major daily newspapers situated in the capital cities of the Australian states and the main centres of New Zealand, and a range of magazines publishing on a regular basis. The *Bulletin* in Australia, which was to be reinvented as a modern current affairs magazine in the 1960s, had been published since 1880. The *New Zealand Listener*, a magazine of news and entertainment, had been published since 1939. Women's magazines like the *Australian Women's Weekly* and the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* had been published since the early 1930s. These long-established publications have sometimes experienced shifts in orientation and emphasis under the influence of changing editorial and managerial leadership, as well as wider social changes, while also displaying some continuities in focus.

Over the years, these long-running and well-established publications were joined by new titles, sometimes short-lived, which often aimed to cater for particular audiences or to provide different perspectives from those evident in the mainstream press. The shifts in the social and political positions of women and of Indigenous people in the second half of the twentieth century began to be reflected in shifts in the media industries as well. During the 1950s, magazines such as *Dawn* (later *New Dawn*), published by the NSW Aborigines' Welfare Board, and *Te Ao Hou: The New World*, published by the New Zealand Māori Affairs Department, came into existence. Both magazines ceased publication in the mid-1970s, by which time *Aboriginal and Islander Identity* was being published in Australia, providing an outlet for Aboriginal voices. New feminist magazines such as *Broadsheet* in New Zealand and *Mejane* in Australia began publication in the 1970s, part of a longer tradition of feminist publications stretching back into the nineteenth century. At the same time, new magazines, such as *Cleo* and *Cosmopolitan*, emerged aimed at younger, single, working women. From the 1970s, a proliferation of Māori and Aboriginal newspapers and magazines appeared. Such publications were part of a long history of Indigenous writing in both countries. In New Zealand, especially, Māori adopted modern media forms early in the colony's existence, with a number of Māori language newspapers being published in the nineteenth century.⁸⁷ The Mana News Service was established in New Zealand in 1990, and began producing a high quality glossy magazine, *Mana*, in 1993. *Mana* in New Zealand and *Deadly Vibe* in Australia are only two of the newspapers and magazines established in the late twentieth century which continue the tradition of Māori- and Aboriginal-controlled publications providing a voice for Māori and Aboriginal peoples. The media landscape at the end of the twentieth century thus appeared very different from that in the 1950s.

87 On these publications, see J. Curnow, N. Hopa and J. McRae, eds., *Rere Atu, Taku Manu! Discovering History, Language and Politics in the Maori-Language Newspapers* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002).

Yet on both sides of the Tasman, the media industries remained dominated by non-Indigenous voices and structures well into the 1980s, and at the end of the twentieth century Indigenous perspectives often continued to be expressed in forums outside the mainstream media. In Australia, the creation of an Indigenous media sphere was in large part prompted by an awareness on the part of many Aboriginal people that the non-Indigenous media had not served Aboriginal people well, and by a corresponding belief that one way to challenge the failings of the mainstream media was through the growth of an 'indigenous media network' which Aboriginal people 'control and produce'.⁸⁸ In New Zealand too, mainstream media organisations remained dominated by Pākehā values, philosophies and structures, and often failed to incorporate Māori perspectives. The constructed 'dichotomy' between hard and soft news, for instance, often places stories about Māori and about women as soft news, and the 'focus on the present and the urgent ... contrasts with Māori viewpoints'.⁸⁹ Many small Māori-controlled publications have experienced a lack of funding, resources, advertising and sales, as well as a more general lack of governmental support.⁹⁰ Indeed, suggestions have been made by some involved in publishing these small periodicals that the Ministry of Māori Affairs/Te Puni Kōkiri competes with them through publishing its own periodical, *Kōkiri Paetae* (later *Kōkiri*), a professionally-produced publication focusing on 'cheerful' stories of Māori success rather than covering more negative issues.⁹¹ At the same time, Māori editors and journalists may practice 'self-censorship' in publications controlled by iwi authorities, or through avoiding producing stories which show Māori people in a negative light, given the frequency with which such stories appear in the mainstream media.⁹² Despite these and other issues involved in the re-shaping by Indigenous communities of European communication mediums, the proliferation of Indigenous-controlled publications is clearly a crucial means of challenging the domination of non-Indigenous structures and values in the media industries.

Although this book concentrates on the print media, it is important to note that the advent of new technologies such as radio, television and the internet have produced changes in the ways in which information is delivered and received. More than the print media, television in particular is focused on providing entertainment. Famous Indigenous women in the second half of the twentieth century were increasingly portrayed on television as well as in print, as for instance in the coverage of Goolagong's second Wimbledon win

88 M. Rose, ed., *For the Record: 160 Years of Aboriginal Print Journalism* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1996), p. xx.

89 E. Taira, 'Māori Media: A Study of the Māori "Media Sphere" in Aotearoa/New Zealand' (PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, 2006), p. 22.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

91 *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

92 *Ibid.*, pp. 74-76.

in 1980. Televised representations may differ from representations in the print media, owing to the different production processes and the visual nature of the medium. New technologies also impacted negatively on the dominance of the print media. The emergence of television in Australia contributed to a drop in advertising in newspapers, a fall in circulation, and a decline in the number of papers published.⁹³

As in the case of the print media, Indigenous people have adopted these new technologies and begun to produce their own representations of themselves and their communities. In the late twentieth century, radio stations, internet sites and television programmes controlled by or catering for Indigenous peoples began to be established on both sides of the Tasman, and these often provide an alternative to mainstream media organisations. The visual and aural nature of television and radio have made these mediums particularly attractive to Indigenous communities in Australia and New Zealand, as they are more obviously suited to adaptation for uses drawing on oral traditions than is the print media. Significantly, a nationwide Māori television channel was established in New Zealand in 2004, which has been highly successful.

Understandings of the role of the media have also shifted over time, and these changes too might have an impact on the ways in which people, events and issues were presented. In the newspapers of the nineteenth century, political points of view proliferated openly in reporting. By the middle of the twentieth century, this approach had been replaced by a drive for objectivity, which proved an elusive goal as critics continued to detect political bias, selective reporting and misrepresentations in the press. The political and social change that occurred in Australia in the 1960s and 1970s revealed the ‘limits of neutrality and passive objectivity’ and contributed to a revival of investigative reporting, after a postwar period of conservatism and press support for the establishment.⁹⁴ The latter part of the twentieth century also saw a rise in the amount of analysis and comment included in broadsheet newspapers in Australia, allowing for deeper analysis of events and issues.⁹⁵ The ideal of detached, objective writing was also challenged by many who were writing for small, Indigenous-controlled publications. In New Zealand, Eliana Taira has observed that reporters working for these publications frequently wrote from a more involved standpoint than the supposedly objective one promoted in the mainstream press.⁹⁶ Just as shifts in

93 E. Morrison, ‘Newspapers’, in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst and S. Macintyre, Oxford Reference Online, accessed 8 November 2006, available from <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t127.e1074>.

94 J. Schultz, ‘The Press’, in *The Media in Australia: Industries, Texts, Audiences*, eds. S. Cunningham and G. Turner (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1997), pp. 29-30.

95 M. Ricketson, ‘Newspaper Feature Writing in Australia 1956-1996’, in *Journalism: Print, Politics and Popular Culture*, eds. A. Curthoys and J. Schultz (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1999), pp. 176-177.

96 Taira, pp. 83-85.

these generally accepted beliefs about the social and political role of the media may shape media representations of people and events, so too may shifting codes of practice and ethical guidelines. The Australian Journalists' Association first promulgated a code of ethics to guide journalists in 1944, and this was revised in 1984. The 1984 revisions included the addition of a section stating that 'unnecessary emphasis' ought not to be put upon a person's race, gender, marital status and so on.⁹⁷ However, negative framings of both Indigeneity and gender continue to be apparent in media portrayals of Indigenous people and of women.

Any analysis of media texts must also take into account the commercial imperatives and production processes of the media as an industry, as these impact upon the packaging of news and features. During the twentieth century, considerable shifts occurred in media ownership. In Australia, the names of Murdoch, Packer and Fairfax loom large in the history of the media industries, and the companies begun by these families had come to dominate the market by the last years of the twentieth century. In New Zealand, Independent Newspapers Limited (INL) and Wilson and Horton had come to own many of the country's newspapers by the late twentieth century. Both were 'New Zealand-controlled ownership blocs', until Wilson and Horton was purchased by the Australian APN News and Media in 1998 and INL was sold to another Australian company, Fairfax Media, in 2003.⁹⁸ Critics in Australia observed that the concentration of ownership, and cross-ownership of different areas of media such as television and newspapers, might adversely affect the level of diversity in views and coverage.⁹⁹ The nature of the media as a commercial industry also means that a focus on commercial realities may play a role in determining what is considered news- or feature-worthy, or in shaping the angle taken on specific issues and events.

Systemic constraints in the industry similarly play an important part in the selection and presentation of news and features. In the production of newspapers in particular, two such factors are the existence of deadlines, the requirement that the paper appear on time, and the 'news hole', the space in the paper remaining for news after advertisements have been placed.¹⁰⁰ Newspapers also often rely upon services such as Reuters in the gathering of news, meaning that very similar stories often appear in newspapers across Australia and New Zealand. At the same time, individual editors and journalists may sometimes help determine the ways in which news and features are selected and reported. For much of the twentieth century, Australian journalists' work was subject to close control

97 D. Bowman, 'The AJA Code', in *Issues in Australian Journalism*, ed. J. Henningham (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1990), p. 54.

98 G. Hannis, 'The New Zealand Press Association 1880-2006: The Rise and Fall of a Co-Operative Model for News Gathering', *Australian Economic History Review* 48, no. 1 (2008), p. 61.

99 B. Bonney and H. Wilson, *Australia's Commercial Media* (South Melbourne: Macmillan, 1983), p. 66.

100 R. Tiffen, 'The Press', in *The Media in Australia: Industries, Texts, Audiences*, eds. S. Cunningham and G. Turner (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1997), p. 195.

by employers.¹⁰¹ However, this approach had weakened by the 1980s as ‘an extensive network of managers’ appeared who often gave less attention to issues of content than owners and editors had done in the past, and editors and journalists started to stress their freedom in the line taken on issues and events.¹⁰² The interplay of commercial, systemic and individual factors in the shaping of media representations of people, events and issues is a complicating factor in any analysis of those representations.

Conclusion

The second half of the twentieth century was a time of great social, cultural and political transformation. In both Australia and New Zealand, an upsurge in Indigenous activism played an important part in bringing about a shift in policies towards Indigenous affairs. Although there were differences in the implementation of policies across the Tasman, it is clear that in the twentieth century a drive towards assimilation was followed in both countries by an official acceptance of self-determination, at least to some degree, although this was significantly reversed in Australia by the Howard government. Similarly, a second wave feminist movement emerged in the 1970s, bringing in its wake significant changes to the social and political positions of women. This period of change was paralleled by the continuation of change in the media industries, as new technologies appeared, and ownership was further consolidated in a small number of large companies. This web of dramatic changes shaped the contexts in which women like Goolagong and Te Kanawa became known to the public, and inevitably shaped the ways in which they were represented in the media. If particular discursive formations hold greater sway than others at particular times, transitions such as occurred in the second half of the twentieth century can subordinate them to new ones. Throughout these years of transformation, competing discourses about assimilation, self-determination, Indigeneity, gender roles and feminism appeared and reappeared in representations of famous Indigenous women, revealing as much about the social and political formations in which they were created as about their ostensible subjects.

101 Schultz, pp. 41-42.

102 Ibid., p. 42.