Mana Wāhine

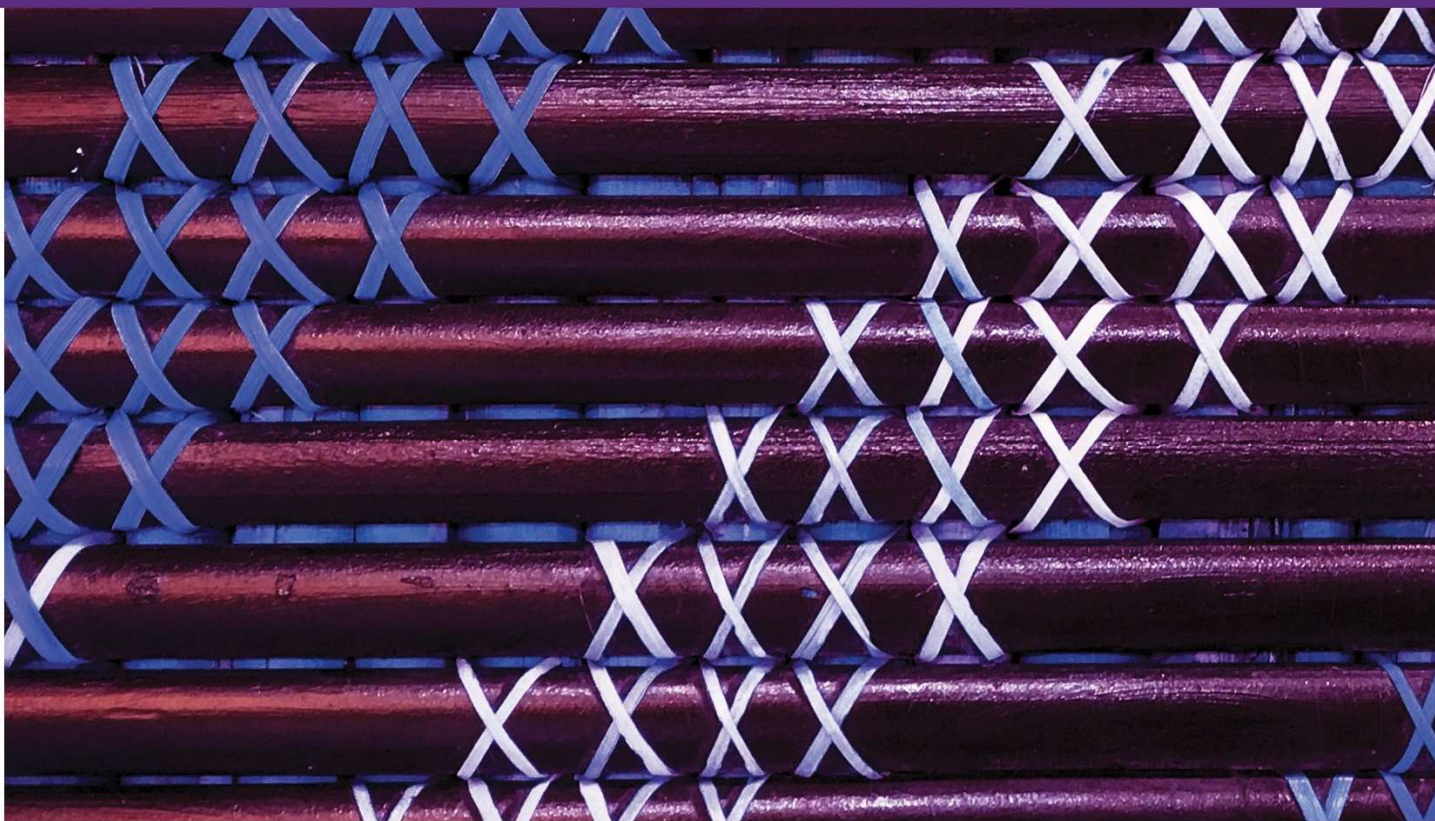## A history of Te Ohu Whakatupu

Author: Dr Kate Geange
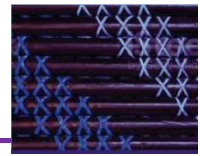
Manatū Wāhine
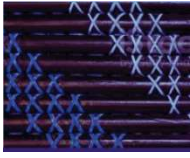**Ministry for Women**

Contents

Acknowledgements

Hapai te ara tika pumau ai te rangatiratanga mo ngā uri whakatipu
Foster the pathway to strength, independence and growth for future generations.

He mihi mahana ki ngā tāngata katoa

I would like to acknowledge the former Chief Executives and staff members of the Ministry and Te Ohu Whakatupu who contributed immensely to this research. Your thoughts, recollections and insights have been invaluable and I sincerely thank you for your time and support.
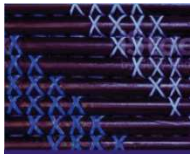
I would like to give special acknowledgement to Mary O'Regan, who was not only keen to share her unique story and experiences of the Ministry's first beginnings, but also presented us with many taonga from her time as Secretary of the Ministry, in the form of photos of events, people and gifts from the very earliest period of the Ministry's history.

I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of those who helped me research and write the narrative with their professional services, including at the Office of the Ombudsman, Ministry of Justice and Te Kawa Mataaho Public Service Commission, as well as staff at The Treasury's CASS library (special thanks to Mary Slatter), the National Library, the Alexander Turnbull Library and Archives New Zealand. Others have helped with proof-reading and editing services, including Ministry of Culture and Heritage Chief Historian Neill Atkinson, Madeleine Collinge and Shelley Carlyle.

I must thank all my colleagues at the Ministry who have been so co-operative and giving of their time and expertise or experience to help me create this narrative, among whom I would like to give special mention to Dr Nicola Ngawati, Milly Tamaki, Maxine Graham, Odette Hoera, Riripeti Reedy, Annie Broughton, Josh Pierson, Mark Stewart, Deb Potter, Chris Gilman, Sean Molloy, Margaret Retter, Deb Malcolm, Kirsty Anderson, Kelsi Lopatecki Cox, Elyse McMinn, Peter Noble, Aaron Hailwood, Penny Dring, and Renee Graham.

Finally, the highest of acknowledgements must be made to two central figures in the Ministry's history who have passed away: Miriama Evans, co-founder and first Director/Manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu; and Te Riria Proctor, a key staff member through the whole of the unit's life.

Miriama Evans was the backbone and driving force of Te Ohu Whakatupu in its early years; the sustained existence of Ohu Whakatupu was due to her incredible dedication and hard work. She ensured the unit bore a lasting legacy through its work for wāhine Māori, well after it was eventually dissolved. Miriama sadly passed away too soon, in August 2018, and before this history could benefit from her lived experience and vast mātauranga Māori.

Supported by her friend and colleague, Pat Duncan, Te Riria Proctor made the huge effort on her part to come to the Ministry, to share her story with us; gifting us her incredibly extensive memories of her experience helping to build and foster Te Ohu Whakatupu from its first inception, right up until its dissolution. Te Riria was passionate about her work at this period, connecting with wāhine Māori in all areas of the country in order to serve their needs. She was so keen to ensure that the story of Te Ohu Whakatupu was told, that its achievements and learning from its establishment and early bicultural approach not be forgotten. We at the Ministry are very sad that Te Riria passed away before she was able to see the final publication of the history.

Dr. Kate Geange
June 2021
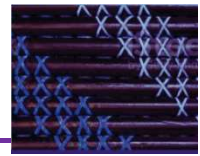
Synopsis

Mana Wāhine: A history of Te Ohu Whakatupu is a history of the Ministry for Women that primarily focuses on the story of Te Ohu Whakatupu,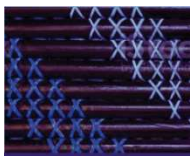 the Māori Women's policy unit established immediately after the foundation of the Ministry to serve the interests of wāhine Māori. It investigates and accounts for the dissolution of Te Ohu Whakatupu in 2003.

This history finds that Te Ohu Whakatupu was gradually re-structured out of existence because of a large, general policy shift in the design of policy agencies and their relationships with Māori across government in the early 2000s. In the Ministry this shift can be seen in the move towards embedding a Treaty framework into all of the Ministry's policy work. The main re-structure of the unit into other teams happened in early 2003.

While there was strong funding pressure on the Ministry at this time, that led to staff numbers being severely cut, this was not the key factor in the elimination of Te Ohu Whakatupu. The unit was able to be disestablished because the kaupapa of the unit was restructured gradually as policies were changed. The unit was subsumed into other teams, as it was seen to be in the interest of the kaupapa.

The idea was that the most effective way for Te Ohu Whakatupu to make progress was to input kaupapa principles into all policy work undertaken by the Ministry - specifically through the implementation of Treaty principles into all policy work and legislation undertaken in New Zealand. It was thought that this would then impact the population as a whole, not only Māori. This should have meant that all policy would be designed to respect and improve the lives of Māori, rather than being restricted to a separate workstream or special programmes with a limited impact. The principle behind the move to the Treaty framework was an intention to uphold the interests of the kaupapa, and appeared to be a plausible way of achieving its aims.

By the end of 2003 the unit had been completely lost, as the last of the original staff-members left. It meant that the Ministry no longer had an independent body of wāhine Māori in the public service, representing and advocating for distinctively wāhine Māori perspectives. It also meant that the Ministry no longer had the same connection with Māori communities, as the extensive network of contacts with the community that the staff of Te Ohu Whakatupu had gathered was lost. The Ministry therefore no longer had the same access to the views of Māori women to inform the Ministry's policy advice. As a consequence the Ministry drifted away from and eventually abandoned almost all policy work targeted directly at, and for, wāhine Māori, up until the current period.

Introduction

Purpose

The principal aim of this project was to document the history of the Ministry's engagement with wāhine Māori from 1984 up to the present, primarily through the story of Te Ohu Whakatupu - the Māori Women's policy unit.
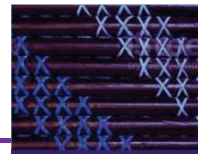
The project had two primary goals:

- To contribute to the Ministry's research in regard to its past engagement with wāhine Māori both historically and currently. The research intersects with the engagement framework produced by the Joint Roopū, where opportunities were made for contact with wāhine Māori from the Ministry's past, including previous Te Ohu Whakatupu managers and Ministry Chief Executives
- To produce an historic record of the Ministry that will be made available to the general public (including the academic research community) through our website. Part of the narrative record includes some film files from the key wāhine Māori staff who have contributed to the research. The narrative history of the Ministry provides a taonga for the Ministry, our partners, stakeholders and New Zealand women, and a resource for future generations and researchers.

Since one of the project's primary goals was to create an evidence resource, it surveys both research about the Ministry, and research published by the Ministry. The project includes a literature review, which summarises Ministry publications, in order to ensure that previously commissioned research, think pieces, policy documents, major submissions and published material were collected in one place and provide a guide to this collection. The literature review is accompanied by an annotated bibliography, briefly summarising sources about or relating to the Ministry, to assist future researchers.

Approach

The approach the Ministry has taken is to present the project as a narrative history through thematic chapters (see structure outline below). This means that the introductory history of the Ministry as a whole is treated as a narrative summary of its history, rather than a detailed timeline. Similarly, the historical narrative does not concentrate on the effectiveness of Te Ohu Whakatupu policy work, or socio-economic outcomes achieved.

Rather, it creates a general narrative account for future researchers that focuses on the remit of the project, setting out answers to two specific questions – how and why Te Ohu Whakatupu was established, and why it was eventually dissolved. The history does however reflect on the extent to which the Ministry has prioritised wāhine Māori in its policy work.

The first chapter gives a broad outline of the history of the entire Ministry, while subsequent chapters focus on the history of Te Ohu Whakatupu, within broad chronological themes. Chapters also include a description of the Ministry's policy work and strategic plans.

The following three chapters focus on the history of Te Ohu Whakatupu, within broad chronological themes. They create a general narrative account of Te Ohu Whakatupu for future researchers, rather than concentrate on the effectiveness of Te Ohu Whakatupu policy work. The narrative does however include a description of the Ministry's policy work and strategic plans, which reflect the extent to which the Ministry has prioritised wāhine Māori in its policy work.

The final chapter summarises the brief history of the Mana Wāhine Joint Roopū that was set up to coordinate and lead the response from the Crown to the Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry. It includes a brief summary of the Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry from 2019, and the rationale for its introduction. It also outlines the progress of the Joint Roopū up to the current day.

The key questions the project has sought to answer are:

- What were the drivers and purpose of the original establishment of the Ministry?
- Was there a distinct focus on wāhine Māori when the Ministry was first established, and then during the first decade?
- Why and how was Te Ohu Whakatupu established as a distinct Māori unit?
- What led to its dissolution?

Methodology

My methodological process consisted of two core approaches to gathering evidence: using documentary evidence and oral history evidence. These two approaches reflect and give equal weight to both Pākehā verification and analytical techniques and traditional kaupapa Māori historical practice, in order to realise a bicultural approach to history, as envisaged by the Treaty of Waitangi principles of Partnership, Equal Treatment and Cooperation.

The documentary evidence consists of three types of primary sources: publicly available records (or available upon request) from Archives New Zealand; manuscripts within the Alexander Turnbull Library collections; and many Ministry publications. The latter include reports, studies, statements, papers, newsletters and pamphlets, available both in the National Library and online. Secondary sources have also had a major role to play in establishing research on the Ministry, primarily consisting of books, articles and theses available online and from libraries throughout the country.

The other core part of the methodological process was the kaupapa Māori research approach, which, for this project, primarily consisted of conducting recorded oral interviews. The interviews were part of the process to establish the historical narrative, as

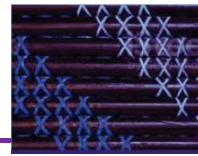well as providing a valuable resource for the Ministry and researchers. The Ministry sent letters to 14 previous staff members, to request interviews. We wanted a representative sample of staff from across the areas and life of the Ministry, but focusing on Te Ohu Whakatupu. We therefore invited some Chief Executives from the period Te Ohu Whakatupu was in existence, some managers of Te Ohu Whakatupu, and some other staff members who worked across the whole history of Te Ohu Whakatupu. We interviewed those who agreed over the following month.

The interviews principally consisted of discussions of the memories and experiences of the interviewees, occasionally guided by questions. Starting off with a list of the same questions for all interviewees, these questions were generated from the primary topics of interest for the project, or from gaps in knowledge and issues of uncertainty. During interviews the questions were led by the discussion, in order to maintain the free-flow of kōrero, and a drift of memories and stories.

Using oral evidence from a particular, selected group of individuals means that the work and perspectives of those individuals are highlighted.

Structure outline

- Introduction: Outline project aim, approach, methodology (primarily regarding data collection and interviews), summary and structure.
- Chapter One: Broad chronological outline of the entire Ministry from its creation in 1985 to the present. Focusing particularly on the core policy work of the Ministry as well as important Ministry dates, it ends with a short summary of current Ministry projects.
- Chapter Two: Detailed history of the formation of Te Ohu Whakatupu from 1985, through its first years up to 1988, under the leadership of Miriama Evans. The chapter focuses on the employment of wāhine Māori in Te Ohu Whakatupu – including the employment process, as well as on specific events organised and held by the group as part of their initial direction and efforts on behalf of wāhine Māori.
- Chapter Three: Account of the activities of Te Ohu Whakatupu, from 1988 until its final dissolution in 2003. The chapter looks at the unit's networks and interaction with wāhine Māori during this period, primarily through organisations such as Te Rōpū Wāhine Māori Toko i te Ora, or Māori Women's Welfare League, and events such as multiple rūnanga kuia.
- Chapter Four: History of the 'Policy Unit', where one Kaihautū (Māori Advisor) was responsible for Māori staff and strategic outputs, from 2004 to 2010, and the following period up to the present, with no official Māori Advisor or team. The chapter highlights the policy focus and key publications produced by the unit during this period.
- Chapter Five: Brief history of the Mana Wāhine Joint Roopū. Starting with a brief summary of the start of the Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry in 2019, it describes the creation and progress of the Joint Roopū.
- Timeline: A visual timeline depicting the key events.
- Literature review of Ministry publications arranged by theme and in chronological order. It consists of an abstract or short summary of each publication. Themes include:

Wāhine Māori and Pasifika; Sociological and Demographic Research; International Studies; Women in the Economy; Violence against women; Women in Trades; Governance/Leadership; and the Gender Pay Gap.

- Annotated bibliography of all sources not actually published by the Ministry, including National Archive files and Turnbull Library manuscripts. Annotation consists of a short note describing the subject matter of each publication, with an accompanying hyperlink if online, or otherwise how or where it can be accessed.

Images 1–3 – Launch of the Ministry of Women's Affairs (1986)

Image 1 – The first Te Ohu Whakatupu team with David Lange and Māori Women's Welfare League leaders.
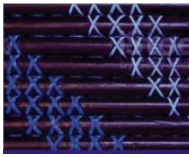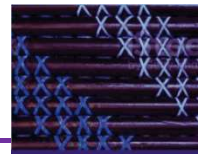
Image 2 – Left to Right Prime Minister David Lange, Pirima Adams and Māori Women's Welfare League leader Mira Szászy.

Image 3 – Left to Right – Prime Minister David Lange, Secretary of Women's Affairs Mary O'Regan, and Minister of Women's Affairs Ann Hercus.

1 A summary of the Ministry from 1985 to the present

The establishment of the Ministry – 1974–1985

In 1974 a subcommittee of the National Development Council (founded in July 1969 to monitor the adoption of national and sector growth targets and recommendations set as a result of National Development Conferences 1968-69), was re-structured into the Committee of Women.[1] Two years later the subcommittee was expanded and allotted the responsibility to advise the Government on women's issues.[2] In 1981, the committee became the Advisory Committee on Women's Affairs (ACWA).[3] It administered the extensive Project Fund, housed and administered the Women's Appointment File (later becoming the women's nominations directory), and produced a news-sheet. It also acted as a liaison to women's groups in the community. However women involved in the committee soon felt ignored by the Government, and publicly stated that the committee was not able to carry out its function through a lack of government support.[4]

During the campaign for the 1984 election the Labour Party's 1984 Policy Statement, and its manifesto, promised to establish a Ministry especially devoted to Women's Affairs.[5] After the new Labour Government was elected it created a new Cabinet Minister role as Minister of Women's Affairs. Prime Minister David Lange appointed Ann Hercus (later Dame) the new Minister in July 1984.[6] The new Minister was included as a member of Cabinet Committees, including a newly formed Social Equity (Cabinet) 'Sector' Committee.[7] The key mission for Minister Hercus was to deliver on the Labour Party's

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[1] 'Brief for Hon. M A Hercus, Incoming Minister of Women's Affairs, prepared by the ACWA Secretariat', p. 1, in Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-38 – Series 11 Brief for incoming Minister of Women's Affairs (1984-85) (MS-Group-2038) [Rowan, Jennifer Daphne, 1949–: Papers relating to women's issues 1974–1985].
[2] 'Brief for Hon. M A Hercus, Incoming Minister of Women's Affairs, prepared by the ACWA Secretariat', p. 1, in Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-38 – Series 11 Brief for incoming Minister of Women's Affairs (1984-85) (MS-Group-2038) [Rowan, Jennifer Daphne, 1949–: Papers relating to women's issues 1974–1985].
[3] Mike Hannah, 'Ann Hercus: the voice of women in Cabinet and Government', in Archives NZ, R3836674, AAFH 785 W5485/75, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 1, Efficiency and Economy – Administration of Functions – [General] – Machinery of Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984.
[4] 'Brief for Hon. M A Hercus, Incoming Minister of Women's Affairs, prepared by the ACWA Secretariat'; July 8 1982, Labour Caucus Committee on Women's Affairs Press Statement, in Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-38; 'Press Statement from National Advisory Committee on Women and Education' in Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-09.
[5] 1 October 1984, Memorandum to Cabinet, 'Establishment of a Ministry of Women's Affairs', in Archives NZ, R3836674, AAFH 785 W5485/75, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency And Economy – Administration of Functions – [General] – Machinery of Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984.
[6] In 1988 Ann Hercus was appointed a Dame Commander of the Order of St Michael and St George, for public services.
[7] Cabinet circular in Archives NZ, R15990318, ABKH W4105/45, WA-ADM, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1986.

promise to create an entirely new Ministry to represent women's issues. As soon as Labour won the election the pressure started building to deliver on this promise.

Minister Hercus formed an advisory group of 13 influential women leaders in the community, including several well-known public servants, academics and feminists, who were made responsible for organising all the associated details, as well as advising Minister Hercus on the big decisions about the Ministry.[8] The group started to write proposal papers on how the Ministry would look and work, including an introductory budget; proposals on its structure, control functions and staffing; and guidelines for future policy action and community networking.[9] In September 1984 Cabinet approved Cabinet Paper CM 84 /33/13, which gave approval 'in principle' for the Minister to investigate different options, and then "submit detailed proposals on the role, functions and organisation of the Ministry".[10]

Minister Hercus fully expected that it was going to be a very long and complex process to establish a new Ministry, particularly since there were so few examples to draw on, either internationally or within New Zealand.[11] To assist the advisory group she asked the State Services Commission (SSC) to provide some potential options for the functions and operations of the Ministry.[12] She also understood that it was essential to secure a fairly broad level of public support for the Ministry, particularly from women, and that this required learning and understanding what women actually needed and expected the Ministry to achieve.[13]

Minister Hercus was therefore committed to public consultation as part of the process of establishing the Ministry. Twenty-one conferences known as Women's Forums were held throughout the country between October and December 1984. There were two forums

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[8] The group included Helen Clark, Judith Aitken, Margaret Wilson and Annette King. 'Hercus names women advisors', in Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-23 - The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/20-7/45.

[9] 10 August 1984, 'Setting priorities the development of a 3 year plan' and 'Proposed Purposes, Functions, and Structure of Ministry of Women's Affairs', in Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-23 - The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/20-7/45; 'Guidelines for action by the Ministry for Women's Affairs' and 'Creating Linkages Between the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Women in the Community – A Discussion of Options' in Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-24 – The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/46-7/57.

[10] Cabinet Paper CM 84/33/13 in Archives NZ, R3836674, AAFH 785 W5485/75, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 1, Efficiency And Economy – Administration of Functions – [General] – Machinery of Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984; 1 October 1984, Memorandum to Cabinet, 'Establishment of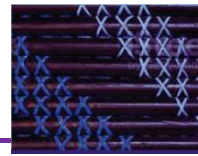 a Ministry of Women's Affairs' in Archives NZ, R3836674, AAFH 785 W5485/75, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency And Economy – Administration of Functions – [General] – Machinery of Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984.

[11] Lindsey Dawson, 'The Birth of a Ministry', More, p. 25, in Archives NZ, R3836675, AAFH 785 W5485/75, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 1/A, Efficiency And Economy – Administration of Functions – [General] – Machinery of Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984.

[12] 2 August 1984, Minister Hercus to Minister of State Services; 13 August 1984, 'Ministry of Women's Affairs', in Archives NZ, R3836675, AAFH 785 W5485/75, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 1, Efficiency and Economy – Administration of Functions – [General] – Machinery of Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984. The SSC was renamed Te Kawa Mataaho: Public Service Commission under the Public Service Act 2020.

[13] Lindsey Dawson, 'The Birth of a Ministry', More, p. 28, in Archives NZ, R3836675, AAFH 785 W5485/75, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 1/A, Efficiency And Economy – Administration of Functions – [General] – Machinery of Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984.

held at Wellington: one on 31 August and the other on 17 November 1984, attended by 1,500 women.[14] At the earlier forum, a group of wāhine Māori produced a submission to the Government requesting a special Māori unit to look after wāhine Māori affairs, which led to the creation of Te Ohu Whakatupu (see Chapter Two).[15]

In late October 1984, Minister Hercus presented a paper to Cabinet outlining its advice on the form and role of the proposed Ministry, and recommending its approval.[16] Minister Hercus had been warned that the legislative path to establishing the Ministry was not as easy as had been thought, so that either the State Services Act 1962 would have to be amended, with minor amendments to the second and third schedules, or the Statutes Amendment Bill.[17] Minister Hercus had to seek permission from the Public Service Association (PSA) for the change to the Statutes Amendment Bill, which was subsequently given on 11 October 1984.[18] However, the Opposition spokesperson on Women's Affairs opposed the move, and instead asked that a separate bill be introduced, in order that the Select Committee process be completed, so the public could make submissions.[19]

An amendment to the State Services Act therefore had to be drafted by the SSC instead. The length of time the amendment had to take to go through the parliamentary process caused significant delays to the establishment of the Ministry. It became a significant problem, as it meant that a new Secretary could not be appointed or take up the post for several months. In the meantime as many tasks as possible would have to be achieved by an acting Secretary on their behalf.[20]

The Select Committee stage of the bill went smoothly, and no changes had to be made. Hundreds of public submissions were sent to the Select Committee at this stage of the parliamentary process.[21] The submissions were from both individuals and a great number of all the major women's groups and organisations throughout the country; some opposed the bill, but the majority supported the proposed Ministry. The latter included

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[14] *1984 Women's Forums*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1985.

[15] 'Submissions to the Ministry from a Working Group of Māori women of Tamaki-Makaurau (August 1984)', in Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-24 - The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/46-7/57.

[16] 1 October 1984, Memorandum to Cabinet, 'Establishment of a Ministry of Women's Affairs', in Archives NZ, R3836674, AAFH 785 W5485/75, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 1/A, Efficiency And Economy – Administration of Functions – [General] – Machinery of Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984.

[17] 4 October 1984, 'The Proposed Ministry of Women's Affairs', in Archives NZ, R3836674, AAFH 785 W5485/75, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 1/A, Efficiency and Economy – Administration of Functions – [General] – Machinery of Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984.

[18] 11 October 1984, PSA Secretary to Minister of Women's Affairs, in Archives NZ, R3836678, AAFH 785 W5485/76, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency And Economy Admin [Administration] of Functions] – [Ministry of Women's Affairs], 1984.

[19] 11 October 1984, Opposition spokesperson on Women's Affairs to Minister of Women's Affairs, in Archives NZ, R3836678, AAFH 785 W5485/76, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency And Economy Admin [Administration] of Functions] – [Ministry of Women's Affairs], 1984.

[20] Minister of State Services, 'The Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs', in Archives NZ, R3836678, AAFH 785 W5485/76, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency And Economy Admin [Administration] of Functions] – [Ministry of Women's Affairs], 1984; Pat Rosier, 'Up and running', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 157, No. 14 (1988), p. 10.

[21] Archives NZ, R22446206, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 1, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985 (83w); Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-24 – The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/46-7/57.

submissions from groups as varied as Women against Pornography, Women Probation Officers and the Lesbian Mothers Defence Fund. One submission specifically mentioned a section of the bill relating to "women of Pacific Island origin or descent", supporting the Ministry in order to support diversity and reflect the "views and perspectives of Pacific Island women as the largest immigrant grouping".[22]

Cabinet finally directed the official creation of the Ministry of Women's Affairs on 19 November 1984, in Cabinet Paper CM 84/45/8. The Cabinet memo sets out the purpose of the Ministry as being to:

- Advise the Minister of Women's Affairs on the implications of the Government's policies and public sector plans and expenditure programmes in terms of their differential impact on women;
- Monitor and initiate legislation and regulations in order to promote equality of opportunity for women;
- Advise the Minister of Women's Affairs of suitable nominees for the appointment of women to statutory bodies and other quasi-governmental bodies;
- Advise the Minister of Women's Affairs on any matter relevant to the implementation of the Government's Manifesto where this has implications or explicitly refers to women.[23]

The Cabinet paper also noted that in order to establish the Ministry, an amendment to Schedules 2 and 3 of the State Services Act 1962 would be required.[24]

On 10 January 1985, New Zealand ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), requiring periodic progress reports to be submitted to the CEDAW monitoring committee. The Ministry of Women's Affairs became the agency responsible for attending and submitting and publishing CEDAW reports to the monitoring committee, and administering the Optional Protocol.

The Ministry was created (as specified in the Cabinet paper and legislation) as a completely policy-oriented Ministry, the smallest at only 20 staff. It would not have any operational wing, but the SSC would act as its 'host' agency in terms of financial administration and other matters.[25] No other government agency had a policy function specifically for women.

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[22] Archives NZ, R22446206, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 1, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985 (83w).
[23] 19 November 1984, Cabinet Paper CM 84/45/8 in Archives NZ, R3836678, AAFH 785 W5485/76, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency And Economy Admin [Administration] of Functions – [Ministry of Women's Affairs], 1984.
[24] 19 November 1984, Cabinet Paper CM 84/45/8 in Archives NZ, R3836678, AAFH 785 W5485/76, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency And Economy Admin [Administration] of Functions – [Ministry of Women's Affairs], 1984.
[25] 'Draft Estimates Review 1985-86, Vote: Women's Affairs' in Archives NZ, R1004545, AAFH 785 W4499/73, 20/21/62, Pt V1, Efficiency And Economy – Administration of Functions – Budget Cycle/Departmental
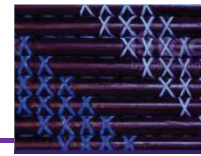
Minister Hercus began the process of searching for a 'Secretary of Women's Affairs' to head the new Ministry. While the Minister made the large decisions about the Ministry, the advisory group had significant influence on those decisions. Writing the job descriptions was a long, involved process, necessitating the input of almost all the members, followed by an assessment of the descriptions by the SSC.[26] When the SSC had finished with the drafts, Margaret Bazley (later Dame) asked for submissions from several members of the group (including Mira Szászy – see Chapter Two) on the returned drafts.[27]

The SSC had a substantial amount of power in its role overseeing the establishment of the Ministry, and influence over the fiscal planning and appointments process in particular, given the role it was to play supporting the financial administration of the Ministry.[28] Even at this early point the influence of the SSC had an impact, as it made significant modifications to the job description, in line with its more traditional interpretation of the role. Several staff members were unhappy with the way the SSC had modified the job description, stating that:

> The SSC draft does not reflect the policies and decision of government to establish the Ministry to act as an agent of positive change on matters affecting women. The redrafted job description attached endeavours to make explicit the innovatory role that the Ministry must have to be effective. It reflects the functions for the Ministry proposed by the advisory group and accepted by the Minister.[29]

Once redrafts of the job descriptions had finally been fully approved and signed off, the position was advertised in the papers. At that point, the process became even more involved, as the SSC invited a 'select' group of women, drawn from multiple women's organisations, to make up a consultation panel. After consulting with the groups, the SSC shortlisted candidates from the 50 applications, and conducted interviews.[30]

Resource Management – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1985; 19 November 1984, Cabinet Paper CM 84/45/8 in Archives NZ, R3836678, AAFH 785 W5485/76, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency And Economy Admin [Administration] of Functions] – [Ministry of Women's Affairs], 1984.
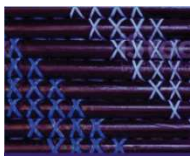
[26] 'Draft Estimates Review 1985-86/Vote: Women's Affairs' in Archives NZ, R1004545, AAFH 785 W4499/73, 20/21/62, Pt V1, Efficiency And Economy – Administration of Functions – Budget Cycle/Departmental Resource Management – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1985; 19 December 1986, 22 May 1987, 'Designated Positions' in Archives NZ, R1004697, AAFH 785 W4499/92, 22/4/62, V2, State Services Commission – Powers and Authority/Delegation/Departmental – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1987.

[27] 4 March 1985, Advisory Group to SSC Commissioner in Archives NZ, R22446207, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985. Margaret Bazley was appointed a Dame Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit in 1999.

[28] 'Appointments under Section 29', in Archives NZ, R22446207, AAFH 785 W3654/40125, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985; Archives NZ, R1004697, AAFH 785 W4499/92, 22/4/62, V2, State Services Commission – Powers and Authority/Delegation/Departmental - Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1987; R1004545, AAFH 785 W4499/73, 20/21/62, Pt V1, Efficiency And Economy – Administration of Functions – Budget Cycle/Departmental Resource Management – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1985.

[29] 4 March 1985, Beresford, Long, Noonan to SSC Commissioner (Bazley), 'Ministry of Women's Affairs: Draft Job Description', in Archives NZ, R22446207, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985.

[30] Interview, Mary O'Regan, 20 August 2020; 18 May 1985, 'Women help choose own leader', in Archives NZ, R22446207, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985.

When it eventually decided to appoint Mary O'Regan, it was with substantial support from many leading figures and women's groups.

First term: the Ministry under Mary O'Regan – 1985–88

In July of 1985 Mary O'Regan was appointed first Secretary of the Ministry of Women's Affairs. The Third UN World Conference on Women was being held in Nairobi from 15 to 26 July to mark the end of the UN Decade for Women. New Zealand was sending a delegation led by Minister Hercus, including Helen Clark, of the Māori Women's Welfare League (MWWL) President Georgina Kirby (later Dame), Federation of Labour Vice-President Sonja Davies and delegates from the International Council of Women and National Council of Women.[31] It was important for O'Regan to attend also, as the first head of a new Ministry of Women's Affairs, so, despite the inconvenience, she went straight to join the delegation leaving for Nairobi on her very first official day at the Ministry.[32]

The staff hiring process was led by Mary O'Regan, with very little help. On her return from the Nairobi Conference she found that the SSC had already started an appointment process while she was away, including for Te Ohu Whakatupu. O'Regan cancelled this process and ensured that she was directly responsible for all new appointments, apart from Te Ohu Whakatupu staff, who were selected through a completely different process (see Chapter Two).[33] The appointment process was long and complex, with 19 roles to appoint (including the supporting administrative staff). All of the roles were required to be advertised in the newspapers and every interview had to be written up for the SSC with a rationale for the preferred candidate for each role.[34] It was not until May 1986 that all staff for the Ministry were finally appointed, upon which the Ministry was officially opened by the Prime Minister and the Ministers of Women's Affairs and Māori Affairs.[35]

[31] Miriam Dell, *Report on the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievement of the UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace*; Jocelyn Fish, *Report on the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievement of the UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace* in Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Group-2038, [Rowan, Jennifer Daphne, 1949–: Papers relating to women's issues 1974–1985], Series 52/44 – Series 8 The establishment of Women's Affairs, MS-Papers-11269-22 – The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/1-7/19. Georgina Kirby was appointed a Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1994.

[32] Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Group-2038, [Rowan, Jennifer Daphne, 1949–: Papers relating to women's issues 1974–1985], Series 52/44 – Series 8 The establishment of Women's Affairs, MS-Papers-11269-22 – The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/1-7/19; Interview, Mary O'Regan, 20 August 2020; Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, p. 44.

[33] Interview, Mary O'Regan, 20 August 2020; 8 July 1985, Workman to Bryson, 'Ministry of Women's Affairs: Vacancy 5806' in Archives NZ, R3836674, AAFH 785 W5485/75, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency And Economy – Administration of Functions – [General] – Machinery of Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984; 'Annex 3: Procedure for the Appointment of Staff of Te Ohu Whakatupu', R4196502, AAFH 6790 W5510/322, SOC-3-1-MWA, Pt 1, Social Services Division – Māori Policy – Responsiveness In The State Sector – Ministry Of Women's Affairs (MWA), 1988–90.

[34] Interview, Mary O'Regan, 20 August 2020.

[35] Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, p. 53.

Image 4 – Left to Right – Penny Fenwick (Deputy Secretary), Miriama Evans (Director Te Ohu Whakatupu), Mary O'Regan and Jill Abigail (Director of Information and Liaison).
Photo courtesy New Zealand Herald

Community engagement was seen as one of the core objectives of the Ministry when it was established. Both the Minister and O'Regan believed that it was important to tap into community expertise to inform policy development in the priority areas that had been recommended by the nation-wide Women's Forums that preceded the Ministry. O'Regan had experience working in both policy and community development roles, including as women's advisory officer for the Vocational Training Council and assistant director of the Nelson Community Education Service, which was the role she left to take up the position at the Ministry.[36] She was appointed partly because of these grass-roots community links – Minister Hercus and the appointment consultants saw this as an important element, in order to have the support of women in the community and to ensure access to their knowledge and expertise. O'Regan shared this aspiration; she viewed the relationship between the Ministry and women's organisations as symbiotic, and as a conduit for women in the community through to the policy makers, and vice versa. They needed each other to ensure policies were developed that met women's needs.[37]

It also meant that O'Regan was very much an outsider in terms of the public service, which in turn gave the Ministry a fiercely independent spirit right from the start.[38] The tone of the Ministry started at the top, and because O'Regan had a hand in hiring most of the staff (as well as the independent hiring process of Te Ohu Whakatupu), essentially the

[36] Jennifer Curtin, *The Ministry of Women's Affairs: Where Feminism and Public Policy Meet*, Unpublished MA thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1992, p. 78; Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, p. 43.
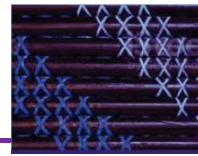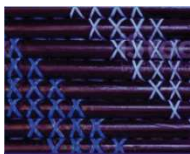[37] Interview, Mary O'Regan, 20 August 2020; Jennifer Curtin, *The Ministry of Women's Affairs: Where Feminism and Public Policy Meet*, Unpublished MA thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1992, p. 110; Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, pp. 41, 43, 74.
[38] Interview, Mary O'Regan, 20 August 2020; Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, pp. 46–49.

entire staff shared a strong feminist vision for the Ministry.[39] O'Regan really believed in the mission of the Ministry that Prime Minister David Lange expressed as: "the Ministry of Women's Affairs has three critical responsibilities; they must work the system, they must challenge the system, and in the end, they must change the system".[40]

For O'Regan, this vision included a non-hierarchical structure for the Ministry, involving a collective decision-making system for the management team, comprising herself and the directors of Te Ohu Whakatupu, policy, information and liaison and administration, which would create a genuine team environment. She created such a system as far as she could within public service constraints, by instituting weekly staff meetings with staff taking turns to chair, and many important decisions made jointly at the meetings.[41] Ideally, the dream for many staff was to lead something of a feminist revolution within the public service, providing a model for a different sort of organisation within it.[42]

The Ministry was therefore heavily involved in reaching out to and working with community groups, working on National Consultation days for different women's groups and sectors of society.[43] It organised seminars and events to raise awareness and knowledge, and gain information about various women's issues.[44] The Ministry worked on a pilot scheme for establishing women's resource networks, involving skills training in group processes. The resource network focused on Northland and the West Coast region as priorities for economic development; the latter operated in liaison with the new community polytechnic, and was given further funding to overcome the difficulties of travel in the region.[45] This project was half funded by government and half by a donation from the Roy McKenzie Foundation.

The Ministry also distributed 'Project Fund' grants to assist women's organisations. The Project Fund was run by the Independent Projects Funds Committee, which received applications for the thousands of dollars in grant funding that the Ministry administered, and made recommendations to the Ministry as to which projects to support every six months. The committee was very inclusive, specifically mandated to take into account the interests of

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[39] Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, pp. 71–74; 76–78.

[40] David Lange, *The Women's Voice*, VHS, Duration: 22 minutes (colour), Produced by Perspective Video for Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1988.

[41] Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, pp. 52–57, 75–76; Maud Cahill and Christine Dann (Eds.), *Changing Our Lives: Women Working in the Women's Liberation Movement 1970–1990*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1991, pp. 144–145.

[42] Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, pp. 54–57; Maud Cahill and Christine Dann (Eds.), *Changing Our Lives: Women Working in the Women's Liberation Movement 1970–1990*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1991; Rosier, Pat, 'Up and running', Broadsheet, Vol. 157, No. 14 (1988) pp. 14–18; *The Women's Voice*, VHS, Duration: 22 minutes (colour), Produced by Perspective Video for Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1988.

[43] Pat Rosier, 'Up and running', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 157, No. 14 (1988), p. 15.

[44] Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003].

[45] Pat Rosier, 'Up and running', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 157, No. 14 (1988), pp. 15–16.

all communities and groups of women. It also tried to be as flexible as it could, distributing small grants in order to cover as many and as wide a range of projects as possible.[46]

The community links provided by the Project Fund were an invaluable source of information for the Ministry.[47]

One of the first priorities for the Ministry, as stipulated in the founding legislation, was to provide policy advice for other agencies on issues that affected women. Recognising her own lack of public service experience, O'Regan had appointed a Deputy Secretary and Director of Policy who both had extensive government policy experience. The Ministry was deeply involved with a large-scale policy shift, with the transfer of childcare from the Department of Social Welfare to the Department of Education. Minister Hercus announced the shift, to acknowledge the vital link between childcare and education, and commissioned a report on childcare from the Social Advisory Council in early 1985.[48] The barely formed Ministry participated in a subsequent forum on childcare held in the Legislative Council Chamber of Parliament in December, though it did not yet have the capacity to really contribute regarding policy. The Ministry continued to work on childcare, through its representation on the SSC working party on provision of childcare for public servants.[49] The Ministry even advised the Minister of Recreation and Sport, by providing extensive 'comments' (a full analysis of) on its report 'Sport on the Move' at the request of the Minister himself.[50]

The Ministry took over the management of the Women's Appointment File from the ACWA, as one of the primary functions of the Ministry, outlined by the Cabinet Circular directive.[51] The changeover was attended by controversy as the Women's Appointment File staff were apparently unaware at the start that this was part of the intention of establishing the new Ministry.[52] However it became one of the Ministry's most important functions over its history, which has continued up to the present day in the form of the Nominations unit.

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[46] 'Newsletter *Pānui*', June 1988, No. 9, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003]; 30 July 1986, 'Project Fund Grants', News release Minister of Women's Affairs in 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003].

[47] Interview, Mary O'Regan, 20 August 2020.

[48] Jennifer Curtin, *The Ministry of Women's Affairs: Where Feminism and Public Policy Meet*, Unpublished MA thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1992, pp. 63–64.

[49] Jennifer Curtin, *The Ministry of Women's Affairs: Where Feminism and Public Policy Meet*, Unpublished MA thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1992, p. 69.

[50] 20 December 1985, Secretary of Women's Affairs to Urban Research Associates; 'Ministry of Women's Affairs comments on Sport on the Move' in Archives NZ, R9271893, AADT 579/3/co, Ministry of Women's Affairs – Mary O'Regan, 1985.

[51] 19 November 1984, Cabinet Paper CM 84/45/8 in Archives NZ, R3836678, AAFH 785 W5485/76, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency And Economy Admin [Administration] of Functions] – [Ministry of Women's Affairs], 1984.

[52] 18 April 1985, Women's Appointment File to SSC Chairman in Archives NZ, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985.

In April of 1986 the Ministry also undertook to publish the Women in Agriculture (WAg) magazine from the Women in Agriculture Network, as the network no longer had the resources to continue to fund it.[53] The Ministry employed the editor of the magazine from that point, and the magazine's publication office was moved to the Ministry offices.[54] The Ministry saw their 'congregation' as diverse, and tried to ensure that rural women were included in policy thinking as well as urban women. This universal approach saw the organisation Women in Agriculture also given some funding by the Ministry. The Ministry co-sponsored a workshop, which involved a session specifically on the Ministry, and a gathering called the 'United Rural Women's Gathering'.[55]

In 1986, the SSC carried out the first ever review of the Ministry of Women's Affairs. The review was actually mandated by the Cabinet Circular and legislation establishing the Ministry.[56] This was followed by a regular SSC review of agencies in 1988, the State Services Commission Review of Staffing Resources. The Ministry submitted a proposal to this review to double its number of staff to 43. During the review, the SSC recognised how drastically understaffed the Ministry was for its purpose, and granted a 50 per cent increase in staffing numbers.[57] Between the two reviews, in August of 1987, Margaret Shields (later Dame) was appointed the second Minister of Women's Affairs.[58]

In 1988, the Ministry contributed a submission to the Cervical Cancer Inquiry (after having developed the policy that led to the national cervical screening programme), the Royal Commission on Social Policy, and the Income Maintenance Task Force. Ministry staff attended meetings with other departments and secured women as consumer representatives on committees, such as the Intra-Uterine Contraceptive Device Committee. The Ministry aimed to get other departments to include women in their policy making from the start.[59] To that end, the Ministry ensured there were senior staff in key

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[53] April 1986, 'A New Era', *WAg Mag*, No. 20; May 1986, Director (Information and Liaison) to 'all participants at the United Rural Women's Gathering', in Archives NZ, R15990318, ABKH W4105/45, WA-ADM, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1986.

[54] April 1986, 'A New Era', *WAg Mag*, No. 20; May 1986, Director (Information and Liaison) to 'all participants at the United Rural Women's Gathering', in Archives NZ, R15990318, ABKH W4105/45, WA-ADM, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1986.

[55] April 1986, 'A New Era', *WAg Mag*, No. 20; May 1986, Director (Information and Liaison) to 'all participants at the United Rural Women's Gathering', in Archives NZ, R159903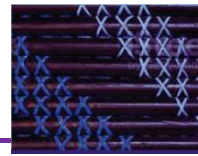18, ABKH W4105/45, WA-ADM, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1986; Anne Else (Ed.), *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand in the Ministry of Commerce and its Predecessors, 1894–1993*, Women's Suffrage Centennial Project, Ministry of Commerce in association with Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs and Daphne Brasell Associates, Wellington, 1993, p. 400.

[56] 19 November 1984, Cabinet Paper CM 84/45/8 in Archives NZ, R3836678, AAFH 785 W5485/76, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency And Economy Admin [Administration] of Functions] – [Ministry of Women's Affairs], 1984.

[57] Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, p. 69; 16 May 1986, 'Rural Women's Gathering', EO Federated Farmers to Secretary of Women's Affairs; 'Green Workshop' in Archives NZ, R15990318, ABKH W4105/45, WA-ADM, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1986.

[58] Margaret Shields was appointed a Distinguished Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit in 2008, and redesignated a Dame Companion in 2009.

[59] Pat Rosier, 'Up and running', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 157, No. 14 (1988), pp. 14–15; Marion McLeod, 'Out among the women', *NZ Listener*, 30 July 1988; Vol. 121, No. 2526, p. 23.

departments appointed as liaison people. It also developed a *Checklist* for government departments to ensure all new policy would include women in decision making. It was piloted in five departments: Housing, Health, Justice, and Tourist and Publicity Departments. A *Broadsheet* article described the *Checklist* as a very radical document, which, "if fully implemented across all government departments (including Treasury!) would create real social change".[60] Similarly, the Ministry also successfully lobbied the Social Equity Cabinet committee to accept that social policy must enhance the position of women.[61]

The Ministry started publishing the first copies of its (continuous) newsletter, *Paanui* (later *Pānui*), almost immediately.[62] The newsletter disseminated information on the Ministry's own activities and relevant events, including seminars, parties and workshops.[63] A series entitled *Everywoman's Guide to the System* provided leaflets on a range of topics aimed at assisting women to understand the system and how they could influence policy. The Ministry also published two major works, *Women in the Economy* and *Māori Women in the Economy*, within its first two years.

In June of 1988, Mary O'Regan retired from the position as Secretary of Women's Affairs, having already stayed a year longer in the role than she had originally intended.[64] In her last year, O'Regan presented New Zealand's first CEDAW report at the United Nations in New York.

Image 5 – Taonga gifted from the Ministry to Mary O'Regan on her departure from the Ministry.

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[60] Pat Rosier, 'Up and running', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 157, No. 14 (1988), p. 15.
[61] Marion McLeod, 'Out among the women', *NZ Listener*, 30 July 1988; Vol. 121, No. 2526, p. 23; Pat Rosier, 'Up and running', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 157, No. 14 (1988), p. 15.
[62] *Newsletter Paanui*, June 1988, No. 9 in Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003].
[63] December 1987–January 1988, June 1988, *Paanui* in Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003].
[64] Interview, Mary O'Regan, 20 August 2020; Marion McLeod, 'Out among the women', *NZ Listener*, 30 July 1988; Vol.121, No. 2526, p. 22.

Overhaul – 1988–95

Dr Judith Aitken was subsequently appointed under the State Sector Act, and thus given a new title as Chief Executive of the Ministry. From the beginning of her tenure, her appointment was a controversial decision, with many Ministry stakeholders – staff and the many women involved in the establishment of the Ministry – nervous about her appointment. As a well-known figure, her appointment to lead the Ministry was felt by some of these women to be a very deliberate choice on the part of the SSC.[65] Anne Else stated that the Ministry was established as part of the energy of the women's movement of the 1980's, making women's issues "now apparently at the centre of the political stage; few women foresaw their subsequent upstaging by New Right political philosophy and economic produced policies".[66]

It is possible that the reason Aitken was appointed was because the SSC did not like the more independent, alternative approach of the Ministry, and saw it as very inefficient – and that she was brought in by Commissioner Margaret Bazley to fix that 'problem'.[67] Aitken was primarily focused on establishing the Ministry as a serious policy machine, and so maintaining its survival; rightly or wrongly Aitken herself thought the Ministry was in serious danger of being closed if it was not made drastically more efficient.[68]

She ran the Ministry to that end, making dramatic changes to the everyday workings of the Ministry. The biggest change was to the collectivist decision-making, non-hierarchical structure, and the time spent building up a team environment. Aitken re-structured the Ministry, creating three units from four, though she could not change the job descriptions.[69] She phased out the weekly staff meetings, stating in an interview that, "While I think it's highly desirable that people be aware of each other's circumstances, I don't necessarily think that a prescribed meeting time to discuss it – you know, once a week on the button – is actually terribly useful."[70]

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[65] A. McCulloch, 'Judith Aitken: She for whom the bills toll', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 162, No. 20 (1988), p. 21; Debbie Gee, 'Te Ohu Whakatupu', *Agenda*, 1988/1989, Wellington; Prue Hyman, 'Consultations, Submissions, the Ministry Of Women's Affairs et al.' *WSA Newsletter* 23/3, 2003, pp. 11–12.

[66] Anne Else (Ed.), *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand in the Ministry of Commerce and its Predecessors, 1894-1993*, Women's Suffrage Centennial Project, Ministry of Commerce in association with Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs and Daphne Brasell Associates, Wellington, 1993, p. 67.

[67] Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, pp. 128, 129; Jennifer Curtin, *The Ministry of Women's Affairs: Where Feminism and Public Policy Meet*, Unpublished MA thesis. University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1992, pp. 78–82, 112.

[68] Interview, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020; Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, pp.87, 128–130; Jennifer Curtin, *The Ministry of Women's Affairs: Where Feminism and Public Policy Meet*, Unpublished MA thesis. University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1992, pp. 78–82, 112.

[69] A. McCulloch, 'Judith Aitken: She for whom the bills toll', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 162, No. 20 (1988), p. 23.

[70] A. McCulloch, 'Judith Aitken: She for whom the bills toll'. *Broadsheet*, Vol. 162, No. 20 (1988), pp. 22–23; Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, p. 68.

Image 6 – Dr Judith Aitken (left) and Minister Margaret Shields (centre-right) celebrating Suffrage Day (1989).

Judith Aitken placed huge emphasis on producing quality policy work, and on training up the next generation of policy analysts. She created a list of four 'outputs' for the Ministry to focus on: policy advice; information services (publication of research, newsletters, policy discussion papers and seminars or community meetings); ministerial services (ministerial correspondence, speeches and so on); and administration of grants.[71] In the Cabinet minute establishing the Ministry, a second SSC review was allocated to take place in 1990, to look at whether there was a continued need for the Ministry.[72]

The changes Aitken instated were contentious (see Chapter Two). It is up for debate whether the changes improved the Ministry or its work on behalf of women. According to some observers, the Ministry survived thanks in part to Aitken's changes, and strong support for the Ministry.[73] Others, including at least one member of the original staff, felt that Aitken had betrayed the ground-breaking work for women and application of feminist and bicultural principles the original staff had achieved.[74]

In November 1990 Jenny Shipley (later Dame) was appointed the third Minister of Women's Affairs.[75] In 1991 the Ministry recorded an exciting achievement when the National Government under Prime Minister Jim Bolger mandated effectively what the Ministry had developed as the 'Checklist' for all government agencies. Every agency therefore had to do a gender analysis of all policy proposals or legislation under

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[71] 21 May 1990, Chief Executive of Women's Affairs to Treasury, in Archives NZ, R10900216, ABVJ 6994 W5435/40, G22, Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1989–1997.

[72] Archives NZ, R10900216, ABVJ 6994 W5435/40, G22, Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1989-1997.

[73] Jennifer Curtin, *The Ministry of Women's Affairs: Where Feminism and Public Policy Meet*, Unpublished MA thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1992, p. 112; Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpubli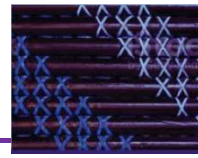shed MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, pp. 84–88; Prue Hyman, 'The Ministry of Women's Affairs after 25 years – Personal reflections on its existence, roles and effectiveness', *Women's Studies Association of New Zealand*, Vol. 24, No. 1, (2010), pp. 34–35; Interviews, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020; Rachel Robson, 15 September 2020.

[74] 'Letter to a New Friend' in Maud Cahill and Christine Dann (Eds.), *Changing Our Lives: Women Working in the Women's Liberation Movement 1970–1990*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1991, p. 145.

[75] Jenny Shipley was appointed a Distinguished Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit in 2003, and redesignated a Dame Companion in 2009.

development.[76] Other policy work in 1991 included work on gender-neutral superannuation and 'Gender Neutral Job Evaluations'.[77]

In 1991 there was an inquiry into the Ministry. Two Cabinet papers (Health Services Task Force reports) were leaked to the Opposition, and were suspected to come from the Ministry. A journalist alerted the Ministry to the leak, from which an immediate emergency investigation by the deputy appeared to support those suspicions. The same emergency inquiry specifically looked into normal procedures for handling sensitive material, and activity related to the two papers.[78] Minister Shipley therefore asked Judith Aitken to inquire officially into the matter.[79] After interviewing every staff member, Aitken decided to conduct a joint inquiry into the source of the leak, in conjunction with the SSC. An independent investigator was appointed to act on behalf of the Chief Executive, in order to assure all parties that the leak was being taken extremely seriously, and that the investigation would be carried out "professionally and rigorously by a disinterested party".[80] This meant that the inquiry required a directive to be given by the Prime Minister, which was duly approved.[81] . The inquiry established that the Ministry did not leak the draft cabinet papers.

Judith Aitken resigned as Chief Executive at the end of the year, and Elizabeth Rowe was appointed the new Chief Executive in January 1992, continuing under Jenny Shipley and Katherine O'Regan as Minister and Associate Minister. Rowe was a career public servant, and came to the Ministry from the Employment Equity Commission as the Founding and Sole Commissioner. She progressed to hold further senior (Chief Executive) public sector positions in social policy, women's issues and public sector management, including as founding Chief Executive of the New Zealand Families Commission, and further private consultant work.

During 1992, the National Party undertook a broad review of all small ministries against its policy commitments. As Minister of Women's Affairs, Jenny Shipley was a fierce defender of the need for, and importance of, the Ministry, and helped to ensure its survival when it might have been in doubt again. The previous year's inquiry cannot have helped the
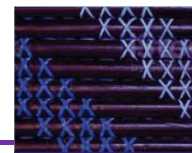
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[76] Interview, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020.

[77] 16 May 1991, Jenny Shipley to Minister of Labour in R4532202, AAMN 7522 W4908/24, State Services Commission – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1991; June 1990, Jenny Shipley to Ministers, in Archives NZ, R4532227, AAMN 7522 W4908/26 Employment – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1990.

[78] 22 April 1991, Judith Aitken, Chief Executive of the Ministry of Women's Affairs to Patti O'Neil, in Archives NZ, R4532202, AAMN 7522 W4908/24, State Services Commission – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1991.

[79] 26 April 1991, Judith Aitken, Chief Executive of the Ministry of Women's Affairs to Minister of Women's Affairs, in Archives NZ, R4532202, AAMN 7522 W4908/24, State Services Commission – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1991.

[80] 26 April 1991, Judith Aitken, Chief Executive of the Ministry of Women's Affairs to Minister of Women's Affairs, in Archives NZ, R4532202, AAMN 7522 W4908/24, State Services Commission – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1991.

[81] 26 April 1991, SSC Solicitor to Minister of State Services Commission, in Archives NZ, R4532202, AAMN 7522 W4908/24, State Services Commission – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1991; 26 April 1991, Minister of State Services Commission to Prime Minister, in Archives NZ, R4532202, AAMN 7522 W4908/24, State Services Commission – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1991; 26 April 1991, Prime Minister Directive, in Archives NZ, R4532202, AAMN 7522 W4908/24, State Services Commission – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1991.

Ministry's case, yet because of Minister Shipley's strong position at Cabinet, she was able to go 'out to bat' for the Ministry at Cabinet.[82] This ensured that no matter what opposition from fellow National cabinet members and MPs there might be, she could reassure staff and 'supporters' of the Ministry's survival. She was able to do just that in a letter after the successful resolution of the review, and reaffirm the Government's support. The letter endorses and outlines the value of the Ministry's policy advice to the Minister on many issues, including on superannuation, education, housing, ACC, age discrimination and even crime prevention.[83]

Despite the support, Minister Shipley nevertheless sought to cut the Ministry's budget, asking Chief Executive Elizabeth Rowe (with the Ministry's financial advisors) to find any savings that could be found from activities outside the policy advice area. Rowe advised that one of the few areas where the Ministry could reduce any spending at all was its publication of advisory papers and documents such as the Māori Women's Business Directory, which would be an 'unwise' move, "as we have already cut to the bone the amount of information we provide to the public".[84] Rowe also advised against cutting the consultation services of the Ministry, which included Te Ohu Whakatupu's organisation of Rūnanga kuia and other consultation events. She justified the advice partly because of the rarity of the events, but also acknowledged "the paucity of information about the particular issues of concern to Māori women", and that "to rely on the normal range of data available for identifying issues and developing solutions for Māori women, would be to reinforce the relative invisibility of Māori".[85] Instead, Rowe re-directed recommendation of any (minor) cuts to information services and international liaison activities, thereby preventing any substantial funding cuts to Te Ohu Whakatupu.[86]

The Ministry provided major advice on the Censorship (Pornography) Bill, which eventually became the Films, Videos, and Publications Classification Act 1993.[87] The Ministry was able to make changes to the legislation in order to ensure greater punishment for child pornography and sexual violence, through adding a 'possession clause' that makes possession of certain types of material illegal.[88] The Ministry's work on pornography was part of a deliberate policy focus. The policy had been settled after the public consultation element of the Women's Forums, when the Ministry was in the

[82] Interview, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020.

[83] 22 May 1992, Minister of Women's Affairs to Supporters, in Archives NZ, R10900216, ABVJ 6994 W5435/40, G22, Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1989-1997; Interview, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020.

[84] 23 November 1992, to Jenny Shipley, in Archives NZ, R4500786, ABKQ 7838 W4377/2, 11, [Associate Minister of Women's Affairs] – Ministry Reports, p. 2.

[85] 23 November 1992, to Jenny Shipley, in Archives NZ, R4500786, ABKQ 7838 W4377/2, 11, [Associate Minister of Women's Affairs] – Ministry Reports, p. 3.
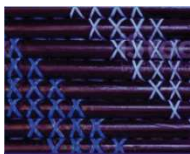
[86] 23 November 1992, to Jenny Shipley, in Archives NZ, R4500786, ABKQ 7838 W4377/2, 11, [Associate Minister of Women's Affairs] – Ministry Reports, pp. 4–5.

[87] Archives NZ, R17443838, ABVP 7965 W5232/27, Ministry of Women's Affairs Comments on Censorship (Pornography) Bill.

[88] Archives NZ, R10900216, ABVJ 6994 W5435/40, G22, Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1989–1997.

process of being established, when the Ministry was asking women what policies they would prefer the Ministry to prioritise.

One of the central themes of the public response from the forums was concern about pornography.[89]

As outlined, community engagement was a core objective of the Ministry under Mary O'Regan's tenure. This continued during the immediate period after O'Regan's departure, with the Ministry frequently involved in conferences, seminars, workshops and community events. Sometimes the involvement consisted of actually organising and running events. In August 1990 the Ministry hosted a breakfast, attended by Prime Minister Geoffrey Palmer, to launch the Government's Women's Policy.[90] The Ministry commonly developed seminars and workshops as tools to promote its policy work. During September and October 1989 it ran a series of seminars and workshops throughout the country on Valuing Women's Unpaid Work.[91] It used the same strategy to promote employer-assisted childcare after the Government introduced a subsidy for family childcare costs in 1991, and the Ministry investigated ways to raise awareness about the subsidy among low-income families who used early childhood care services.[92]

In April 1991 the Ministry proposed establishing the Centennial Suffrage project to fund projects for the commemoration of suffrage year, which was later approved by Cabinet.[93] The project eventually became almost a unit within the Ministry to facilitate organisation of the many Centennial celebrations and events; the Ministry came to an official agreement with the 1993 Suffrage Centennial Trust, to support them with services and staff.[94] The Ministry assisted the Trust to co-ordinate, plan and run many of the Suffrage Centennial celebrations through the staff employed directly on the project. It was a major operation, with hundreds of activities planned by various groups throughout the country, and specific events to select from contenders from the multiple government agencies and ministries, as well as other national groups.[95]

The Ministry was involved with another joint policy project in 1995 – the year-long Work and Family Directions project, sponsored by Telecom New Zealand. Fifty-two different

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[89] *The 1984 Women's Forums: Policy Priorities*, Office of the Minister of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1985.

[90] Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003].
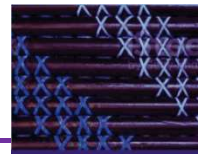
[91] 13 September 1989, Policy Unit for CE, in Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08, Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003].

[92] 22 May 1992, Minister of Women's Affairs to Supporters in Archives NZ, R10900216, ABVJ 6994 W5435/40, G22, Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1989–1997.

[93] 18 April 1991, Ministry of Women's Affairs Private Secretary to PM and State Services Minister; 22 April 1991, Assistant State Services Commissioner to State Services Minister, in R4532202, AAMN 7522 W4908/24, State Services Commission – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1991.

[94] Archives NZ, R6502042, ABKH 7356, W4788, 1/, OUT 7/3/2, Suffrage – Trust Administration – Trust contract for services with Ministry of Women's Affairs, c.1991–c.1994.

[95] Archives NZ, R5057367, AAAC, W4313, 1/, Folder 26, Management of Project - MWA [Ministry of Women's Affairs] Suffrage Projects – History Sub group. Advice on Suffrage Projects, 1992; Archives NZ, R20434004, AALR 873 W5427/1493, 62/63, Pt 4, Ministry of Women's Affairs - General expenditure, 1990–91.

companies, both in the public and private sectors, participated in the project to assist employers to commit to family-friendly practices in their companies, and thereby develop 'best-practice' strategies to encourage more family-friendly workplaces. It resulted in a publication on the findings of the project, outlining low-cost, practical options of family-friendly policies and practices that companies could implement.[96]

The Ministry also frequently sponsored or provided funding for events, primarily through grants for different women's organisations, seminars and meetings, such as lesbian groups or Women in Agriculture.[97] The Ministry could also sometimes act as a liaison point to assist different cultural women's groups with community issues and problems, or support business and enterprise women's organisations such as Zonta, Altrusa and the Soroptimists, or political organisations such as the National Council of Women.[98] Local events also included conferences such as the Sixth Labour, Employment and Work Conference held at Victoria University on 24–25 November 1994, which was attended by representatives from the Ministry.[99]
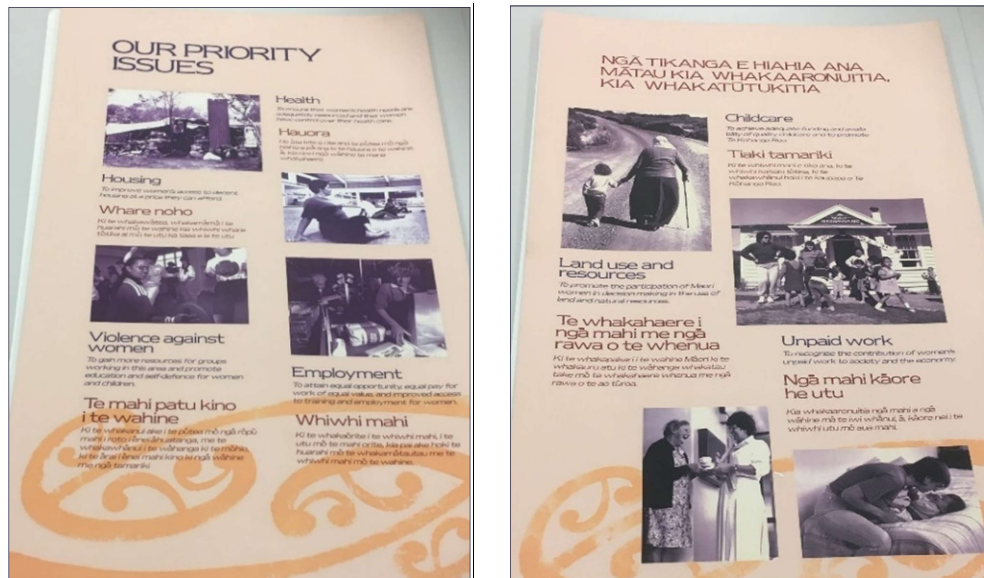

Image 7 – Ministry for Women's Affairs posters. *Credit: Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga.*[100]

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[96] 22 December 1997, First draft of progress report 1997 (pp. 1–2), Archives NZ, R10900216, ABVJ 6994 W5435/40, G22, Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1989–1997.

[97] Anne Else (Ed.), *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand in the Ministry of Commerce and its Predecessors, 1894–1993*, Women's Suffrage Centennial Project, Ministry of Commerce in association with Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs and Daphne Brasell Associates**,** Wellington, 1993, pp. 385, 400, 494, 555, 565.

[98] Anne Else (Ed.), *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand in the Ministry of Commerce and its Predecessors, 1894–1993*, Women's Suffrage Centennial Project, Ministry of Commerce in association with Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs and Daphne Brasell Associates, Wellington, 1993, pp. 84, 297, 505.

[99] Philip Morrison, 'Conference Participants', *Labour, Employment and Work in New Zealand*, [S.l.], November 1994, available at https://ojs.victoria.ac.nz/LEW/article/view/905/719, accessed 24 August 2020.

[100] Ministry of Women's Affairs (Archives ref: ABKH, 6798 W4537 Box/item 1 / 2) Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga.

Occasionally, community engagement consisted of simply participating in or attending events. One of the most high profile was the World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, attended by a New Zealand delegation including Ministry staff. As the fourth world conference, it brought an end to the United Nations Decade for Women. It concluded with the *Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action*, adopted unanimously by 189 nation states, including New Zealand. The aim was that the Declaration would be the fundamental global policy document that would work towards gender equality, by putting CEDAW into practice. As discussed earlier, the Ministry of Women's Affairs was responsible for attending and submitting reports on CEDAW to the monitoring Committee, as well as for administering any other international agreements regarding women's issues. The CEDAW report presents the progress the Government has made on the provisions of CEDAW, and the Platform for Action. The Ministry therefore played a central role in these delegations and to New Zealand's contributions to the committee.[101]
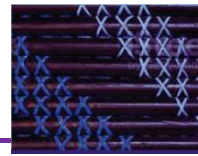
Stable leadership – 1996–2000

Through the mid-1990s the Ministers of Women's Affairs changed several times. In December of 1996 Christine Fletcher was appointed the fourth Minister of Women's Affairs, replacing Jenny Shipley. In September 1997, Fletcher resigned and was replaced by Shipley, re-appointed for just under a year before Georgina Te Heuheu (later Dame) was appointed sixth Minister of Women's Affairs in August 1998.[102] However, an election in 1999 meant there was another change of Minister, with Laila Harré appointed by the end of that year as a Minister outside Cabinet. Despite these changes, the leadership of the Ministry was very stable, under the same Chief Executive for eight years – Dr Judy Lawrence.

Lawrence had been appointed Chief Executive of the Ministry in 1995, after acting as Chief Executive from 1994, when she took over from Elizabeth Rowe. Lawrence had a background in environmental science and policy, coming to the Ministry from a career in the public service, as well as having served as an elected member of the Wellington Regional Council. After her time at the Ministry she went on to serve in further senior government positions, and later took up an academic career in climate change research, at the New Zealand Climate Change Research Institute at Victoria University of Wellington and a Lead Author role on the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

This period marked the very beginning of an era for the Ministry where its community engagement and involvement in community-facing projects gradually started to decrease, while it concentrated more of its resources on providing policy advice and contributing to legislation. Funding issues seem to have sometimes played a role, but it also appears to have been a sign of shifting priorities within the Ministry. Naturally, as time passed and staff moved on, the Ministry moved further away from the original vision of those first staff members under Mary O'Regan.

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[101] *Status of Women in New Zealand 1998, the CEDAW Report*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1998.
[102] Georgina Te Heuheu was appointed a Dame Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit in 2018.

The Ministry built closer links with other government agencies to be able to influence a number of key policy decisions, participating in joint working groups and workshops as part of its policy work. Staff held a gender analysis seminar with Te Puni Kōkiri, leading gender analysis training sessions as part of public sector policy advice workshops.[103] The Ministry also contributed to the Protocols Working Group for the Social Security (Conjugal Status) Amendment Bill 1997, the Matrimonial Property Amendment Bill 1998 and the De Facto Relationships (Property) Bill 1998. The Ministry participated on the Interdepartmental Family Violence Focus Group and Interdepartmental Working Group, reviewing the approval process for programmes under the Domestic Violence Act 1995. Staff provided advice on key measures to reduce violence against women and their families for these working groups.[104]

The Ministry was a member of the Benefit Review Steering Group, jointly leading work on assisting teenage single parents and funding out-of-school care and education (OSCAR). The Ministry contributed significantly to policy on benefit reform, including the childcare subsidy, the reviews of the Domestic Purposes Benefit, and sickness and invalids benefits.[105] It started work on a model for women's health policy, providing advice on developing statistical indicators to monitor outcomes for women and the prescription of anti-depressants to women.

In relation to law and justice, the Ministry made submissions to the Law Commission on the Women's Access to Justice project. The project looked at the education and training of law students and lawyers, women's access to legal advice and representation, and lawyers' costs in family law disputes. The Ministry provided further input into the Law Commission's report on the law of succession, as well as advice on a range of justice sector issues including adoption, corrective training, restorative justice, flexible working practices for the judiciary, and penal institutions' regulations.[106]
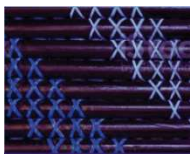
The Ministry provided substantial advice during this period on the Government's Employment Strategy and in particular on the accountability framework of the new Department of Work and Income, the development of the Community Wage, community work and training, the regionalisation of services and the Training Incentive Allowance. It gave advice on the impact on women of the proposed Retirement Savings Scheme leading up to the September 1997 Referendum, and contributed to the scheme's design. The

[103] *Annual Report 1997/1998*, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/policy.html, accessed 29 August 2020.

[104] *Annual Report 1997/1998*, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/policy.html, accessed 29 August 2020.

[105] *Annual Report 1997/1998*, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/policy.html accessed 29 August 2020.

[106] *Annual Report 1997/1998*, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/policy.html, accessed 29 August 2020.

Ministry has maintained a liaison with the Office of the Retirement Commissioner on information being disseminated about retirement savings.

The Ministry was particularly open to working with other agencies on data collection projects, such as the Longitudinal Survey on Income Dynamics and the 2001 Census.[107] In 1998 the Ministry made a significant contribution to the design of the New Zealand Childcare Survey, undertaken by Statistics New Zealand and the National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women (NACEW), an advisory body to the Minister for Women, through membership of the survey steering group. The survey investigated how childcare responsibilities have affected workforce, training and voluntary work participation.[108]

Designing New Zealand's first Time Use Survey with Statistics New Zealand was a significant achievement. It was jointly funded from Vote: Women's Affairs. All milestones leading up to the start of the survey on 4 July 1998 were met. The survey ran for a full year to 30 June 1999, with initial results released in December 1999. The aim was to use the survey data to improve policy advice on many topics, such as paid and unpaid work, patterns of work, the extent of multiple part-time jobs and the time of day when employment occurs.[109]

Data collected on projects such as these provided useful evidence for research reports, which the Ministry prioritised, particularly research into employment issues. From 1997 to 1998, the Ministry undertook three research projects addressing aspects of women's employment. *Homecare Workers – A Case Study of a Female Occupation* used a case study to investigate the factors influencing the low pay and conditions of homecare workers in New Zealand, and involved interviews with six home care agencies, workers and clients. It found that these factors were essentially the same as those that normally caused low wages in the sector, agencies refusing to pay for travel time, or allowances for using personal vehicles, a lack of specialised training, and most workers not being recompensed for extra time spent with clients.[110] Other research projects investigated facets of the gender pay gap – specifically *Occupational Segregation: Further Analysis* and *Performance Pay Systems and Equity: An Analysis of Five New Zealand Organisations*.[111]

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[107] *Annual Report 1997/1998*, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/policy.html, accessed 29 August 2020.

[108] *Annual Report 1997/1998*, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/policy.html, accessed 29 August 2020.

[109] *Annual Report 1997/1998*, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/policy.html, accessed 29 August 2020.

[110] Maire Dwyer, 'Homecare Workers – A Case Study of a Female Occupation', in *Labour, Employment and Work in New Zealand, Ministry of Women's Affairs*, 1998, p.157, available at https://ojs.victoria.ac.nz/LEW/article/view/1009/820, accessed 6 September 2020.

[111] 'Gender Earnings Gap' in *Annual Report 1997/1998*, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/policy.html, accessed 29 August 2020.
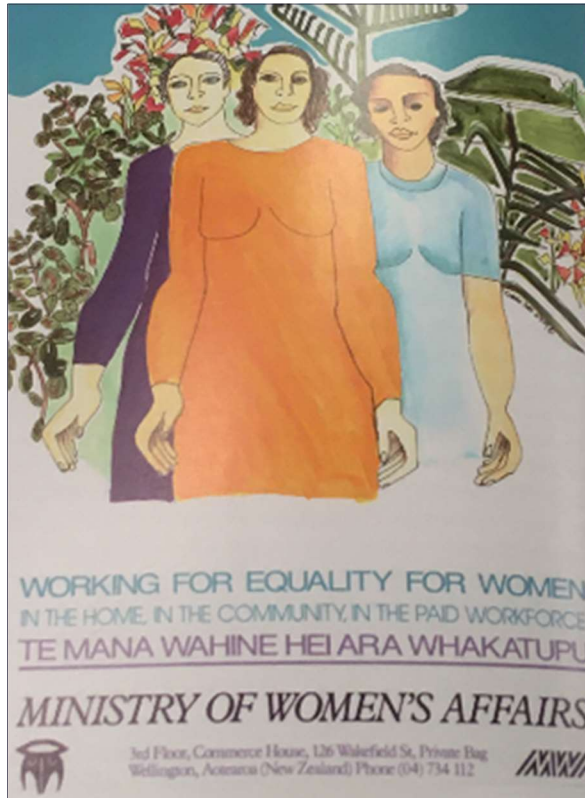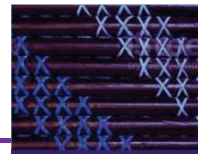
Image 8 – Ministry of Women's Affairs poster. The illustration was gifted to the Ministry by artist Claudia Pond Eyley.

The Ministry hosted and conducted many seminars in key areas of policy development during this period. Several seminars featured academics speaking on key international developments in Australia, the US and the UK, on topics such as equal pay, discrimination in the workplace and women's human rights. Other seminars were held by New Zealand experts reporting back on international conferences, such as a Family and Partner Violence co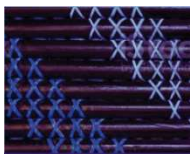nference held in Boston and the APEC Experts' Meeting on Gender, Science and Technology. Presentations on the Time Use Survey were provided to interested organisations, and a paper was delivered in conjunction with Statistics New Zealand at the Work, Families and the State conference at Massey University. The Ministry also held public sector training seminars, aimed at improving the quality of policy advice, involving presentations on the role of the Ministry, and on the gender analysis framework.[112]

Re-structure – 2000–04

Over the following several years the extensive range of areas in which the Ministry had originally been involved narrowed into fewer, more focused spheres of interest. Its community facing activity started to be aligned more closely with specific issues outlined in its *Statements of Intent* and *Annual Reports*. A 'Capability review' undertaken during 1999 (in the lead-up to the election) resulted in a small restructure and more resources being allocated to policy advice.[113] However the second review, just three years later, appears to have resulted in a complete restructure and consequently a notable shift in the Ministry's core work streams and values.

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[112] *Annual Report 1997/1998*, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/communication.html#Publications, accessed 5 September 2020.

[113] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, pp. 8, 51.

After the 1999 review the original four output classes introduced under Judith Aitken's tenure were consolidated into two: policy advice, and communication and consultation (including liaison with international bodies and the Nominations Service).[114] The key achievements relating to policy advice in the year from mid-1999 to 2000 included providing advice on labour market disparities and enhancing the earning capacity of low-income women, the use of gender analysis in public policy to improve outcomes for women, minimum wage review, paid parental leave, policy work on family violence, the Guardianship Bill, an adoption review, the Matrimonial Property Amendment Bill and the National Cervical Screening programme.

The key areas in the communication and consultation class during 1999 to 2000 were primarily involved with organising New Zealand's participation and policies at international conferences, particularly APEC, but also the APEC Women Leaders Network, the New Delhi Commonwealth Conference and the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women.[115] The Ministry also undertook regional profiling and training programmes to encourage women into leadership positions as part of a new Nominations strategy. The Ministry was very committed to this work, as it was a ministerial priority. The *Annual Report* stated that the Ministry intended to develop this workstream further through the next financial year.[116]

The election of a new (Labour) Government in 1999 resulted in a reassessment of the Ministry's work programme, to reflect the new policy objectives of an incoming government under a constrained budget. Under the State Sector Act 1988, the Chief Executive has overall responsibility for the management of the Ministry; however, strategic decisions on the Ministry's activities were undertaken by a management group that comprised the Chief Executive (Judy Lawrence), the Policy Unit Manager, the Te Ohu Whakatupu Manager (Catherine Nesus), and three other managers. By January 2000, the management group had developed a new strategy, taking its financial constraints for the remainder of the financial year and the next financial year into account.[117]

The following year, the Ministry published its first ever *Statement of Intent* for 2000/2001 which, in combination with the new Government's 'Key Goals', formed an integral part of the Ministry's new direction.[118] It specifically aligned with the Government's brief 'Closing

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[114] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 14.

[115] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 31.

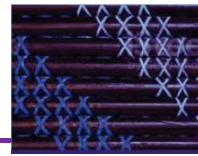[116] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 7.

[117] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 50.

[118] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 7.

the Gaps' policy initiative for Māori and Pacific peoples from January to June 2000 (see Chapter Three).[119]

The Capability, Accountability and Performance (CAP) pilot project was led by the SSC across the public service. In relation to the Ministry, the project aimed to put greater focus on policy issues of the day, including the new industrial relations framework, and to strengthen the Nominations Service, supporting more women into decision-making positions on statutory boards and bodies. The projects that survived this reassessment were those considered a priority and were already underway. The report for the year ended June 2000 discusses the shift in direction in some detail. It specifically states that, "The outcome of the Organisational Capability Review in the first half of the year was to direct more of the Ministry's resources to our core policy analysis and advice function."[120]

The Ministry initiated a project to look at issues for women living on low incomes, with three stages. The first stage investigated the data already available on low incomes in New Zealand and identified any gaps. The second reported on trends in the three main sources of income for women: the labour market, government and family members. The report found that several groups of women faced increasing risks of surviving on a low income for extended periods, primarily women without the skills most in demand in the labour market, who have young children, who live in locations with few job opportunities or who rely on government assistance. It found that modifying the tax and benefit system would have the most impact for women on low incomes, by giving them more flexibility.[121] The third stage of the project developed policy options to deliver on the recommendations of the second report, by investigating options to improve the tax and benefit system. This approach also looked into policy options to address issues such as financial assistance for housing and childcare, information problems, and debt levels.[122]

The Ministry continued to organise some events, such as events to celebrate Suffrage Day in 2002.[123] For the most part however, the priorities of the Ministry were firmly on policy and research which generated data for the evidence base on women to support policy advice. The Ministry contributed to projects such as *Women's Information Needs,* an Australian research project investigating women's information needs and information-seeking behaviour. The Ministry's contribution to the project was approved at a combined Australia/New Zealand Council of Ministers of Women's Affairs in New Zealand in July

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[119] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2000/2001*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2001, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/WA_State.pdf, accessed 26 August 2020.

[120] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 7.

[121] *Next Steps Towards Pay Equity, A Discussion Document*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2002, p. 12.

[122] *Next Steps Towards Pay Equity, A Discussion Document*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2002, p. 12.

[123] 'Invitation to Suffrage Day Breakfast', in Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003].

2000, and publication took place in February 2002.[124] The main purpose of the research was to address women's distinctive needs and preferences in order to ensure more effective delivery of government policy and information.[125]

The Ministry similarly collaborated with Statistics New Zealand to publish a report called *New Zealand Now: Women*. The *New Zealand Now* series looks at the results of the 1996 Census of Population and Dwellings and other sources to build a picture of New Zealand in the 1990s. *New Zealand Now: Women* reports on the demographic data of aspects of women's lives such as their family situation, educational qualifications, work and income.[126]

After the 2002 election Ruth Dyson was appointed the new Minister of Women's Affairs. During the lead-up period to the 2002 election the Ministry produced a detailed *Brief to the Incoming Minister* (as it traditionally does for every election). This brief was extremely thorough, containing a vast amount of material on the Ministry's strategy framework, programmes and policy development, including a section on the priorities and opportunities to improve outcomes for Māori women, as well as smaller sections for groups such as Pasifika women and women with disabilities (see Chapter Three).[127]

A new *Statement of Intent* for the following four years was published in 2002. The Ministry continued to focus on policy and research, both in terms of how it saw its public role, and its strategy.[128] This strategy put a greater emphasis on collaboration with other government agencies to engage with Māori women in order to ensure that their voices are heard, and that the Māori community was able to profit from their experiences in the construction of programmes that benefit Māori, especially wāhine Māori. The *Statement of Intent* clearly outlined a table of the Government agencies matched with the policy issues on which the Ministry would collaborate with them.[129]

At the start of 2003, Te Ohu Whakatupu was dissolved as a distinct unit working on behalf of wāhine Māori. The Ministry continued to progress some work with wāhine Māori after the dissolution of Te Ohu Whakatupu. However this was primarily limited to the sphere of governance and leadership; the emphasis was placed on nominations of wāhine Māori to board roles and other employment and business opportunities for wāhine Māori (see Chapter Four).

In March 2003 the Government announced that the SSC would undertake a second Capability Review of the Ministry of Women's Affairs, in order to outline both structural

[124] 'Women's Information Needs Project – Report', available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20040708214704/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/cont_pb.html#annualreport03, accessed 5 September 2020.

[125] *Women's Information Needs Study Final Report*, Urbis Keys Young, 2002, p. i, available at file:///C:/Users/kgeange/Documents/Kate%20(Historian)/Sources%20(actual)/Found%20Documents%20(people%20send)/Womens-Info-Needs.pdf, accessed 5 September 2020.

[126] *New Zealand Now: Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs and Statistics New Zealand, 2000.

[127] *Brief to Incoming Minister: He Whakamōhiotanga ki te Minita Hou*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2002, pp. 13, 19–25, 56.

[128] *Statement of Intent 2002-2005: Ministry of Women's Affairs*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2002, pp. 19–20.

[129] *Statement of Intent 2002-2005: Ministry of Women's Affairs*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2002, p. 29.
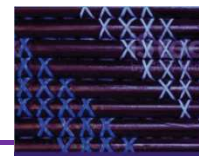
and non-structural options for enhancing the Ministry's capability. The review would take account of the extent to which the results were dependent on the co-operation and actions of other ministries.[130] According to the 2003 *Statement of Intent*, the initiation of this review was an acknowledgement of the significant capability risks that such a small agency faces.[131] The review was published three months later, highlighting areas for capability development. These included improving policy development processes, management systems and processes, organisational culture, and cross-governmental relationships.[132]

After the review the Government decided to retain and strengthen the Ministry as a stand-alone department, rather than absorb the Ministry into a larger agency or ministry. The review concluded that this would be the best option to "ensure a strong focus in the policy process on issues and opportunities for women".[133] However, the review also concluded that the Ministry's performance needed to improve.[134] The Ministry immediately started to put in place initiatives to improve organisational culture and leadership.[135]

During 2002 to 2003 the Ministry effected a huge operation of community engagement by gathering women's views on the future of the Ministry from around the country at public meetings, hui and focus groups, and from written submissions. The consolidation of submissions and viewpoints from women all around the country was formulated into the 'Action Plan'. The plan, initiated by Judy Lawrence before she took up a new position of Director of the Climate Change Office at the Ministry for the Environment, and finalised under new CE Anne Carter (see Chapter 4), was intended to form the basis of a cross-government work programme specifically to progress outcomes for women in New Zealand.[136] A report on the consultation process outlines the issues that women who contributed to the consultation were concerned with, particularly as expressed by different groups such as wāhine Māori, Pasifika women, refugee women, low-income women, rural women and women with disabilities. These issues were grouped into themes of economic sustainability, work–life balance and wellbeing.

Shenagh Gleisner was appointed the Chief Executive of the Ministry in February 2004. She had started her career in New Zealand in public health and held senior positions in the SSC and as a director consultant at KPMG before her role as Chief Executive. Whilst serving as

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[130] *Statement of Intent 2003-2006: Ministry of Women's Affairs*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, p. 26.
[131] *Statement of Intent 2003-2006: Ministry of Women's Affairs*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, pp. 25–26.
[132] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2003*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, p. 53.
[133] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2003*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, p. 6.
[134] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2003*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, p. 6.
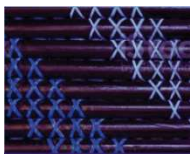[135] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2003*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, p. 9.
[136] *Report of the Ministry of Women s Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2003*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, pp. 6, 9.

Chief Executive, Shenagh Gleisner was seconded to the role of Acting Chief Executive of Child, Youth and Family Service from the Ministry. After she left the Ministry in 2010, she moved onto other leading public service roles, including Acting Deputy Chief Executive of the Department of Labour. She moved on to become an independent consultant specialising in strategy and governance. Gleisner was given a strong mandate to progress the capability development plan.[137] The Ministry published the *Action Plan for New Zealand Women* in March 2004. According to the 2004 *Annual Report* the Ministry led the establishment of a special taskforce of officials to implement the Action Plan for New Zealand Women. In the report the Minister, Ruth Dyson, stated:

> The Action Plan for Women is one of the most exciting developments in my portfolio as Minister of Women's Affairs. The idea is to have an integrated approach to all of the issues that affect women's lives. This is what we are now calling a 'whole of government' approach with goals and policy priorities for women. In other words, rather than each different government department or ministry working in isolation, they would join forces and work together on issues that particularly affect women. The Action Plan will take into consideration the changing economic and social conditions and the diverse lives and aspirations of women.[138]

The Action Plan described the three core roles of the Ministry as to identify emerging issues, effectively influence current and future policy development, and demonstrate effective policy leadership regarding outcomes for women.[139] It identifies the main issues the Ministry will deal with as 'capability challenges', and summarises the Ministry's needs primarily in terms of gaps in knowledge and analysis. It did, however, acknowledge the necessity of relationships with wāhine Māori, and their organisations and iwi, in order to understand their needs, aspirations and perspectives.[140]

The *Statement of Intent* for 2004-2007, published in 2004, outlined the strategic plan for implementing the *Action Plan*. Having been allocated an additional budget specifically for the purpose, the policy team would be developed with a particular emphasis on "leadership, mentoring and specialist knowledge".[141] The Ministry's capability initiatives for 2004/05 focused on four key areas for rebuilding and refocusing the Ministry: Leadership and culture; Systems and processes; Structure; and External relationships.[142] The Ministry planned to include developing capability in applying a range of analytical frameworks including a Treaty analytical tool and a gender analysis framework.[143]

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[137] *Statement of Intent 2003-2006: Ministry of Women s Affairs*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, pp. 25–26.
[138] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2004*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2004.
[139] *Action Plan for New Zealand Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2004.
[140] *Action Plan for New Zealand Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2004.
[141] *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs 2004-2007*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2004, p. 24.
[142] *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs 2004-2007*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2004, p. 26.
[143] *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs 2004-2007*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2004, p. 25.

The Ministry joined with the Ministry of Economic Development to lead a research project on the drivers for women in small business, their characteristics and aspirations and the specific barriers they face, bringing in a women's perspective. The Ministry formed the Māori Economic Sustainability Reference Group, to bring together a group of business experts to advise the project. Having contributed to the establishment of the Pay and Employment Equity Taskforce in May 2003, the Ministry collaborated with the Department of Labour to implement its Plan of Action to address the gender pay gap in the public service during 2004.[144] The Ministry was able to contribute newly completed research on women, notably on Māori women.[145]

Image 9 – Minister Ruth Dyson (centre) and Shenagh Gleisner (far right) at the launch of the 2004 Action Plan.

Post-dissolution of Te Ohu Whakatupu – 2005–2009

In October 2005 Lianne Dalziel was appointed ninth Minister of Women's Affairs. The Ministry's strategic direction continued to change substantially during this period. Publication of evidence and policy reports started to become more of a core business activity for the Ministry after 2005. The Ministry focused primarily on researching and reporting on the core issues that had become the nucleus of the Ministry's business operation mentioned, such as encouraging and assisting women into leadership positions and employment. Such reports included *Research on Wages and Costs of Education and Training* (2006) and *Women on Boards: Why Women on Company Boards are Good for Business* (2009).[146]

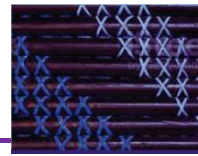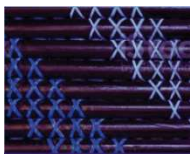[144] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2004*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2004, p. 22.

[145] *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs 2004-2007*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2004, p. 19.

[146] *Research on Wages and Costs of Education and Training*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2006, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Research%20on%20Wages%20and%20Costs%20of%20Education%20and%20Training.pdf, accessed 23 August 2020; *Women on Boards: Why Women on Company Boards are Good for Business*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2009, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/women-on-boards-why-women-on-company-boards-are-good-for-business-2.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

Preventing violence against women, particularly sexual violence, has been one of the core objectives throughout the Ministry's history. The Ministry frequently encountered and was very aware of the severe lack of research on sexual violence. It has therefore been very focused on commissioning research and working to increase the evidence available to analysts working on policy development. Multiple reports were produced by the end of this decade, which became foundation documents for research in this area, such as *Living at the Cutting Edge: Women's experiences of Protection Orders*[147] and *Key Stakeholders Consultation Reports – Strong and Safe Communities – Effective Interventions for Adult Victims of Sexual Violence*, both in 2007.[148] In 2009 the Ministry released reports on data-based studies it had commissioned addressing three different aspects of responding to sexual violence.[149] It also commissioned a report looking at the most effective interventions for survivors of sexual violence called *Restoring Soul: Key Findings from Strong and Safe Communities*.[150]

After the 2007 election Stephanie (Steve) Chadwick was appointed the new Minister of Women's Affairs, and just a year later, in November 2008, Pansy Wong was appointed the 11th Minister of Women's Affairs.

The 2009 *Annual Report* explicitly stated that the Ministry was adhering narrowly to a few core functions. The Ministry now had just three objectives: eliminating sexual violence, increasing the participation of women in governance positions and reducing the gender pay gap. It also stated very clearly why this had become necessary:

> The combination of a new government and the economic crisis has accentuated the need for clear priorities. To achieve good results for New Zealanders we must all scrutinise efficiency and value for money… As for clear priorities, we focus our work on three areas where the outcomes for women are clearly unacceptable, to the detriment of women and to New Zealand as a whole.[151]

Cost efficiency was obviously a priority under the newly straitened circumstances of the past year. However, projects that matched one of the core objectives were maintained
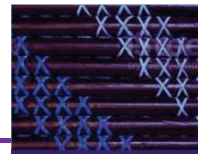
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[147] Livi*ng at the Cutting Edge: Women's Experiences of Protection Orders*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2007, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Living%20at%20the%20cuttling%20edge%20executive%20summary.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[148] *Key Stakeholders Consultation Reports – Strong and Safe Communities – Effective Interventions for Adult Victims of Sexual Violence*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2007, available at
https://women.govt.nz/documents/key-stakeholders-consultation-reports-strong-and-safe-communities-effective-interventions, accessed 28 August 2020.
[149] Sue Triggs, *Responding to Sexual Violence: Attrition in the New Zealand criminal justice system*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2009, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/responding%20to%20sexual%20violence%20attrition-pdf.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020; Venezia Kingi and Jan Jordan, *Responding to sexual violence: Pathways to recovery*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2009, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/pathways-to-recovery-pdf_0.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020; *Responding to sexual violence: Environmental Scan of New Zealand Agencies*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2009, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/environmental-scan.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[150] *Restoring Soul: Key Findings from Strong and Safe Communities – Effective Interventions for Adult Victims/Survivors of Sexual Violence*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2009, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/restoring-soul-pdf-1.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[151] *Ministry of Women's Affairs Annual Report for the Year Ended 30 June 2009*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2009, pp. 4, 5, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/annual-report-2009-pdf_0.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

until completion, and partnerships with the business world – to improve the participation of women on private sector boards – allowed further reach at less expense.[152]

The Ministry continued to organise or participate in some events, but on a smaller scale than previous years. It participated in a series of regional meetings to keep up its links with women around the country, and assisted in the launch of the 'Business Case for Women on Boards' programme in association with Business New Zealand and the Institute of Directors in New Zealand. Staff also naturally continued to represent the Ministry on the Taskforce for Action on Sexual Violence, since sexual violence was one of its three priorities.
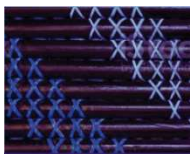
In the 2009 Budget, however, the Ministry was allocated an additional $2 million over four years to do work on reducing the gender pay gap. The gender pay gap thus became a key policy priority during this period, as the topic gained particular prominence both internationally and in New Zealand. The Ministry was able to put significant funding into further research on the topic over the following years.[153]

Image 10 – Launch of Celebrating Pacific Women 2006
(Left to Right – Minister Lianne Dalziel, Angelina Weir, Winnie Laban).

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[152] *Ministry of Women's Affairs Annual Report for the Year Ended 30 June 2009*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2009, p. 4, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/annual-report-2009-pdf_0.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

[153] Mike Hensen and John Yeabsley, *Changes in Women's Earnings: Key Changes Over the Last 30 Years and Comments on the Outlook for the Next 10 Years*, NZIER report to the Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2012, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Changes%20in%20women%20s%20earnings%2C%20January%202013.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020; *Closing the Gender Gap: Plenty of Potential Economic Upside*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2011, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Goldman%20Sachs%20Female%20participation.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

Violence, governance, economy – 2010–14

Shenagh Gleisner resigned as Chief Executive[154] in the middle of 2010. Over her tenure leading the Ministry, Gleisner had concentrated on implementing the Ministry's new priorities – focusing its work on three main areas where outcomes for women were at their worst. She stressed the need for and delivery of efficiency, productivity and 'cost-effective delivery' of high-quality policy, due to the strains on the Ministry's budget, and pressure from incoming Ministers.[155]

Rowena Phair was recruited back to the Ministry as the new Chief Executive in June 2010, after a previous period at the Ministry as policy manager from 2004 to 2007.[156] Having worked directly under Gleisner for much of her tenure, Rowena Phair continued in a similar mould. She lay particular weight on private sector governance and training for governance roles, and on improving the efficiency of the Ministry in its use of resources, prioritising policy work as much as possible over administrative costs.[157] At the end of 2010, Georgina Te Heuheu was reappointed temporarily as Acting Minister of Women's Affairs, following Pansy Wong's sudden resignation from Cabinet. In December it was announced that Hekia Parata would take over the Cabinet positions formerly held by Wong, and she was appointed 12th Minister of Women's Affairs.

A year later, at the end of 2011, Jo Goodhew was appointed as a new Minister of Women's Affairs, just as the Ministry was also at the beginning of a four year strategic direction. The Ministry had another change in leadership not long afterward, when Rowena Phair left. She was replaced by Dr Jo Cribb as the permanent Chief Executive of the Ministry in November 2012.

The Ministry's *Statement of Intent* for 2011– 2014 outlined three key outcomes for the Ministry to prioritise: greater economic independence; more women in leadership roles; and increased safety from violence.[158] Violence against women, therefore, continued to be one of the most important issues for the Ministry to address. Publications on sexual violence include a research study on programmes that were working well in refugee and migrant communities.[159] Some other sources were more concentrated on providing reviews of contemporary literature on the subject, such as *Speak Up, Seek Help, Safe Home: A Review of Literature on Culturally Appropriate Interventions for intimate Partner*

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[154] Shenagh Gleisner also worked as a Senior Policy Analyst from 1990 to 1994, in addition to the later period as policy manager.

[155] *Ministry of Women's Affairs Annual Report for the Year Ended 30 June 2009*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2009, p. 4.

[156] *Ministry of Women's Affairs Annual Report for the Year Ended 30 June 2010*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2010, p. 4.

[157] *Ministry of Women's Affairs Annual Report for the Year Ended 30 June 2011*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2011, p. 1.

[158] *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs 2011–2014*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2011, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/statement-of-intent-2011-2014.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

[159] *Case Studies of Community Initiatives Addressing Family Violence in Refugee and Migrant Communities*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2011, available at https://women.govt.nz/documents/case-studies-community-initiatives-addressing-family-violence-refugee-and-migrant, accessed 29 August 2020.
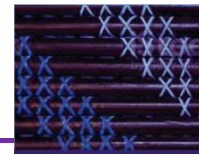
*Violence in Ethnic Communities (*2010), and *Current Thinking on Primary Prevention of Violence Against Women* (2013).[160]

Ministry staff attended and participated in economic forums and conferences, and were often heavily concerned with those conferences that were focused on women's involvement in the workforce. NACEW organised two summits in Auckland and Wellington on gender imbalance in the digital technology industry. The purpose of the summits was to bring together 90 leaders in education, government and business, in order to discuss the reasons for, and solutions to, the gender imbalance problem. These leaders identified opportunities available to women and girls in the industry, the barriers preventing women from starting or staying and recommendations for overcoming it.[161] Afterwards, NACEW, in collaboration with the Ministry, published a report summarising the outcome of the summits, to start a public conversation about the issue and identify potential policy solutions to recommend to the Government.[162] The Minister at the time, Jo Goodhew, attended both summits. Ministry staff also presented three papers at the 2014 Labour, Employment and Work Conference, as well as at a Treasury seminar.[163]

In another ministerial change around the start of a new strategic direction, in October 2014 Louise Upston was appointed the 14th Minister for Women (the title change timed to align with the ministerial change). Two months later she announced the Ministry's name change from Ministry of Women's Affairs to Ministry for Women. The Ministry's new strategic direction and objectives were outlined in two different strategic documents. In 2014, the Ministry published its new four-year strategy document: *2014–2018 Strategic Intentions: Ministry of Women's Affairs*. Like the direction taken in recent strategy documents, the strategy prioritised three areas: greater economic independence, more women in leadership roles; and increased safety from violence for women. It also included a specific Ministry strategy for wāhine Māori and Pasifika called 'Accelerating effectiveness for Māori and Pacifica 2014 to 2016'.[164] The *Statement of Intent 2013–2016*
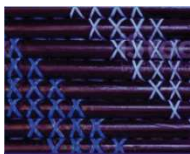
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[160] *Speak Up, Seek Help, Safe Home: A Review of Literature on Culturally Appropriate Interventions for intimate Partner Violence in Ethnic Communities*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2010, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/speak-up-seek-help-safe-home.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020; Current Thinking on Primary Prevention of Violence Against Women, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Final%20Current%20thinking%20on%20primary%20prevention.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[161] *Women in Innovation Summit: Enabling and Empowering Through the Tech Sector – Appendix One: Summary of Summit Discussions*, National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women, 2014, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/NACEW-Women-in-Innovation-Summit-Summary-of-Opportunities-and-Barriers-Appendix-1-FINAL.PDF, accessed 24 August 2020.
[162] *Women in Innovation Summit: Enabling and Empowering Through the Tech Sector - Summary and Recommendations*, National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women, 2014.
[163] Sean Molloy and Deborah Potter, 'NEET by choice? Investigating the links between motherhood and NEET status'; Riripeti Reedy, 'E Tū Ake! Investment in Wāhine Māori and Pasifika Women'; and Maria Williamson and Ruth Wilkie, 'Issues for Women's Leadership Pathways in Large Organisations' at *Labour, Employment and Work in New Zealand: The 16th Conference, 27–28 November 2014*, available at https://ojs.victoria.ac.nz/LEW/issue/view/212.
[164] *2014–2018 Strategic Intentions: Ministry of Women's Affairs*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2014, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/MWA-Statement%20of%20Intent%202014-FIN_web.pdf, accessed 24 August 2020.

was essentially identical to the 2014–2018 Strategic Intentions document.[165] For more on this strategy, see Chapter Four.

The Ministry concentrated its efforts on the areas outlined in the strategy, both in terms of policy and in publication of research. Its publications through this period primarily focused on economic issues such as trade and employment for women. *E Tū Ake! Stand Tall and Proud* provides data on the employment and outcomes of vulnerable groups: women with low or no qualifications; women who are not in education, training or employment; sole and teen mothers; and Māori and Pasifika women. It examines the characteristics of the most effective and promising programmes for improving the economic independence of these groups.[166] Other publications concentrate on talking to employers: encouraging employers to hire women and advising on how to attract women to their industries, such as *Growing Your Trades Workforce*.[167]

Governance and leadership had of course been a main focus of the Ministry since its foundation, through the Nominations Service, and continued to be so under the most recent strategic direction. As Ministry analysts investigated the issue and realised the severe lack of targeted data on the topic, particularly the lack of information gathering on diversity combined with gender, it became a clear focus of research interest for the Ministry. Since 2004, the Ministry has commissioned annual gender stocktakes of state sector boards and committees, which have revealed a vast improvement in representation of women on state sector boards since the foundation of the Ministry.[168] The Ministry published further reports analysing the data gathered, such as *Gender Diversity Trends in the New Zealand Governance Environment 2003-2013,* which showed that private sector board roles and leadership positions show much less progress than state sector roles, other than in industries traditionally dominated by women.[169] The Ministry examines solutions to this problem in discussion documents such as *Realising the Opportunity: Addressing New Zealand's Leadership Pipeline by Attracting and Retaining Talented Women* and *Inspiring Action.*[170]

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[165] *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs 2013-2016*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/MWA-Statement%20of%20Intent%202013.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
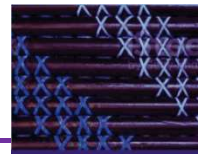
[166] *E Tū Ake! Stand Tall and Proud: A Working Paper on Raising the Qualifications and Earnings of Low Income Women*, Ministry for Women, 2014, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/MWA-E%20Tu%20Ake%20publication-for%20web2.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

[167] *Growing Your Trades Workforce*, Ministry for Women, 2014, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/2070-MWA_employers%20handbook%20web.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

[168] *2012 Gender Stocktake of State Sector Boards and Committees as at 20 December 2012*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/MWA%20Gender%20Stocktake-v5_0.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

[169] Dianne McAteer, *Gender Diversity Trends in the New Zealand Governance Environment 2003-2013*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013, pp. 36–39, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Final_Report_Dianne_McAteer_8716927_FINAL.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

[170] *Inspiring Action: Action Plans and Research to Help you Attract and Retain Talented Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2010, available at

The Ministry celebrated its 30-year anniversary in 2015, with a formal event hosted by Louise Upston as Minister on 26 March, gathering together current and former Ministers and Chief Executives, to discuss the Ministry's legacy, its new name and current priorities, as well as an 'open day' the following day, celebrating the contribution of former staff members. The Ministry also produced a small booklet on the Ministry's achievements since its foundation and its current work.[171] The Ministry had also celebrated 120 years of suffrage in 2013, with three events around the country, and in the same year participated in a Centenary Celebration of the SSC. The Ministry representative assisted the SSC in creating the '100 Years of Public Service' souvenir document.[172]

Image 11 – Minister Jo Goodhew, Dr Jo Cribb, Mahia Bennett, Prime Minister John Key, Assil Russell and Mary Fisher celebrating the 120th Anniversary of Suffrage (2013).
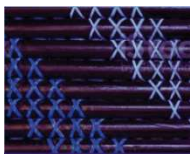
2015–19

In December 2016, Paula Bennett was appointed Minister for Women replacing Louise Upston. However Julie Anne Genter was appointed the next Minister for Women after the 2017 election, less than a year later.

The Ministry continued to be involved in some public-facing activities, if for the most part on a smaller scale. Between 2015 and 2019 the Ministry sponsored the Public Policy category of the Women of Influence Awards, which recognise women leaders across New Zealand. The 125th anniversary of women's suffrage was the most significant anniversary for some time and so, in 2018, the Ministry coordinated a range of activities and events in

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https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/MWA_bibliography%20complete%20%28large%29.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020; *Realising the Opportunity: Addressing New Zealand's Leadership Pipeline by Attracting and Retaining Talented Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Realising%20the%20opportunity.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[171] Celebrating 30 years of work for New Zealand women, Ministry for Women, 2015.
[172] *100 Years of Public Service: A Centenary Celebration of New Zealand's State Services Commission, Souvenir Booklet 2013*, SSC, 2013 available at https://www.publicservice.govt.nz/assets/Legacy/centenary.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

partnership with Manatū Taonga (Ministry for Culture and Heritage) to celebrate the milestone, including a launch with the Governor-General in attendance. The events particularly focused on recognising New Zealand women from diverse cultural backgrounds who have contributed to progressing women's rights.

Image 12 –Minister Lees-Galloway and Minister Sage address the crowd gathered at Parliament for a Suffrage Day 125 picnic and announce the introduction of the Equal Pay Amendment Bill.
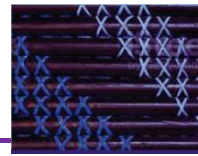
In 2019, the Ministry contributed to the Wāhine Kākano – the New Zealand Young Women's Festival, held across Rotorua and Auckland – and Acting Minister for Women (Eugenie Sage) hosted a special event at Parliament to celebrate Suffrage Day 2019. The latter event involved women leaders sharing their views on democracy and on ways to improve the lives of all women and girls in Aotearoa.

In 2018, the Ministry published its new four-year *Statement of Intent 2018–2022*.[173] It described the Ministry's plan in regards to its Strategic Framework, its operating context (the contemporary social context in which the Ministry operates) and the Government priorities. It outlines three new desired strategic outcomes or goals. These new goals are: the contribution of all women and girls is valued; all women and girls are financially valued and can fully participate and thrive; and all women and girls are free from all forms of violence and harassment. These objectives are reflected in the advice the Ministry has provided to the Minister during this period. Topics have primarily related to those three goals, including different elements of the gender pay gap, domestic sexual violence and NACEW, as well as women in sport and the Safety work programme.[174]

The new goals outlined in the 2018 *Statement of Intent* also acknowledged results of the recent Stakeholder Engagement Survey. Although the Ministry was reasonably well

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[173] *Statement of Intent: Our Approach for 2018–2022*, Ministry for Women, 2018, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Statement%20of%20Intent%202018%20Ministry%20for%20Women .pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[174] *Statement of Intent: Our Approach for 2018–2022*, Ministry for Women, 2018, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Statement%20of%20Intent%202018%20Ministry%20for%20Women .pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

regarded by its Public Service stakeholders in terms of the quality of its policy work, the survey revealed that stakeholders felt that the Ministry needed to put more emphasis on improving the wellbeing outcomes of the full diversity of women and girls, particularly those in less privileged or at-risk circumstances, and in communities or groups needing more support.[175] The new Strategy 1, to "lead work that improves outcomes for all women and girls" acknowledged this feedback and the need to greatly improve the Ministry's efforts in this area.[176]

The Ministry's Nominations work continued to steam ahead, particularly regarding data collection. Since 2013, it has published annual stocktakes of gender representation on both private and state sector boards, as well as reports on policy solutions and approaches to the problem, such as *Increasing the Representation of Women on Private Sector Boards – Aug 2016*.[177] The Ministry subsequently expanded its analysis of diversity into other areas, as *Decoding Diversity* (2017) dealt with how to encourage diversity of women and girls into science and technology training.[178]

Similarly the gender pay gap has become a key policy focus in the last five years, as work on proposed equal pay legislation intensified, and the topic gained particular prominence both internationally and in New Zealand. The topic therefore became a focus of research interest for the Ministry. The Ministry's research started to look at contributing factors to the gender pay gap, such as unpaid work. Several reports were published on the gender pay gap during this period, particularly Pacheco et al.'s *Empirical Evidence of the Gender Pay Gap in New Zealand* (2017), as well as *Gender Inequality and Unpaid Work: A Review of Recent Literature* (2019), and *Literature Scan: Unpaid work - a Pacific Gender Perspective* (2019).[179]
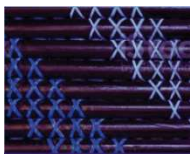
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[175] *Ministry for Women Stakeholder Feedback*, Ministry for Women, 2017, pp. 22-23; *Statement of Intent: Our Approach for 2018–2022*, Ministry for Women, 2018, p. 17 available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Statement%20of%20Intent%202018%20Ministry%20for%20Women.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[176] *Statement of Intent: Our Approach for 2018–2022*, Ministry for Women, 2018, p. 17 available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Statement%20of%20Intent%202018%20Ministry%20for%20Women.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[177] *2015 Gender Stocktake of State Sector Boards and Committees*, 2016, available at
https://women.govt.nz/documents/2015-gender-stocktake-state-sector-boards-and-committees-2016, accessed 28 August 2020; In*creasing the Representation of Women on Private Sector Boards*, Ministry for Women, 2016, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Increasing%20the%20representation%20of%20women%20on%20private%20sector%20boards%20August%202016.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[178] *Decoding Diversity*, Ministry for Women, 2017, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Decoding%20diversity.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[179] Gail Pachecho, Chao Li and Bill Cochrane, *Empirical Evidence of the Gender Pay Gap in New Zealand*, Ministry for Women, 2017, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Empirical%20evidence%20of%20GPG%20in%20NZ%20-%20Mar2017_0.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020; *Gender Inequality and Unpaid Work: A Review of Recent Literature*, Ministry for Women, 2019, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Gender%20inequality%20and%20unpaid%20work%20.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020; *Literature Scan: Unpaid Work - a Pacific Gender Perspective*, Ministry for Women, 2019, available at

Expanding on from this work the Ministry has attempted to bring more public attention to the issue, particularly the attention of employers, and to promote changes in behaviour to help solve the problem. This results in promotional material such as *Closing the Gender Pay Gap – Actions for Employers* (2017) and *Eliminating the Gender Pay Gap in the Public Service* (2018).[180] The research, performed in collaboration with Te Kawa Maataho, has informed policy development and work on a set of universal principles, in *Gender Pay Principles.*[181]

Further publications on economic issues include *Country Case Studies on Pay Transparency* (2019); *Effective Policies or Programmes Helping Low Income Women get into Better, Higher Skilled Employment* (2019) and *Parenthood and Labour Market Outcomes May 2018* (2018).[182] As the latter study indicates, the Ministry has recently taken a specific interest in sponsoring and publishing research studies into economic or financial issues relating to parenthood and motherhood.[183] The Ministry has continued to publish its *Pānui* newsletter, but in 2018 changed the official name to *Pānui Wāhine: A Publication of the Ministry for Women, Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine.*

In the past two years the Ministry has started to realign its policy focus in regard to wāhine Māori. In November 2019 the Ministry established a Joint Roopū with Te Puni Kōkiri to coordinate and facilitate the Crown's participation in and response to the Waitangi Tribunal Mana Wāhine Inquiry. The Joint Roopū has since assembled a complete team to work on commissioning Crown research and data collection, funding for claimants involved in the Inquiry, and community engagement. However its work also includes a

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https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Unpaid%20work%20Pacific%20perspective%20lit%20scan%20completed%2022%20May.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[180] *Eliminating the Gender* Pay Gap *in the Public Service: 2018-2020 Action Plan*, Ministry for Women, 2018, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/MFW_Eliminating%20Public%20Service%20GPG_FINAL2_web%20%283%29.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020; Clo*sing the* Gender Pay Gap - *Actions for Employers*, Ministry for Women, 2017, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/GPG%20Actions%20for%20Employers_0.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[181] *Gender Pay Principles*, Ministry for Women, 2018, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Gender%20Pay%20principles.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[182] *Country Case Studies on Pay Transparency*, Ministry for Women, 2019, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Case%20studies%20on%20pay%20transparency%20-%20AU%2C%20DK%2C%20FR%2C%20DE%2C%20IS%2C%20UK.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020; *Effective Policies or Programmes Helping Low Income Women get into Better, Higher Skilled Employment*, Ministry for Women, 2019, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/A%20Literature%20Review%20of%20Effective%20Policies%20or%20Programmes%20Helping%20Low-Income%20Women%20get%20into%20Better%20Higher-skilled%20Employment.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020; *Parenthood and Labour Market Outcomes*, Ministry for Women, 2018, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Parenthood%20%26%20Labour%20Market%20Outcomes.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[183] *Further research includes: Mostly-NEET Through 2015 Integrated Data Insights by Motherhood Status*, Ministry for Women, 2018, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Mostly%20NEET%20through%202015.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020; and *Something's Got To Change: Insights from Mothers*, Ministry for Women, 2018, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Something%27s%20got%20to%20change.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

wider cross-government approach on how to improve outcomes for wāhine Māori and ensure policy, legislation, and agencies recognise the specific needs of Māori women and address the disparities between Māori women and the rest of society. See Chapter Five on the Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry and establishment of the Joint Roopū.
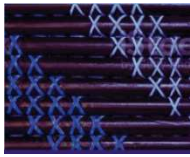
The Ministry in 2020

In February 2020 an updated earthquake seismic rating review found that the Ministry's premises at 22 The Terrace, Wellington, did not have a high enough standard to house permanent employees. The Ministry has, therefore, been forced to move out of its permanent home to a temporary office, and then again to slightly more permanent accommodation. The COVID-19 crisis national lockdown from March to May meant that the Ministry was further disrupted in its work. Despite this the Ministry was able to progress many milestones in its policy advice, and several policy or legislative successes were achieved, assisted by the hard work of the Ministry over several years.

As part of the Government's COVID-19 response the Ministry for Women was responsible for managing a 'COVID-19 Community Fund' of $2 million. The fund provided a one-off grant of $5,000 to $50,000 each to organisations that provided services or support to women and girls, and were experiencing a shortfall of funding due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The Ministry's COVID team applied for and was granted the funding to help offset the impact of the pandemic on women. The team assessed applications for the fund and recommended a shortlist of organisations to a panel to decide the recipients; the team then distributed the grants, all successfully achieved within a very short time-frame.

The COVID team worked with the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) on a Cabinet paper to improve government procurement outcomes for targeted groups, such as Māori, Pasifika and disabled people; this group now explicitly includes women after the COVID team contributed advice to the paper. The COVID team continues to work with MBIE on the development of guidelines for implementing the new rule, and further policy work involving gendered data analysis. The team has collaborated with Connexis, Women in Trades, Skills.org, Master Builders and the Building and Construction Industry Training Organisation (BCITO), to support women and girls to move into traditionally male roles in trades and construction.

The Ministry was consulted by and provided advice to the Minister by coordinating and building the evidence base on period wellbeing for girls, and period equity. This contributed to the approval of a pilot programme of Period Poverty Products in Schools announced in June 2020. In July the duration of Paid Parental Leave payments was extended to 26 weeks, through the Parental Leave and Employment Protection Amendment Bill, which passed in November 2017. Although MBIE was primarily responsible for providing advice on the Bill, the Ministry provided information about international trends for the provision of parental leave, and data on the potential costs associated with changes proposed in the Bill.
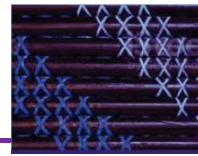
The Equal Pay Amendment Bill 2020 was also passed in July 2020. The Ministry was centrally involved in developing this legislation. It aims to eliminate and prevent discrimination based on gender, in the area of remuneration and conditions of employment within female dominated jobs, as well as to improve the pay equity claims process. The policy team worked on researching and drafting some of the provisions of this Bill, as well as advising and preparing the Minister through the legislative process, such as select committee changes. Further work on the gender pay gap included the launch of a *What's my Gender Pay Gap?* tool online in July, to assist any member of the pubic in researching the impact of the gender pay gap on their own income.

Evidential research and accurate data collection continues to be a significant focus for the team. They work towards collecting much more varied data, which can be broken down on a more detailed level and used to assess New Zealand's progress on ethnicity as well as gender issues. In May 2020, the Ministry published the annual board stocktake, which collected data on ethnic diversity in boards for the first time during 2019.[184] The diversity data revealed very positive numbers for representation of Māori and wāhine Māori on boards. Representation of Māori has now reached the overall proportion of Māori in the population. Over 20 per cent of board members around the country are Māori, over half of whom are wāhine Māori, and over a quarter of new appointments from the previous year were Māori. Over half of all Māori board members are wāhine Māori. The data reflects the success of the Ministry's Nominations Service, and demonstrates the effectiveness of all the hard work of the Service ever since the Ministry was first established.

The Ministry is involved with representing New Zealand on international projects and groups, such as the Pacific Women Leaders Forum, the International Women's Caucus and Trade and Gender Arrangement meetings. In fact, New Zealand is the host of the next APEC conference for the Policy Partnership on Women and the Economy in 2021, and the Ministry is therefore participating in and coordinating many meetings around the organisation of the virtual conference. Ministry Chief Executive, Renee Graham, has been confirmed as the Chair of the Policy Partnership on Women and the Economy for 2021–2022.

Domestically the Ministry is represented at the Women, Peace and Security work programme and NACEW meetings, among others. The Ministry has reached out to other agencies to create 'Partnerships', in order to collaborate on common work programmes. These include the Joint Roopū with Te Puni Kōkiri, the Joint Gender Pay Gap and Pay Equity Taskforce (later Gender Pay Taskforce) with Te Kawa Mataaho, and data partnerships with the Ministry for Pacific Peoples and the Office of Ethnic Communities within Internal Affairs. The Ministry also provides support and advice to the Joint Venture

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[184] *2019 stocktake of Gender, Māori, and Ethnic Diversity on State Sector Boards and Committees*, Ministry for Women, 2019, available at
https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Gender%20Māori%20and%20Ethnicity%20Stocktake%202019.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

Business Unit on its national strategy and action plan on family violence and sexual violence.

In late 2020 the Ministry confirmed a name change to Manatū Wāhine Ministry for Women. After the October 2020 election, Jan Tinetti was appointed the Minister for Women, and remains so at the time of writing.

Image 13 – The Ministry's publication *Trades Industries – beyond construction* (2021) encourages women into the trades, as part of the COVID-19 response programme.

2 Founding Te Ohu Whakatupu – A working group to assist with the process of growth, 1984 to 1991

As discussed in Chapter One, then Minister Ann Hercus began to set up an advisory group that could design and advise on the establishment of the new Ministry in July 1984. Mira Szászy (Ngāti Kurī, Te Rarawa and Te Aupōuri) (later Dame), former MWWL president, was one of the community leaders chosen to be part of the advisory group.[185]

In August, Mira Szászy convened a group of Māori women in Auckland to write a submission to the forum, called 'Submissions to the Ministry from a Working Group of Māori women of Tāmaki Makaurau'. The working group included leading lights of the activist wāhine Māori community; women such as Donna Awatere and Ripeka Evans.[186] The submission requested a special Māori unit to look after wāhine Māori affairs. It stated that the group sought "an emphasis on the ability of the proposed Secretariat to assist Māori women to establish Māori women's initiatives that would create our own power basis".[187] They presented the submission to Minister Hercus on 31 August, 1984. Following the submission, the Government, including both Minister Hercus and Prime Minister David Lange, promised to create a specialist Māori unit within the Ministry, which was announced as official government policy at the Māori Economic Summit.[188]

Mira Szászy continued to lead and encourage the working group to provide advice on the proposals for Te Ohu Whakatupu.[189] It was the primary reason Te Ohu Whakatupu was established.[190] Since she was on the advisory group responsible for establishing the Ministry, she set up meetings for the working group with the Minister. The approach was decided from discussion between this group and the Minister.[191] On 10 September 1984 the working group had a follow-up discussion with the Minister about their proposal, particularly on the number of staff members they proposed for the Māori unit. The group

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185 'Hercus names women advisors' in Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-23 – The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/20-7/45. Mira Szászy was appointed a Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1990.
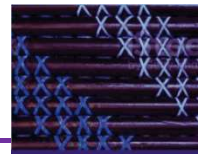186 Interview, Mary O'Regan, 20 August 2020.
187 August 1984, 'Submissions to the Ministry from a Working Group of Māori women of Tamaki-Makaurau (August 1984)', p. 9, in Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-24 – The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/46-7/57.
188 4 March 1985, Beresford to SSC Commissioner (Bazley), 'Ministry of Women's Affairs: Draft Job Description', and 11 February 1985, 'Plans for new Māori Secretariat' in Archives NZ, R22446207, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985; Interview, Mary O'Regan, 20 August 2020.
189 Interviews, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020; Mary O'Regan, 20 August 2020.
190 Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A Case Study of the Creation of a New Organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, pp. 38–39, 52–53, 56–59, 79–83.
191 August 1984, 'Submissions to the Ministry from a Working Group of Māori women of Tamaki-Makaurau (August 1984)' -- Appendix, pp. 95, 97–98, 100, in Archives NZ, R22446207, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 1, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985.

updated their proposal regarding the structure of Te Ohu Whakatupu after the discussion, and submitted it to the Minister.[192]

Despite the working party, many positive submissions from Māori women's groups were also made on the Select Committee stage of the Amendment Bill, including Waikato Maniapoto Waanga Roopū ki Roto Tāmaki Makaurau [sic], Te Amorangi Māori Women's Group Auckland and the MWWL, all supportive of the establishment of the Ministry.[193] Of the general submissions to the Select Committee that supported the Ministry, there was 'general support' for establishment of a Māori Women's Secretariat, particularly from the Federation of Labour.[194]

The SSC itself approved the establishment of Te Ohu Whakatupu as it saw the need for a body to support wāhine Māori as a distinctive group. In the appendix of the Select Committee's report on the Bill's submissions, it noted the disparity in statistics around the welfare of wāhine Māori, and that the Department of Māori Affairs was working on programmes to close the gaps for Māori communities in general, but not wāhine Māori specifically. Likewise the Select Committee notes that other departments did not have any specific responsibility for Māori or wāhine Māori issues either. Not only that but, as the report stated, the SSC was "concerned that some departments do not see they have any role to play in the closure of the Pākehā/Māori social and economic gap".[195] The report notes that the MWWL was overwhelmingly concerned about the health of wāhine Māori, given that wāhine Māori were doubly disadvantaged in this area, as "firstly, they are the victims of sexism by Māori men, secondly they are the victims of racism".[196]
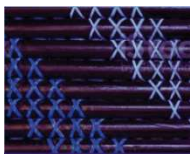
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[192] August 1984, 'Submissions to the Ministry from a Working Group of Māori women of Tamaki-Makaurau (August 1984)' (76W), in Archives NZ, R22446206, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985.

[193] Maniapoto Waanga Roopū ki Roto Tāmaki Makaurau to Secretary of the Labour and Education Select Committee, Telegram, (85w), in Archives NZ, R22446206, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 1, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985; Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003] (18, 35W); Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-24 - The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/46-7/57.

[194] 18 February 1985, 'State Services Amendment Bill: Ministry of Women's Affairs', p. 2, in Archives NZ, R22446207, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985.

[195] 18 February 1985, 'State Services Amendment Bill: Ministry of Women's Affairs' – Appendix 1, in Archives NZ, R22446207, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985.

[196] 18 February 1985, 'State Services Amendment Bill: Ministry of Women's Affairs' - Appendix 1, in Archives NZ, R22446207, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985.

The committee still apparently did not recognise the role of sexism by Pākehā men as well as Māori. It did, however, recognise the importance of having a specific unit for wāhine Māori, "as a means of initiating programmes with the Department of Māori Affairs and other departments, concerned with the lot of Māori women in NZ society".[197]

Te Ohu Whakatupu was consequently authorised, and established as an equal partner or unit to the policy unit of the Ministry, with the director on an equal footing and reporting directly to the Minister, just like the secretary (later Chief Executive). This structure was of essential importance, giving Te Ohu Whakatupu equal status, and much more direct influence on policy, with the direct line of communication to the Minister. It exemplified the spirit of the Treaty, and model of Treaty biculturalism in the public service.[198]

Even after the proposal was submitted and approved, Mira Szászy continued to ensure the group provided more general input about the proposed unit to her, which she then passed on through her role on the Advisory group.[199] Her advice was taken very seriously by her Pākehā counterparts; her mana was so widely recognised, that the formal submission from the group of wāhine Māori was adopted almost completely.[200] It was, in fact, Mira Szászy's idea, which was then implemented, to set up a free phone number for Te Ohu Whakatupu.[201] This made the new unit far more accessible for wāhine Māori, who could then ask any type of question or request advice or assistance at any time. Mira Szászy also had great influence on other decisions around the Ministry, such as on-the-job descriptions, including for the proposed Secretary of Women's Affairs role.[202]

On 8 October 1984, the working group suggested the name Te Ohu Whakatupu for the Secretariat in a submission.[203] On 23 November the group, officially called the Māori Women's Working Party, gave the advisory group a list of questions to ask candidates for Ministry jobs, to establish their sensitivity and commitment to working among and for

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[197] 18 February 1985, 'State Services Amendment Bill: Ministry of Women's Affairs' – Appendix 1, in Archives NZ, R22446207, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985.

[198] Interview, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020; Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, p. 83; 'Annex 1: Ministry of Women's Affairs: Position Statement', R4196502, AAFH 6790 W5510/322, SOC-3-1-MWA, Pt 1, Social Services Division – Māori Policy – Responsiveness In The State Sector - Ministry Of Women's Affairs (MWA), 1988–90.

[199] 'Plans for new Māori Secretariat' in Archives NZ, R22446207, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985; Archives NZ, R3836674, AAFH 785 W5485/75, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 1, Efficiency And Economy – Administration of Functions – [General] – Machinery of Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984.

[200] Interview, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020.

[201] Interview, Te Riria Proctor, 11 September 2020.

[202] Archives NZ, R22446207, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985; Mira Szászy, 'Budget for Establishment of Secretariat of Māori Affairs within the Ministry of Women's Affairs' in Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-24 – The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/46-7/57; 'Annex 2: The Ministry's Policy of Affirmative Action for Māori Women', R4196502, AAFH 6790 W5510/322, SOC-3-1-MWA, Pt 1, Social Services Division - Māori Policy – Responsiveness In The State Sector - Ministry Of Women's Affairs (MWA), 1988–90.
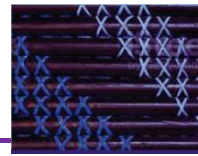
[203] 8 October 1984, 'The Participation of Māori Women Within the Ministry of Women's Affairs' and 'Secretariat of Māori Women', p. 3, in Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-24 - The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/46-7/57.

wāhine Māori. The party insisted that the questions be used to hire the Secretariat positions: "We cannot see the Māori Women's Secretariat functioning efficiently without the guaranteed and given affirmation and support of all the personnel involved. It is imperative therefore that you and your representatives canvass the feelings, value-base and intentions of your appointees by putting these questions we have drawn up."[204] The group therefore had influence not only on the appointments of Te Ohu Whakatupu, but also on the make-up of the entire Ministry, which ensured that everyone involved was committed to bicultural ideals. The party also asked that Mira Szászy be involved with the process.[205]

In April 1985 Te Aroha McDowell, leader of the Māori Women's Working Party, published an article from a Māori feminist perspective attacking the lack of support and even undermining of Māori women and their kaupapa from Pākehā feminists in the New Zealand women's movement. It criticised the limited role given to Māori women in public affairs, and asserted that white feminists were fighting for changes that would continue to render Māori women invisible. McDowell warned against the potential for this to continue within the proposed Ministry of Women's Affairs, in light of the submissions on the Ministry that Pākehā feminists had submitted. The tokenistic gestures made up to that point had no provision to genuinely represent wāhine Māori and their kaupapa Māori perspectives. McDowell warned of the consequences of ignoring this imperative, but did not expect any response from the SSC to the Tāmaki Makaurau submission on their demand for an alternative, kaupapa Māori structure and selection process for the Ministry.[206] Such an article contributed to the pressure on the SSC and the fledgling Ministry to undertake the process of setting up Te Ohu Whakatupu in the right way.
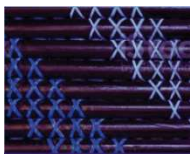
This pressure, along with the impact of both the group's submission, and of Mira Szászy's advice on the advisory group, meant that the appointment process for Te Ohu Whakatupu was made entirely separate from that of the rest of the Ministry. The group made it clear in a paper that if the new unit was to start off on the right foot, it was extremely important that staff should be appointed in a process that accorded with tikanga and kaupapa Māori.[207] Despite the complexities of the process, the Pākehā members of the

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[204] 23 November 1984, Māori Women's Working Party to Minister of Women's Affairs, in Archives NZ, R3836678, AAFH 785 W5485/76, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency And Economy Admin [Administration] of Functions] – [Ministry of Women's Affairs], 1984.

[205] 23 November 1984, Māori Women's Working Party to Minister of Women's Affairs, in Archives NZ, R3836678, AAFH 785 W5485/76, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency And Economy Admin [Administration] of Functions] – [Ministry of Women's Affairs], 1984; 23 November 1984, 'Questions to put to applicants and Appointees to the Ministry of Women's Affairs' in Archives NZ, R3836678, AAFH 785 W5485/76, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency And Economy Admin [Administration] of Functions] – [Ministry of Women's Affairs], 1984; Archives NZ, R3836674, AAFH 785 W5485/75, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 1, Efficiency And Economy – Administration of Functions – [General] – Machinery of Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984.

[206] Te Aroha McDowell, 'Tokenism in the Ministry', *INNZNA [Broadsheet]*, No. 128 (April 1985), Auckland, pp. 28-30.

[207] 'Secretariat of Māori Women' in Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-24 - The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/46-7/57; 'Recruitment Procedure for Māori Women's Secretariat' in Archives NZ, R3836674, AAFH 785 W5485/75, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency And Economy – Administration of Functions – [General] – Machinery of Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984.

advisory group agreed, advising the Minister to approve the alternative process, which she did. A Māori advisory group was appointed (which included Mira Szászy) to hire wāhine Māori staff for Te Ohu Whakatupu.[208] Mira Szászy's involvement in this further advisory group meant that the MWWL more broadly provided substantial policy advice to assist the establishment of Te Ohu Whakatupu.[209]

The establishment of the unit was undertaken in a new, alternative way to the normal public service process, appointing staff in a method that accords with tikanga. First a committee of four wāhine Māori advised Mary O'Regan on the process: Mira Szászy, Georgina Kirby (President of the MWWL), Josie Keelan and Moana Herewini.[210] Three other wāhine Māori, Te Ruahine Croft [sic] in Christchurch, Liz Marsden in Hamilton and Hine Puru in Auckland, were contracted to organise regional hui to allow local communities to have input into the nominations of an eight-member interview panel (one member from each Māori Land Court region). They would also distribute information about Te Ohu Whakatupu in their region and organise local hui for any wāhine Māori interested.[211]

Eventually two different panels were set up of around four or five wāhine Māori (plus O'Regan). One panel was for Auckland and the other for Wellington, to be made up of a combination of representatives of divergent communities: young and old; rural and urban; and those from the MWWL, and those not.[212] Even the interviews themselves were carefully set up to work within tikanga, as for the very first time in the public service candidates were invited to bring supporters to their interviews, with the Ministry paying the expenses.[213] The practice was of course later adopted by the SSC.[214]

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[208] Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, p. 53.

[209] Anne Else (Ed.), *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand in the Ministry of Commerce and its Predecessors, 1894-1993*, Women's Suffrage Centennial Project, Ministry of Commerce in association with Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs and Daphne Brasell Associates, Wellington, 1993, p. 37.
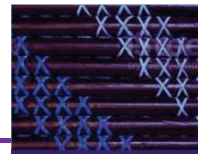
[210] 'Annex 3: Procedure for the Appointment of Staff of Te Ohu Whakatupu', in Archives NZ, R4196502, AAFH 6790 W5510/322, SOC-3-1-MWA, Pt 1, Social Services Division – Māori Policy - Responsiveness In The State Sector – Ministry Of Women's Affairs (MWA), 1988–90; 'Secretariat of Māori Women' in Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-24 – The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/46-7/57; Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, p. 53.

[211] 29 October 1985, 'Three to help set up Māori Women's Secretariat', *Evening Post* in Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003]; Debbie Gee, 'Te Ohu Whakatupu', *Agenda 1988/1989*, Wellington, p. 17.

[212] Interview, Mary O'Regan, 20 August 2020.

[213] Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, p. 53; 'Annex 3: Procedure for the Appointment of Staff of Te Ohu Whakatupu', p. 3, in Archives NZ, R4196502, AAFH 6790 W5510/322, SOC-3-1-MWA, Pt 1, Social Services Division - Māori Policy - Responsiveness In The State Sector - Ministry Of Women's Affairs (MWA), 1988–90.

[214] Interview, Mary O'Regan, 20 August 2020; Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, p. 53.

At the next stage obviously decisions had to be made, and all of the job interviews had to be written up for the SSC as the employer, with a report written with reasons given for the final appointment. May 1986 saw the end of the entire process, with all the staff of Te Ohu Whakatupu finally appointed. Seven wāhine Māori were chosen as the first staff members to represent and work for their communities through Te Ohu Whakatupu – each had originally been selected to represent their iwi or hapū as candidates. Miriama Evans (Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāi Tahu) was chosen to head the Secretariat, and work with her four original fellow staff members: Pirima Adams (Ngā Puhi), Lee-Anne Farach (Te Tai Tokerau), Kiri Potaka-Dewes (Te Arawa), Christina Lyndon (Te Tai Tokerau) and Te Riria (Lydia) Proctor (Ngāti Kahungunu).[215]

Both Mira Szászy and Ripeka Evans (involved in the establishment process as mentioned above) were of course eminent wāhine Māori, with substantial mana in the community, while Miriama Evans was less well known but a powerful force of nature. These three were the leading lights of Te Ohu Whakatupu as the genuine authors of the unit. Mira Szászy first saw the kaupapa on which Te Ohu Whakatupu stood as directed and inspired by the early tūpuna wāhine and atua of Te Ao Māori, particularly Papatūānuku and Hine-nui-te-pō.[216] It was her guiding light that inspired first the advisory group, and then the original staff members, to envisage what it could and did become, followed by Miriama Evans who took up that mantle to dynamically manifest the vision and mission of Te Ohu Whakatupu.[217]
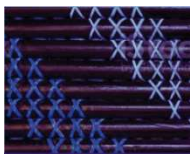
This mission was primarily fulfilled by the parallel structure of the teams, which Mira Szászy and the advisory group had pushed for from the start. As Director of Te Ohu Whakatupu, Miriama Evans was a member of the (six-person) management team, but while still part of the Ministry, the unit was a fully independent pillar, equal to the policy team, so that Evans could also report directly to the Minister.[218] As Judith Nathan describes it, "on formal occasions leadership was increasingly exercised jointly by the

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[215] *The Women's Voice*, VHS, Duration: 22 minutes (colour), Produced by Perspective Video for Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1988; *Newsletter Paanui* (June 1986) in Archives NZ, R22156383, ABJZ 869 W4644/139, 36/8/5, Pt 1, Community Development Services – Women – Ministry Of Women's Affairs – General, 1985, pp. 2–3; Pat Rosier, 'Making a Ministry', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 139, No. 17 (1986), p. 18, available at https://broadsheet.auckland.ac.nz/document/1986_%28Nos._136-145%29/No._139_%28May_1986%29/p1?page=0andaction=searchresultandtarget=; *Broadsheet*, Vol. 155. (January/February 1988), p. 14, available at https://broadsheet.auckland.ac.nz/docs/1988/Broadsheet-1988-155.pdf.
[216] *The Women's Voice*, VHS, Duration: 22 minutes (colour), Produced by Perspective Video for Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1988; August 1984, 'Submissions to the Ministry from a Working Group of Māori women of Tamaki-Makaurau (August 1984)' (76W), in Archives NZ, R22446206, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985; Interviews, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020; Mary O'Regan, 20 August 2020.
[217] Interview, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020; Brenda Tahi, 'Biculturalism: the model of Te Ohu Whakatupu', in *Justice and Identity: Antipodean Practices*, University of Waikato, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1995, pp. 66–67; *The Women's Voice*, VHS, Duration: 22 minutes (colour), Produced by Perspective Video for Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1988.
[218] Brenda Tahi, 'Biculturalism: the model of Te Ohu Whakatupu', in *Justice and Identity: Antipodean Practices*, University of Waikato, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1995, pp. 65–67; Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, p. 62.

Secretary and the director of Te Ohu Whakatupu".[219] Te Ohu Whakatupu staff felt that the unit should therefore have been of equal size to the Ministry as a fully independent unit, to equitably reflect biculturalism. In fact during the 1988 SSC staffing review, the Ministry submitted (along with doubling their staff numbers) for essentially an entire staffing restructure, giving Te Ohu Whakatupu equal staffing resources and positions, with their own secretary and deputy secretary.[220]

Likewise corresponding to the bicultural vision of Mira Szászy and the advisory group was the collective approach that Te Ohu Whakatupu brought to their work. They deliberately adopted an alternative to the normal Pākehā bureaucracy, promoting Māori tikanga within the workspace (following the tikanga of Te Atiawa as mana whenua), as well as aiming their policy work to support tikanga-based projects in the community.[221] They prioritised innovations to encourage rangatiratanga for Māori women, and projects based on hapū, iwi and whānau connection, to improve mental, physical and spiritual health.[222]

Further cementing the real engagement with the Māori community was the fact that the staff were clearly accountable to their own hapū and whānau for their work on behalf of their communities, who had nominated them to these positions in the first place.[223] Te Riria Proctor described the relationship between Te Ohu Whakatupu staff and their communities:

> The basis that we come here under is looking at having our community, and our whanau, our people, our iwi, behind us, and that's an important thing for us. And so personally when I think of myself coming here, as a woman from Ngati Kahungunu, my people, my family, my mother, who are very important to me, and to each and every one of us in this unit. If we have those things right at home, and right in the community, we therefore feel comfortable in what we do, in our mahi, in striving to break down power and disseminate it back to the community.[224]

The bicultural status of the Ministry was specifically recognised in the Ministry's 'position statement', which directly acknowledged the Treaty as 'a fundamental basis' upon which the Ministry operated, entailing Treaty values such as partnership, equal power-sharing, tino rangatiratanga for wāhine Māori, and recognition of Māori values and Te Reo.

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[219] Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, p. 62.
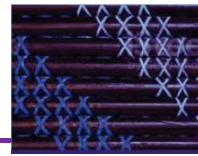
[220] Maud Cahill and Christine Dann (eds.), *Changing Our Lives: Women Working in the Women's Liberation Movement 1970–1990*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1991, p. 145; Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, pp. 69–70, 83.

[221] Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, pp. 79–83; *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 55.

[222] Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-11269-24 – The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/46-7/57.

[223] Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, p. 79; *The Women's Voice*, VHS, Duration: 22 minutes (colour), Produced by Perspective Video for Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1988.

[224] *The Women's Voice*, VHS, Duration: 22 minutes (colour), Produced by Perspective Video for Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1988.

It recognised the separate accountability for Te Ohu Whakatupu to the whānau, hapū and iwi base communities of the staff.[225]

The entire establishment process meant that from the start Te Ohu Whakatupu was based and focused on tikanga and had significant connections to the wāhine Māori community.[226] Because of the great influence of both Mira Szászy and the working group on the establishment of Te Ohu Whakatupu and its structure, as well as the Ministry in general, the wāhine Māori community had great confidence and hopes for what it could achieve. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that Donna Awatere, who had been involved as one of the young wāhine Māori in the group, supported Te Ohu Whakatupu.[227]

Image 14 – Te Ohu Whakatupu team visited by Dame Whina Cooper and MWWL leaders.
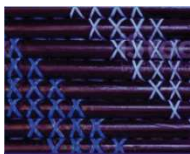
In March 1987, Te Ohu Whakatupu organised its first Rūnanga Kuia at Takapūāhia Marae, Porirua. Te Ohu Whakatupu's aims and rationale for the Rūnanga were primarily to provide a forum to develop support networks for kuia, connecting kuia both between iwi groups and to the Ministry, and thereby the Ministry to the wider community. Further goals were to gather the input of kuia, to hear their concerns and needs, and draft their support. The hui kōrero discussed housing, parental roles and taha wairua and women in control, and agreed recommendations on actions and policy reforms for both Te Ohu Whakatupu and other agencies. Te Ohu Whakatupu took up these recommendations with the relevant agencies. They saw their role as to "encourage those agencies to examine their policies and respond to the hui recommendations."[228]

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[225] Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, p. 73.
[226] 29 October 1985, 'Women to help set up Māori Women's Secretariat' in Archives NZ, R22446207, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments – Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985; Debbie Gee, 'Te Ohu Whakatupu', *Agenda, 1988/1989*, Wellington, p. 17.
[227] Interview, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020.
[228] *Rūnangā Kuia: Takapūāhia Marae, Porirua, March 1987*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1988, pp. 12-13. Since this period the spelling of Takapūāhia Marae has changed to Takapūwāhia Marae. I have kept the original spelling here.

Miriama Evans helped to set up the Rūnanga Kuia, and also worked closely with the Department of Māori Affairs (Ministry of Māori Affairs from 1989), particularly to create programmes such as Pūtea Pounamu.[229] Pūtea Pounamu was one of the first main policy initiatives, and important achievements of Te Ohu Whakatupu. The Pūtea Pounamu programme ran from 1987 to 1991 and encouraged wāhine Māori "to take part in decision-making at community and local government levels, through training programmes in leadership, management and business development".[230] It also aimed to assist Māori organisations and groups of all sizes by administering grants and networking for resource sharing and skills training.[231] Wāhine Māori groups had to apply for the grants, outlining the kaupapa, why they were using it, who would use it and the expected 'outcomes'.[232] One of the first Pūtea Pounamu training workshops was held at a hui at Parihaka, in April 1988. It was organised as a day of training in 'self-awareness and self-esteem', along with introducing attendees to academic analysis of gender and race.[233]

Te Ohu Whakatupu staff were very active with organising or helping to organise events to both allow members of the public access for consultation, and to allow staff to seek their views on policy issues. As Communications Advisory Officer (with special responsibility for Pūtea Pounamu), Te Riria Proctor was extremely active in networking with the community. She travelled throughout the country, as far as Stewart Island and the Chatham Islands, to make connections with wāhine Māori and to give out Pūtea Pounamu grants to the different community groups that had applied. She also negotiated for assistance and funding from organisations, for help for various wāhine Māori projects and groups.[234]

In early 1988 the Ministry had a short VHS documentary film produced on the establishment, purpose and work of both Te Ohu Whakatupu and the Ministry, called *A Women's Voice: Te Reo Wāhine*.[235] The film discusses the creation of Te Ohu Whakatupu, driven by the Tāmaki Makaurau submission, and the way tikanga supports the staff of Te Ohu Whakatupu, on a personal level as well as influencing their work.

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[229] Debbie Gee, 'Te Ohu Whakatupu', *Agenda 1988/1989*, Wellington, p. 18; Interview, Te Riria Proctor, 11 September 2020.
[230] Anne Else (Ed.), *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand in the Ministry of Commerce and its Predecessors, 1894–1993*, Women's Suffrage Centennial Project, Ministry of Commerce in association with Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs and Daphne Brasell Associates, Wellington, 1993, p.13
[231] Alexander Turnbull Library, 93-180-16/2 - Ministry of Women's Affairs 1988–1991 [MS-Papers-1396 Māori Women's Welfare League: Records 1950–1997.
[232] Interview, Te Riria Proctor, 11 September 2020.
[233] No. 9 June 1988, *Paanui* in Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003]
[234] Interview, Te Riria Proctor, 11 September 2020.
[235] *The Women's Voice*, VHS, Duration: 22 minutes (colour), Produced by Perspective Video for Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1988.

It specifically discusses whenua as a primary policy focus of Te Ohu Whakatupu, because of the proportionally significant extent of Māori land left in the hands of wāhine Māori, and the implications for wāhine Māori within iwi development and spaces of power. Mary O'Regan also talks in the documentary about the role of biculturalism within the Ministry.

The documentary shows how important grass-roots communication with the community was to both Te Ohu Whakatupu and the Ministry, through networking with women's groups and through written material such as newsletters and *Pānui*.[236] Te Ohu Whakatupu was always very interested in pursuing and maintaining relationships with Māori women's groups. Of course, from its inception Te Ohu Whakatupu had a very close relationship with the MWWL, given the efforts of Mira Szászy, former leader of the MWWL, to establish the independent unit.

The relationship was primarily maintained through regular meetings between the two groups, as well as frequent contributions by the Ministry to MWWL meetings and conferences. Te Ohu Whakatupu gave presentations at their events, and regularly updated the members on policy work, since they had a permanent representative at the MWWL.[237] Not only Miriama Evans and Mary O'Regan, but the new Minister, Margaret Shields, addressed their national conference in 1988.[238] Te Riria Proctor in particular worked closely with the MWWL. Key leaders and staff frequently came to the Ministry's offices to be interviewed, to organise events, to get assistance with general bureaucratic functions or just to have discussions with Te Riria Proctor.[239]

On occasion however the relationship was not completely without its hurdles. At one point in February 1991 the MWWL took issue with the Ministry not practising appropriate tikanga. MWWL members had been conferred the 1990 commemorative medal by the Ministry; instead of presenting the medals properly in an award ceremony, the Ministry had just sent them in the post. Several members of the MWWL were rather affronted by the action, upset by the abuse of mana incurred by such a sign of disrespect, and did not hesitate to make their feelings clear to Te Ohu Whakatupu.[240]

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[236] No. 7 December 1987–January 1988, No. 9 June 1988, *Paanui*, in Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003]

[237] No. 7 December 1987–January 1988, *Paanui* in Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003]; 93-180-16/2 - Ministry of Women's Affairs 1988–1991 [MS-Papers-1396 Māori Women's Welfare League: Records 1950–1997.

[238] No. 9 June 1988, *Paanui,* p. 4, in Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003]

[239] Interview, Te Riria Proctor, 11 September 2020.

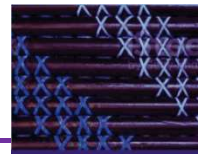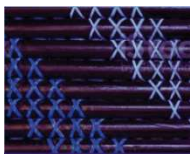[240] 7 February 1991, Marion Antonievich, MWWL National Secretary to Miriama Evans, in Alexander Turnbull Library, 93-180-16/2 - Ministry of Women's Affairs 1988–1991 [MS-Papers-1396 Māori Women's Welfare League: Records 1950–1997.

Representing Te Ohu Whakatupu, Miriama Evans responded by acknowledging their concern, and noted that she had "drawn this matter to the attention of those involved in this activity".[241]

Te Ohu Whakatupu also frequently engaged with other agencies to progress workstreams. In May 1988, staff assisted in a Ministry of Justice (MOJ) review of the prison system, which sought the views of Māori on how the justice system was serving them. Te Ririra Proctor worked on the programme, and took part in a Christchurch hui to learn how further hui could be organised.[242] Te Ohu Whakatupu staff similarly assisted the Department of Māori Affairs to organise consultation on their policy discussion document, *He Tirohanga Rangapu: Partnership Perspectives.* In this case staff set up a Freephone line for a week, for wāhine Māori to express their views on the policy – primarily criticism over the lack of consultation and time.[243] Likewise, Te Ohu Whakatupu staff contributed to events organised by other public service agencies, such as public hui held by the Department of Health, or by State services to discuss Māori issues within the public service.[244]

From the point of view of Te Ohu Whakatupu staff during this period, the role and purpose of the unit was primarily to provide policy advice on wāhine Māori issues. According to an article in *Agenda*, which interviewed the majority of Te Ohu Whakatupu staff at the end of 1988, they looked at feminist issues from a specifically Māori perspective, in ways that are embedded in tikanga. One of their main concerns was Pākehā men or women deciding those perspectives on behalf of wāhine Māori.[245] The staff saw unemployment as one of the key issues for Māori women, and therefore a key focus for the unit; they were working to combat it through programmes such as ACCESS.[246]

Health was another core focus. One of the most important achievements of Te Ohu Whakatupu during this period was its collection of data on the health of wāhine Māori, particularly on cervical cancer rates, to display in the submission to the Cervical Cancer Inquiry. Following this, its work (in tandem with the Health Department and community health workers) established two pilot programmes for cervical screening in Northland and Whanganui.[247] The unit was also very concerned with its work on related social issues such as education, housing and land.

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[241] 14 February 1991, Miriama Evans to Marion Antonievich, MWWL National Secretary, in Alexander Turnbull Library, 93-180-16/2 - Ministry of Women's Affairs 1988–1991 [MS-Papers-1396 Māori Women's Welfare League: Records 1950–1997].

[242] No. 7 December 1987–January 1988, No. 9 June 1988, *Paanui*, in Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003].

[243] No. 9 June 1988, *Paanui*, in Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003].

[244] No. 7 December 1987–January 1988, No. 9 June 1988, *Paanui*, in Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003].

[245] Debbie Gee, 'Te Ohu Whakatupu', *Agenda*, 1988/1989, Wellington, p. 17.

[246] Debbie Gee, 'Te Ohu Whakatupu', *Agenda*, 1988/1989, Wellington, pp. 17–18; No. 7 December 1987–January 1988, *Paanui*, in Alexander Turnbull Library, 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983–2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973–2003].
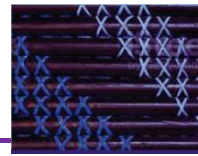
[247] Debbie Gee, 'Te Ohu Whakatupu', *Agenda*, 1988/1989, Wellington, p. 18.

In June 1988, Mary O'Regan resigned as Chief Executive, and Dr Judith Aitken was appointed to replace her in July. Many involved in the Ministry, including staff, were very anxious about the changes Aitken might make to the Ministry, even in advance of her taking up the appointment.[248] The staff of Te Ohu Whakatupu seem to have been slightly more comfortable with Aitken at the start of her appointment, perhaps partly because of the relative independence of the unit from the everyday business of the rest of the Ministry, as well as its independent accountability to the Minister. When she started in the role Aitken had expressed her support for the bicultural system that had been established, with Te Ohu Whakatupu on an equal footing as the rest of the Ministry. She stated that Te Ohu Whakatupu staff would retain accountability to their iwi, as "it's incumbent on me to have regard to the interests, the concerns and the guidance that the staff in the unit can obtain and that I can obtain from those iwi, because of the procedural opportunity for reference to them".[249]
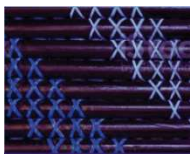

Image 15 – Te Ohu Whakatupu team 1988/89
(Left to Right –Te Riria Proctor, Colleen Tuuta, Jo Spooner, Miriama Evans, Carol Thomson).

At first the bigger worry Te Ohu Whakatupu staff expressed during this period was the anxiety from their overloaded work-loads, which was causing a huge amount of stress for virtually every member of Te Ohu Whakatupu. Several staff members resigned at around this time, despite their enduring passion for the work, because the sheer stress just became too much.[250] Te Ohu Whakatupu staff needed, and felt that the Pākehā staff in the rest of the Ministry should have been giving them more, assistance with these heavy

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248 A. McCulloch, 'Judith Aitken: she for whom the bills toll', Broadsheet, Vol. 162, No. 20 (1988), p. 21; Anne Else, (Ed.), *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand in the Ministry of Commerce and its Predecessors, 1894–1993*, Women's Suffrage Centennial Project, Wellington, 1993, p. 67; K. Teghtsoonian and J. Curtin, 'Analyzing Institutional Persistence: The Case of the Ministry of Women's Affairs in Aotearoa/New Zealand', *Politics and Gender*, Vol. 6 (2010), p. 554; Pat Rosier, 'Approaches to Efficiency And Effectiveness in Government Departments', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 169, No. 9 (1989).
249 A. McCulloch, 'Judith Aitken: She for whom the bills toll', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 162, No. 20 (1988), pp. 22–23.
250 Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, pp. 88, 131.

workloads.[251] Te Riria Proctor challenged the Pākehā staff members to "look at their racism in terms of power, rather than colour, and educate themselves in order to then educate other non-Māori people. We would then be able to get on with the job of doing what we're supposed to be doing."[252] They tried to ensure that such an acknowledgement should be (more formally) mandated, by drafting up bicultural guidelines at the second staff hui in 1987; they were never formalised, however.[253]

Nevertheless, after a few months Te Ohu Whakatupu staff did start to worry about the shift they were starting to see in the Ministry towards a more bureaucratic, less collective system.[254] The importance of networking to Te Ohu Whakatupu in particular meant that it would be very important to the unit if the Ministry were to move away from this approach – from the tikanga-friendly way of working that Mary O'Regan had established, to a more traditionally Pākehā, bureaucratic, silo-based public service routine.

Aitken undertook a relatively minor restructure of the Ministry, which did, however, affect Te Ohu Whakatupu. The unit was now headed by a manager reporting to the Chief Executive, instead of directly to the Minister, as it had before; its ground-breaking equal and independent status had been slightly chipped away.[255] Within the unit the staff attempted to continue the old collective way of working; they did nevertheless come under pressure to justify all their work under the banner of 'accountability'.[256]

Gradually over the next year the trust that had existed between Te Ohu Whakatupu staff and the rest of the Ministry wore down. Eventually the relationship got to an untenable stage for Te Ohu Whakatupu staff, which they complained about in an article in *Broadsheet*: 'My strength is not one of the individual, but one of unity'. They felt that the recent changes meant that the Ministry was moving closer to 'normal' government agency approaches and ways of working, and forcing Te Ohu Whakatupu staff along with it. Feeling was so strong some staff reportedly considered taking the Ministry to the Waitangi Tribunal.[257]

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[251] Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, pp. 65–66, 69, 82–83; Debbie Gee, 'Te Ohu Whakatupu', *Agenda 1988/1989*, Wellington, p. 18.
[252] Debbie Gee, 'Te Ohu Whakatupu', *Agenda 1988/1989*, Wellington, p. 18.
[253] Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, pp. 81–83.
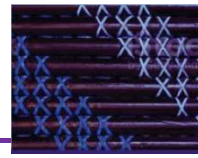[254] Debbie Gee, 'Te Ohu Whakatupu', *Agenda 1988/1989*, Wellington, p. 18.
[255] Judith Nathan, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989, pp. 85–86; *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 1991* in Archives NZ, R1282502, R1282502, AAUM W4043/131, ENV 9/12, Pt 1, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984–86, p. 27.
[256] Debbie Gee, 'Te Ohu Whakatupu', *Agenda 1988/1989*, Wellington, p. 18.
[257] Shirley Tamihana and Pat Rosier, Ehara taku toa; te toa taka tahi engari he toa taka tini: My strength is not one of the individual but one of unity', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 169, No. 9 (1989), p. 24.

Several Te Ohu Whakatupu staff resigned over the matter, including Lee-Anne Farach. Farach said that it was on the advice of her whānau that she resigned, and that the job "only had any validity for me as long as I had the support of these people, it's a process of accountability".[258] Her whanaunga in Taitokerau even put out a statement:

> It was with a sense of pride and hopefulness that we of Taitokerau put one of our women forward to be part of Te Ohu Whakatupu. We understood the relationship with the Ministry would be one of dual accountability, with us providing whanau support and knowledge and the Ministry ensuring that the particular needs of our women would be included in policy developments. We are deeply disappointed that, despite our attendance at hui in Wellington to resolve issues surrounding Te Ohu Whakatupu, Ministry management have failed to address the institutional racism of the organisation. Because of the Ministry's action, we of Ngapuhi can only be left with a sense of betrayal of trust.[259]

The article outlines the story of Farach's resignation and states outright that it was a story of Pākehā "trying to contain and restrict a Māori woman's influence".[260] She felt the main problem was that the Ministry started to lose its bicultural environment and the top-down support for tikanga: "…it got harder and harder to be Māori in the new structure. I felt that I couldn't practice cultural values as I see them. There would always have to be an explanation about why we were doing something."[261] Farach condemned the inflexible, individualistic system, based on competition, on pay incentives and performance assessments, and that attempts to deal with issues as a group were turned into individual personal problems. She felt that the shift in atmosphere even started to affect Miriama Evans, isolating her from the rest of Te Ohu Whakatupu.[262]

Even from this early stage, a perception that permeated the public and virtually all the public service, started to take hold at the Ministry and take permanent root from this point on: the Pākehā expectation that the wāhine Māori staff would fit into the dominant Pākehā policy strategies and narratives without question or challenge, and happily accept decisions being made for wāhine Māori by Pākehā women. As Farach put it: "If you're a good Māori, if you're a friendly Māori then you'll make it in there, but if you're not..."[263]

These feelings do not seem to have been limited to Farach alone. Jo Spooner (Ngāti Kahungunu/Te Aupōuri) also resigned on the advice of her whānau.

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[258] Shirley Tamihana and Pat Rosier, Ehara taku toa; te toa taka tahi engari he toa taka tini: My strength is not one of the individual but one of unity', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 169, No. 9 (1989), p. 24.
[259] Shirley Tamihana and Pat Rosier, 'Ehara taku toa; te toa taka tahi engari he toa taka tini: My strength is not one of the individual but one of unity', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 169, No. 9 (1989), pp. 24, 25.
[260] Shirley Tamihana and Pat Rosier, 'Ehara taku toa; te toa taka tahi engari he toa taka tini: My strength is not one of the individual but one of unity', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 169, No. 9 (1989), p. 24.
[261] Shirley Tamihana and Pat Rosier, Ehara taku toa; te toa taka tahi engari he toa taka tini: My strength is not one of the individual but one of unity', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 169, No. 9 (1989), p. 24.
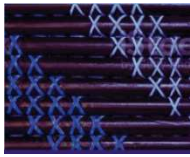[262] Shirley Tamihana and Pat Rosier, 'Ehara taku toa; te toa taka tahi engari he toa taka tini: My strength is not one of the individual but one of unity', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 169, No. 9 (1989), pp. 24, 25.
[263] Shirley Tamihana and Pat Rosier, 'Ehara taku toa; te toa taka tahi engari he toa taka tini: My strength is not one of the individual but one of unity', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 169, No. 9 (1989), p. 25.

The criticisms of Te Ohu Whakatupu staff echo Judith Aitken's own description of her approach to management of the Ministry. Not long after she began at the Ministry, Aitken gave a speech to the Senior Executive Service called 'Approaches to Efficiency and Effectiveness in Government Departments' where she outlined her management techniques. She made clear that her approach was to install conventional 'state corporation' values, ensuring that the Ministry would operate just like any other government department. She identified 'barriers to efficiency and effectiveness' within the Ministry before she arrived. According to Aitken the Ministry: had been insular and introverted, had been captured by specific interest groups, was highly risk averse, was pre-occupied with a lack of funds, put emphasis on organisation-wide leadership, used feminist evaluative methodologies, had a distinctive Māori component with an extremely 'guilty' stance on a daily basis, was almost totally absorbed with self-analysis, and was paralysed by self-flagellation.[264]

The main solutions Aitken suggested to this 'lack of efficiency and effectiveness' included to: change the structure significantly and visibly and be confident that attitudes would follow; create an atmosphere of risk; produce and reinforce an awareness of competition; change leaders on basis of proven competence, not ideological or technical purity; redefine relationship with 'owners' – and educate in the identity of 'owners' as a legal fact; deliberately encourage outsiders in on a controlled basis; dislocate established linkages and embedded interest groups; analyse agency problems; evaluate performance costs; and require the basis of unit/individual/policy promotion to be fully justified and fully transparent.[265] Under such a complete ideological change, so strikingly different from a traditional kaupapa Māori outlook, it is not surprising that there should have been a clash between the two different approaches.

Even within Te Ohu Whakatupu some of the staff supported and upheld Aitken's policy approach. Aitken put a huge emphasis on the importance of the policy role of the unit; they gave high-quality advice and were respected analysts. She trained and mentored the analysts in terms of their policy expertise, so that as a policy team they were effective and influential, and made a big impact in terms of influencing policy throughout the public service.[266] Aitken therefore supported and 'went to bat' for them, especially when there was a push to get rid of both Te Ohu Whakatupu and the Ministry – though this was made easier by their own hard work, which justified the existence of the unit.[267] Several observers thought it was possible that without Aitken Te Ohu Whakatupu might not have survived that early period.[268]

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[264] Pat Rosier, 'Approaches to Efficiency and Effectiveness in Government Departments', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 169, No. 9 (1989), p. 9.
[265] Pat Rosier, 'Approaches to Efficiency and Effectiveness in Government Departments', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 169, No. 9 (1989), p. 9.
[266] Interview, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020.
[267] Interview, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020.
[268] Interview, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020.

TE OHU WHAKATUPU
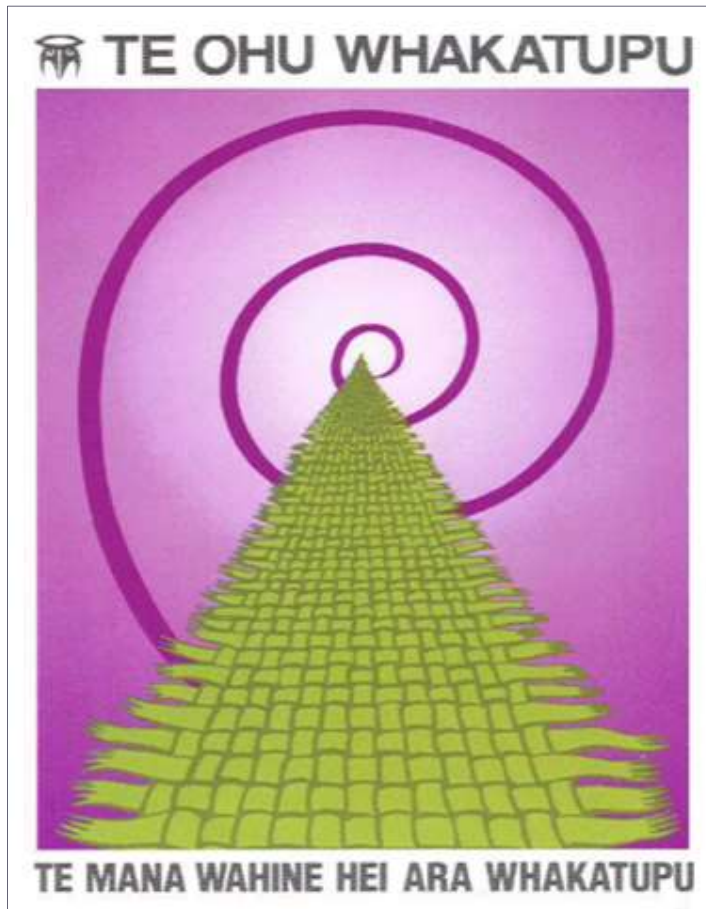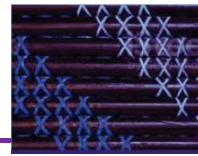
TE MANA WAHINE HEI ARA WHAKATUPU

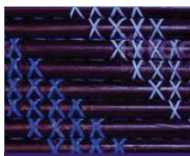**Image 16** – Emblem image gifted to Te Ohu Whakatupu by Robyn Kahukiwa.

In 1989, Te Ohu Whakatupu independently underwent a review process in order to be assessed under the new accountability standards. The review was carried out by wāhine Māori throughout the country, to examine the unit's progress during the previous year, and its work programme. It also aimed to "examine issues faced by staff as Māori women public servants and how these might be managed".[269] It was therefore very broad-ranging in its objectives. It was however an attempt to make sure an accountability assessment of the unit took account of and matched with the alternative kaupapa Māori objectives of Te Ohu Whakapapa, which at least acknowledged the different expectations for Te Ohu Whakapapa from its community, compared with almost all other government agencies from the public.

Miriama Evans stayed in her role for the majority of Aitkin's tenure, through Aitken's first restructure and many other changes to the Ministry. Despite the restructure acting as the outward indicator of a more important devaluation of the independence of Te Ohu Whakatupu (as well as her own job title change), Evans worked within the alternative system, protecting as much as possible of Te Ohu Whakatupu's values and objectives.

Several new staff members joined Te Ohu Whakatupu in that year, including Brenda Tahi. Tahi immediately poured herself fully into the spirit and mission of the unit, becoming very involved in developing the Pūtea Pounamu project, and solidifying its foundation. Part of its objective was to administer grants; however, it was primarily set up to be a complete network of community engagement and advisory group of wāhine Māori. It

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[269] Debbie Gee, 'Te Ohu Whakatupu', *Agenda 1988/1989*, Wellington, p. 18.

aimed to allow Te Ohu Whakatupu to build those community links and acceptance (like Rūnanga Kuia). Its importance cannot be overestimated.[270]

The changes under Judith Aitken were accompanied by a subtle shift in priorities and tone, within the new emphasis on policy. Te Ohu Whakatupu was not immune to this and started building on the research done for the publication *Māori Women in the Economy*, focusing more of the time and resources of its policy work and research into the area of economic development of wāhine Māori. In December 1989, Te Ohu Whakatupu held a wānanga for 'Māori Women in Business' at Tatai Hono Marae in Grafton, Auckland. The wānanga (or seminar) was hosted by Te Ohu Whakatupu in collaboration with the MWWL, partially funded by them through the Māori Women's Development Fund.[271] Te Ohu Whakatupu staff were very proactive hosts of the seminar, introducing and asking questions of all the speakers. Te Ohu Whakatupu held the seminar to investigate the obstacles that hold wāhine Māori back from starting businesses, and ways that the unit could support Māori businesswomen. The seminar concluded that finance was the primary obstacle to wāhine Māori trying to start their own business, but also found that barriers to wāhine Māori entrepreneurship included racism, sexism, social conditioning and lack of training in the relevant skills beforehand.

A companion wānanga was held six months later called *Business Money and Māori Women*, to explore solutions to the various problems encountered by Māori women in business that the previous seminar found.[272] These included the lack of information held by bankers and lenders on the needs and issues of Māori business women; changes to the credit market for their businesses; and inadequate lending schemes. The wānanga aimed to discuss ways to improve access to traditional venture finance, and ideas on alternatives to the traditional financing and banking facilities. Te Ohu Whakatupu intended to investigate policy solutions to build on these findings.

In the same month (June 1990) Te Ohu Whakatupu published *Māori Women in Enterprise, Government Policy and Delivery: A report on government policies and implementation measures analysed for their impact on Māori women's enterprise*.[273] The following year Te Ohu Whakatupu even commissioned a documentary on its programme supporting wāhine Māori in entrepreneurial business, called Wāhine Kaipakihi. The documentary, produced by Te Ara Productions, showed the diversity of wāhine Māori in business for themselves. It interviewed some of these women, and gave them a platform to provide advice for other wāhine Māori looking to set up their own business.[274]
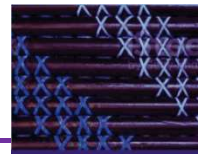
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[270] Interview, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020.

[271] *He Wānanga: Māori Women Mean Business*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1990.

[272] *He wānanga: Business Money and Māori Women*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1990.

[273] *Māori Women in Enterprise, Government Policy and Delivery: A report on government policies and implementation measures analysed for their impact on Māori women's enterprise* (June 1990) in Archives NZ, R10900216, ABVJ 6994 W5435/40, G22, Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1989–1997.

[274] *Wāhine Kaipakihi*, documentary, Te Ara Productions, 1991.

Economic matters were not the sole subject of the unit's policy work; social welfare was still a major concern. In 1991 the Ministry organised a second Rūnanga Kuia at Takapūāhia Marae in Porirua (see Chapter Four). It had the theme: 'Mana Wāhine: Mana Māori'. The main purpose of this second rūnanga was to identify and discuss issues that affected Māori women and their iwi, particularly in relation to social welfare, education, health, Māori land and Māori women in business. The second purpose was to maintain and strengthen links with kuia throughout Aotearoa and through them to other Māori women in their respective whānau, hapū and iwi. The unit also aimed to report to the kuia on the work of Te Ohu Whakatupu since the 1987 Rūnanga Kuia hui, and acknowledge and utilise the wisdom and knowledge of the kuia.[275]
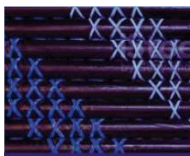
Te Ohu Whakatupu staff gave presentations at the Rūnanga Kuia on potential policy changes relating to health – arising from a recent review of Health Services by the Health Services Taskforce. The kuia were concerned that if an insurance-based system was introduced, access and affordability issues would arise for Māori in relation to their ability/inability to purchase health insurance through the market, and the likelihood that insurance agencies would regard Māori people as high-risk claimants due to their generally poor health status. Kuia were also not sure that an insurance-based health system would adequately deliver on the Government's responsibility to improve the health of Māori people.[276] Work on Hepatitis B, smoking prevention and the Cervical Screening Inquiry still continued, with all three being major areas of concern.[277]

At the end of 1991, Miriama Evans resigned as the manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu.

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[275] 'Chapter Thirteen Significant Māori Women's Hui', A *Report to the Ministry of Health Hauora Wāhine Māori: Recent Directions for Māori Women's Health 1984–1994*, Kotuku Partners 1994, p. 165, available at https://www.moh.govt.nz/NoteBook/nbbooks.nsf/0/A00FF1C758F401B9CC256AC600091A88/$file/hauora%20wahine%20Māori.pdf, accessed 11 September 2020.
[276] 'Chapter Thirteen Significant Māori Women's Hui', *A Report to the Ministry of Health Hauora Wāhine Māori: Recent Directions for Māori Women's Health 1984–1994*, Kotuku Partners, 1994, p. 166.
[277] *Newsletter/Pānui* No. 17, June 1990 in R18490877, AAXO 22138 W4246/3, Ministry of Women's Affairs Leaflet Number 17, 1990.

3 The life of Te Ohu Whakatupu, 1992 to 2003

Brenda Tahi acted as manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu from January 1992, and was permanently appointed in May, having worked as a senior policy analyst for the unit since 1989. Elizabeth Rowe was appointed Chief Executive of the Ministry in January 1992 as well, after Judith Aitken resigned.

A list of staff members shows the depth of the policy focus at Te Ohu Whakatupu at this time, with each staff member responsible for one or two portfolio subjects. Tui Te Hau held the health services portfolio; Hinemoa Awatere was responsible for welfare/family issues and international indigenous issues; Margaret Te Hiko held the crime prevention and parenting portfolios; and Vianney Douglas held the wāhine Māori business and trade and export portfolios. Dale Karauria was responsible for the wāhine Māori business directory, and Te Riria Proctor was the communications liaison officer (as well as working on the wāhine Māori nominations service).[278] The policy range at Te Ohu Whakatupu diversified still further in the following years, with Rahera Ohia later becoming responsible for the education portfolio, Michelle Moana for education and training, and employment, and Raina Meha for the housing portfolio.[279]

The strategic plan of Te Ohu Whakatupu for this period was oriented around the needs of wāhine Māori. It stated that being responsive to Māori requires making the needs and aspirations of Māori part of the core business of an organisation, and that the Ministry therefore recognised its Treaty of Waitangi obligations through legislation and policy statements, and made the application of Māori perspectives one of its main goals.[280] Te Ohu Whakatupu used guideline questions for the Ministry, in order to assess its own success at responding to Māori, and therefore ascertain any weaknesses and areas requiring improvement. The plan was a guide for the Ministry that it could use to fix problems, by recommending new initiatives and strategies, as well as setting specific actions with associated responsibilities, time targets and performance indicators.[281]
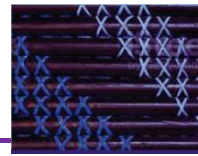
Te Ohu Whakatupu saw community engagement as one of the most important ways to deliver on this 'responsiveness' plan, and as one of its core functions. In fact, engagement enabled Te Ohu Whakatupu to achieve its policy goals and improve its policy advice, by

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[278] *Karanga!: He Pānui nā Te Ohu Whakatupu*, Minitatanga mo ngā Wāhine, Whanganui-a-Tara, May 1992.
[279] *Karanga!: He Pānui nā Te Ohu Whakatupu*, Minitatanga mo ngā Wāhine, Whanganui-a-Tara, February 1993.
[280] *He kaupapa - he hangā tikanga: A foundation -- shaping a way: Responsiveness to Māori plan of the Ministry of Women's Affairs*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1993.
[281] *He kaupapa - he hangā tikanga: A foundation -- shaping a way: Responsiveness to Māori plan of the Ministry of Women's Affairs*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1993.

gaining feedback from wāhine Māori, and thereby more insight into the needs of the community. Te Ohu Whakatupu staff members, including Te Riria Proctor, felt that this was an essential purpose of the unit.[282] It was important to reach out to the community in any way it could, including publishing its own pānui (newsletter) called *Karanga!* between May 1992 and February 1993, separately from the Ministry's *Pānui*.[283] As well as providing updates on the unit's work programme and activities for the wider wāhine Māori community, its other main purpose was to find out the views of wāhine Māori on that same work programme. *Karanga!* issues made many appeals to its readers for help with research projects, or simply asked the readers their views on the topics of interest for each staff member.[284]

The most important means for Te Ohu Whakatupu to gain really useful help and advice from the community, however, was the bi-annual Rūnanga Kuia. Te Ohu Whakatupu held more of these rūnanga throughout the country, including at Takapūāhia Marae again in 1993. The events were largely organised by Te Riria Proctor (as the communications liaison officer). These rūnanga were one of the most effective ways for the unit to gain feedback on the most important needs of wāhine Māori, from those who knew exactly what those needs were and how they could best be provided. Likewise, for kuia who attended, the rūnanga were the most effective means of ensuring direct input into the policy advice of a government agency.

Te Wa o te Wāhine Māori – Māori Women's Week was another avenue, held in December every year. Te Ohu Whakatupu coordinated a programme of events and activities throughout the country to celebrate it. Te Ohu Whakatupu staff organised many events in order to provide an opportunity for Māori women to gain advice on careers in these areas, and on tax and small business development. They also organised sport and music activities and art events.[285] For Te Ohu Whakatupu the important outcome of the events was the opportunity it provided for research and feedback from wāhine Māori. Events held in the Māori Women's Week at the end of 1993 demonstrated that Te Ohu Whakatupu was on the right track regarding its emphasis on business and entrepreneurship. The main finding of the research was that Māori women wanted to become more involved in economic issues, business and investment.[286]

Te Ohu Whakatupu strongly advocated programmes for wāhine Māori, especially in the area of business development and enterprise. After Pūtea Pounamu had been fully established, Brenda Tahi went on to found Wāhine Pakari, a programme to train wāhine in business and economics, with a particular focus on entrepreneurial and management

[282] Interview, Te Riria Proctor, 11 September 2020.
[283] *Karanga!: He Pānui nā Te Ohu Whakatupu*, Minitatanga mo ngā Wāhine, Whanganui-a-Tara, 1992-1993.
[284] *Karanga!: He Pānui nā Te Ohu Whakatupu*, Minitatanga mo ngā Wāhine, Whanganui-a-Tara, May 1992; February 1993.
[285] 'Women's week a major success', *Kia Hiwa Ra*, No. 16, January/February 1994, p. 20.
[286] 'Women's week a major success', *Kia Hiwa Ra*, No. 16, January/February 1994, p. 20.

skills.[287] Wāhine Pakari aimed to teach young wāhine Māori about how first to get into, and then survive in, business.[288]

The programme strongly promoted networking, both within and outside the wāhine Māori community. It encouraged wāhine Māori already experienced in business to train groups of Māori women as 'trainovators' (trainer/motivators) or 'seed trainers' in business and entrepreneurship skills. It vested in the 'trainovators' the responsibility to cascade this training to their iwi, hapū and whānau, finding gender-appropriate techniques that adhered to tikanga to spread the programme to their communities without direct support from Te Ohu Whakatupu.[289] The programme brought businesses and Ministers in to meet wāhine Māori entrepreneurs.[290] Both Tahi and Colleen Tuuta were very involved with these projects.

Image 17 – Brenda Tahi with Dr Judith Parker.

Before she left Te Ohu Whakatupu at the beginning of 1995, Tahi tried to create another training programme called 'Iho Kōhine', which aimed to teach young girls how to cope with challenges specific to being young wāhine Māori. Unfortunately, she did not manage to get the project off the ground before she left the Ministry and it never ended up coming to fruition.[291] However, Tahi also wrote a booklet guide to provide wāhine Māori business owners with financial advice in collaboration with economist Kathy Ertel. Its advice particularly focused on how to acquire business investment and apply for loans, as research had found that wāhine Māori struggled to gain approval from banks for loans or other sources of Pākehā investment.[292]

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[287] Interview, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020.
[288] 'Experienced, motivated new manager for Te Ohu Whakatupu: Raising profiles of Māori women', *Māori News*, November 1996, Vol. 1, No. 21, p. 3.
[289] 17 September 1991, Brenda Tahi to MWWL in Alexander Turnbull Library, 93-180-16/2 – Ministry of Women's Affairs 1988–1991 [MS-Papers-1396 Māori Women's Welfare League: Records 1950–1997].
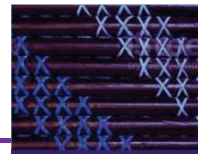[290] Interview, Te Riria Proctor, 11 September 2020; 'Experienced, motivated new manager for Te Ohu Whakatupu: Raising profiles of Māori women', *Māori News*, November 1996, Vol. 1 No. 21, p. 3.
[291] Interview, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020.
[292] Kathy Ertel and Brenda Tahi, *He Tohutohu mo te Tono Herengi: Māori women as borrowers: Guidelines for you and your business*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1991.

Te Ohu Whakatupu created a further business resource 'kit' containing another guide. This booklet outlined the steps involved in starting a new business, including specific guidelines for preparing a business plan, as well as advising wāhine Māori on how to procure financial support for a business venture. It also provided a directory of contact details for financial advice and funding agents.[293] Given the added problems and discrimination wāhine Māori still frequently face trying to access funding from normal investment channels, Te Ohu Whakatupu had identified one of the most important needs, or blocks to success of wāhine Māori, and compiled these guides to help bridge the gap.

The kit also contained two brochures on Ministry programmes: one on the Māori Women's Development Fund, and one on the small co-operative enterprises scheme (SCOPE), as well as promotional material for a correspondence school, the Māori Business Technology Scheme and general business support 'how tos'.[294] The Māori Women's Development fund was a development project set up by the MWWL which Te Ohu Whakatupu supported. Many MWWL members were trustees of the fund.[295] It provided loans and other support and guidance for wāhine Māori starting business ventures – precisely because of the problems they usually encountered in the Pākehā world. Applications required only that the applicant have some source of equity and security, along with some repayment conditions.[296]

Various other schemes were also available under the Government assistance structure in place during this period. These include three grant schemes for business development boards; the community employment group; the Be Your Own Boss training package; the LEEDS (scheme) and employment and enterprise fund; the business skills training and advice grant; the Technology for Business Growth programme; and the Greenstone Fund and Tourism Joint Venture programme. Further assistance available included the NZ Employment Service and Enterprise (job seeker) allowance, and TradeNZ (Trade Development Board) – including the International Trade and Economic Initiatives programme it operates.[297]

As mentioned in Chapter One, when the National Party undertook the 1992 review of small ministries, Minister Shipley was able to defend the Ministry and Te Ohu Whakatupu in a letter after the successful resolution of the review, and reaffirm the Government's support. The letter outlines the importance of the Ministry's work, and specifically the
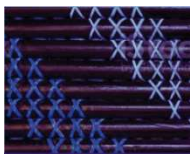
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[293] Parekawhia McLean and Brenda Tahi, *Māori Women Steps to Enterprise*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1989 (revised in 1990, 1994).
[294] Parekawhia McLean and Brenda Tahi, *Māori Women Steps to Enterprise*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1989 (revised in 1990, 1994).
[295] 'Māori Women's Development Fund' in Parekawhia McLean and Brenda Tahi, *Māori Women Steps to Enterprise*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1989 (revised in 1990, 1994).
[296] 'Māori Women's Development Fund' in Parekawhia McLean and Brenda Tahi, *Māori Women Steps to Enterprise,* Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1989 (revised in 1990, 1994).
[297] *Enterprise Assistance and Māori Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1993.

work of Te Ohu Whakatupu on several different work-streams and programmes, emphasising the work-stream on Māori women in business.[298]

In March 1995, Ria Earp (Te Arawa, Ngāti Pikiao and Ngāti Whakaue) was appointed as a new manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu, originally on a year's secondment from Te Puni Kōkiri, and later as a permanent appointment. Judy Lawrence was now Chief Executive of the Ministry, after taking over from Elizabeth Rowe the previous year. During Earp's tenure

Te Ohu Whakatupu was focused on policy work and included rebuilding the policy team and supporting their development as policy analysts. A full delegation from the Ministry supported Minister Shipley to attend the 1995 Beijing Women's Conference. As manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu, Earp was part of the delegation and was fully active in the development of the Beijing Declaration. She also liaised with the very large NGO group of Māori women who had attended and had their own programme of workshops and activities.

Policy work was largely contributions to the work of other agencies and the work of the Policy Unit rather than leading independent work. The policies on property rights of de facto and matrimonial relationships following separation, leading to the Matrimonial Property Act, are an example. These areas were important since they were to provide for women's continued financial security after divorce, a key issue for raising children and for wāhine Māori to leave abusive partners.[299] Other policy areas included education, health and small business development. Health policy included tobacco policy and the protection of Māori women's cervical screening data, in light of concerns about how researchers would use the data. A joint policy bid with Te Puni Kōkiri on the Māori Women's Development Fund was successful in boosting funds for this initiative.[300]
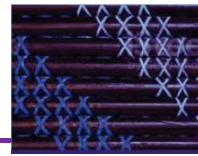
From 1994 to 1995 the Ministry put forward names for consideration for 113 boards and committees, of which 22.5 per cent were Māori. The Nominations Service database had nearly 300 Māori women registered on it. In 1995, the Ministry's Nominations Service issued a call for Māori women to put their names on the database.[301] Te Ohu Whakatupu provided the names of Māori women for the Nominations Service, and worked to increase the numbers of Māori women on the database. They encouraged women with diverse life experiences and important skills to send their curriculum vitae for inclusion on the database, not just those with formal qualifications.

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[298] Interview, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020; Archives NZ, R10900216, ABVJ 6994 W5435/40, G22, Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1989–1997.
[299] 'Beyond Dependency: A Structural Issue', *Pānui*, April 1997, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/panui/beyond.html, accessed 22 September 2020.
[300] Interview, Ria Earp, 2 September 2020.
[301] 'Nominations Service Looking for Recruits', *Kia Hiwa Ra*, No.31 (June 1995), p. 28.

At the same time the Ministry tried to improve the number of women being considered for appointment to some of the 300 statutory boards and committees (including Crown company boards, advisory committees and tribunals). Ria Earp stated,

> It is vital to increase the number of Māori women in these important decision-making bodies…We work on policy issues including education and economic development; income, wealth and family; health and disability support services; and violence against women. Māori women's perspectives on each of these areas is critical to the Ministry's advice.[302]

Te Ohu Whakatupu later initiated a decision-making project for Māori women. The project looked at the gap between numbers of Māori women nominated and numbers selected, and the gap between numbers of non-Māori women nominated and selected. The Ministry has looked at this gap in the context of qualifications, background and experience.

In the same year, 1995, Te Ohu Whakatupu produced a project to celebrate Māori Language Year: 'Karanga – Ngā Reo o Ngā Wāhine Māori: Voices of Māori Women (He taonga nā Te Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine hei whakanui i te reo Māori)'. The project showcases Māori women (affiliated to iwi all over the country) speaking in Te Reo Māori, about multiple kaupapa of Te Reo Māori. The Ministry arranged for 13 programmes of women being interviewed to be recorded and produced by Radio Te Arawa, including karanga and waiata, and portraits of the women involved were taken. The programmes were distributed to libraries, schools and interested individuals.[303]

Te Ohu Whakatupu organised another Rūnanga Kuia in 1995. The issues discussed during its 10 workshops encompassed Treaty of Waitangi, iwi development, resource management, education and training, employment, income support, housing, youth and family and health. After the rūnanga had taken place, Te Ohu Whakatupu commissioned a review of its series of consultative Rūnanga Kuia since 1987. The review aimed to evaluate the effectiveness of the Rūnanga Kuia and the recommendations that arose from them, to suggest ways to improve the input of Māori women in the policy process, and to provide the Ministry with a strategy to improve the access and influence of wāhine Māori on policy. The review interviewed a large group of wāhine Māori, including nine kuia and nine public servants (primarily Ministry staff) to evaluate the agency's engagement with the rūnanga recommendations. It also used all the rūnanga proceedings, and the responses to the recommendations made from the rūnanga, as data sources. The review eventually reported in 1997 (see below).

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[302] *Te Ohu Whakatupu Works for Māori Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1995.
[303] *Karanga - Ngā reo o Ngā Wāhine Māori: Voices of Māori Women (He taonga nā Te Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine hei whakanui i te reo Māori)*, Radio Te Arawa, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1995.
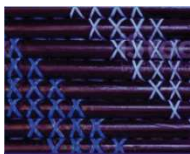
Image 18 – Ria Earp.

Image 19 – Paula Snowden.

In 1995, a shift in the wider public service started to take place, when the SSC began a major review of the implementation of Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO) legislation in the public service. The findings of the review were published in the report *EEO 1984 to 1994 and Beyond* (1996), and were used to develop a new policy framework for the public service for the next 15 years, in a project called *Future Directions of Equal Employment Opportunities*.[304] The policy framework identified three main motivations to promote EEO for Māori in the public service: the Treaty of Waitangi, social justice and good business practice. It also acknowledged the status of Māori as tangata whenua; the importance of Treaty considerations; and the need for the public service to strengthen its capability to develop policies and service delivery for Māori.[305]

The public service as a whole, therefore, started a gradual (and short-lived) move towards mandating automatic consideration of Treaty principles in all policy work, which would influence the Ministry's shifts in policy several years later. The *EEO Policy to 2010* has a particular emphasis on the achievement for Māori, with specific objectives to establish a 'critical mass' in each department in order to build public service managerial, policy and service delivery capability.[306] After every public service chief executive committed to the policy, Cabinet agreed to implement it in December 1997.

While there was a 'natural tension' between the Policy Unit and Te Ohu Whakatupu, this tension increased in the late 1990s as the focus of the work for the Ministry strengthened the realm of policy advice. This was partly because Te Ohu Whakatupu staff felt that their

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[304] *Māori in the Public Service: Appendix IV EEO Policy and Practice*, available at https://www.publicservice.govt.nz/resources/Māori-in-the-public-service/?e115=2306-appendix-iv-eeo-policy-and-practice, accessed 20 September 2020.
[305] *Māori in the Public Service: Appendix IV EEO Policy and Practice*, available at https://www.publicservice.govt.nz/resources/Māori -in-the-public-service/?e115=2306-appendix-iv-eeo-policy-and-practice, accessed 20 September 2020.
[306] *Māori in the Public Service: Appendix IV EEO Policy and Practice*, available at https://www.publicservice.govt.nz/resources/Māori -in-the-public-service/?e115=2306-appendix-iv-eeo-policy-and-practice, accessed 3 September 2020.
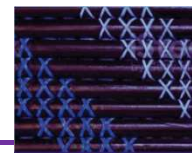
unit was getting fewer resources than a normal policy unit, but it was primarily around policy considerations. Although the unit chiefly worked on different policy issues from the rest of the Ministry, some Te Ohu Whakatupu staff felt that the unit's agenda was dictated by the Pākehā work programme. During this period the main policy focus for the Ministry were issues such as the gender pay gap and superannuation, issues far more important for Pākehā women than for wāhine Māori, as well as on international policy work such as the CEDAW conference and subsequent report.[307] Te Ohu Whakatupu staff felt that the Ministry's focus on these issues ignored real wāhine Māori issues and did not give Māori women a voice.[308] Staff also began to push back against the narrative and sole focus on the negative socio-economic statistics of wāhine Māori.[309]

Towards the end of 1996, Paula Snowden (Ngā Puhi) was appointed the new manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu. Snowden felt particularly strongly about the need to work on positive contributions for wāhine Māori. In an article after she was appointed, she stated that she wanted Māori women "to be seen in a positive light, not just as a stereotype. I want us to be seen as we are, contributing – whether it's paid or unpaid – strong, positive, raising our children, doing the best and being the best. I want society to look at us and value us and for us to be proud of ourselves."[310] She also wanted to encourage Māori women to have their say by raising their profile and their voices in both public and private organisations, so that business, as well as the broader community, would start to recognise their strength as a group.[311]

As part of this push, in early 1998 Te Ohu Whakatupu began work on a project to identify key factors that contribute to the success of kōtiro Māori, including education, training and paid work, in order to improve their educational and other life outcomes. The Ministry actually presented a submission on the Education Strategy for Māori, called *Gender and Māori Education: An Education Strategy for Māori*, within the public consultation process undertaken by Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education.[312] Te Ohu Whakatupu further worked on a project to improve access to industry training for wāhine Māori, with the Education and Training Support Agency, and the Seafood and Electrotechnology Industry Training Organisations. In June 1998, Te Ohu Whakatupu released a report on the project, called *Increasing Women's Participation in Industry Training*.[313]

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[307] Interview, Fiona Ross, 4 September 2020.

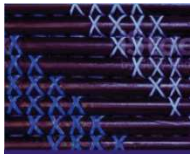[308] Interviews, Ria Earp, 2 September 2020; Paula Snowden, 7 September 2020.

[309] Interviews, Paula Snowden, 7 September 2020; Ria Earp, 2 September 2020; Fiona Ross, 4 September 2020.

[310] 'Experienced, motivated new manager for Te Ohu Whakatupu: Raising profiles of Māori women', *Māori News*, November 1996, Vol. 1, No. 21, p. 3.

[311] 'Experienced, motivated new manager for Te Ohu Whakatupu: Raising profiles of Māori women', *Māori News*, November 1996, Vol. 1, No. 21, p. 3.

[312] 'Annual Report 1997/1998 – Policy Advice', available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/policy.html, accessed 21 September 2020.

[313] 'Annual Report 1997/1998 – Policy Advice', available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/policy.html, accessed 21 September 2020.

In 1997, the Ministry undertook a vast data research project jointly with Statistics New Zealand, called the Time Use Survey. It took place over two years, and Māori made up just under a quarter of all those surveyed, meaning it became a valuable source for Māori data.[314] One of the Ministry's research priorities was to improve access to the data and statistics about all aspects of women's lives, but particularly the lives of wāhine Māori, given the severe lack of data historically, that created huge problems for policy analysis. The Time Use Survey investigated how New Zealanders organised and divided their time between their daily activities.

The Survey organised the participants into different population groups, by gender, ethnicity, employment status or location, in order to identify differences in the amounts of time that different population groups spend on different activities and for whom these activities are undertaken. The Ministry was particularly interested in how much time people spent on unpaid activities, such as caring for children, the elderly or sick relatives; working at the marae; voluntary community work; and fundraising, since women carry out much of the unpaid work.[315] The survey designers shaped the survey in order to be inclusive for Māori participants, by including participation in ceremonies or rituals significant to Māori culture as part of the activity classification, while the 'Where' classification included *Marae* and other sites of cultural significance to Māori, and the 'Who For' classification included work for Māori-based groups or organisations. Te Ohu Whakatupu intended to produce a special analysis of the Māori dimension of the data.[316]

When it came to the unit's nominations work programme, in 1997 Te Ohu Whakatupu put huge efforts into improving and expanding the wāhine Māori nominations database. It commissioned the company KPMG to identify Māori women with business and technical expertise. This project identified a further 35 Māori women from a wide range of business and professional backgrounds.[317] The project also developed a strategy for working with government agencies to improve policy advice in regard to Māori women across the entire state sector. Te Ohu Whakatupu also launched a large-scale community engagement programme to encourage wāhine Māori to come forward, from hosting a lunch to celebrate Māori Women's Week for Māori women public servants, to a media campaign profiling wāhine Māori business figures, to organising governance seminars by Māori and Pasifika leaders in senior management roles on boardroom practices and managerial skills.[318]

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[314] 'Annual Report 1997/1998 – Policy Advice', available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/policy.html, accessed 21 September 2020.

[315] 'Annual Report 1997/1998 – Policy Advice', available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/policy.html, accessed 9 September 2020; 20 January 2000, 'Summary of Ministry of Women's Affairs Priority Projects', Te Ohu Whakatupu to Te Korowai Wāhine, p. 2, accessed at Manatū Wāhine Ministry for Women.

[316] 20 January 2000, 'Summary of Ministry of Women's Affairs Priority Projects', Te Ohu Whakatupu to Te Korowai Wāhine, p. 2, accessed at Manatū Wāhine Ministry for Women.

[317] *Wāhine Māori in Leadership*, Appendix One, Ministry for Women, 2019, p. 7.

[318] 'Getting on Board: Focus on Māori Women Decision-makers', *Pānui* (August 1997); 'Getting on Board: Women in Decision-making', *Pānui* (February 1998), available at
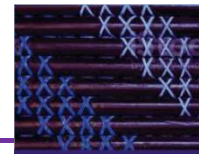
The last rūnanga was organised and held in 1998 at Tūnohopū Marae, Rotorua, where Ministry staff informed the kuia that the Rūnanga Kuia, as traditionally run and funded by the Ministry of Women's Affairs, was not financially sustainable.[319] At this hui, the Ministry reported back on the findings of the review and evaluation report on Rūnanga Kuia, which the Ministry undertook following the 1995 hui. The report found that Rūnanga Kuia was generally successful and effective in achieving its original objectives, which focused particularly on relationship building, networking and consultation.[320]

However, the report noted the organisational changes from the first rūnanga to the last, including the programming approach; it had become more formal and structured over time, and more focused on official recommendations. The usefulness of the rūnanga was called into question - even by those kuia who had participated, who had gradually become rather disillusioned with the approach of the rūnanga, and the process behind it.[321]

The report finally assessed different options for policy input by wāhine Māori. It recommended a strategy for a future 'national conference' for the Ministry, and that wāhine Māori should be involved in organising and conducting such a conference, to improve both their policy input, and the Ministry's relationships with them, particularly Māori women's organisations.[322] A key outcome for the Ministry at this rūnanga was that both groups would agree on a way forward. Kuia considered it was vital for Rūnanga Kuia to continue. After the hui, the Ministry talked to other agencies to explore ways in which Rūnanga Kuia could provide the voice of elder Māori women into their policy development processes.

Image 20 – Rūnanga Kuia at Tūnohopū Marae, Rotorua (1998).

In the policy area during this period, the Ministry provided advice on justice sector issues relating to Māori, specifically responses to offending by Māori and the Māori Community Development Act. Te Ohu Whakatupu continued to develop a framework to assist in
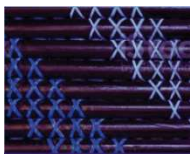
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https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/panui/9802/on-board.html, accessed 27 September 2020.

[319] *Rūnanga Kuia 1998*, video recording, accessed at Manatū Wāhine: Ministry for Women.

[320] 20 January 2000, Summary of Ministry of Women's Affairs Priority Projects, Paper to Te Korowai Wāhine.

[321] *Review and Evaluation of Rūnanga Kuia*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1997; *Rūnanga Kuia 1998*, video recording, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1998, accessed at Manatū Wāhine Ministry for Women.

[322] *Review and Evaluation of Rūnanga Kuia*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1997.

analysing gender issues in mental health affecting ngā wāhine Māori, and published a statistical profile called *Māori Women in Focus: Titiro Hāngai, Ka Mārama.*[323]

In 1998, the *Third Report of the Controller and Auditor-General for 1998* had an influence on later policy changes, similar to the earlier EEO legislation. Part 4 of the report was about delivering effective outputs for Māori. It noted that the state sector was collectively responsible for improving Māori outcomes, and being responsive to Māori. The report identified and set out processes for agencies to follow when producing policy work on Māori issues, so it essentially mandated applying a Treaty lens to all policy proposals. It thereby initiated a broader push to integrate Māori staff and units within agencies, to ensure all policy work in government agencies was taking Māori interests into consideration and being held to this same standard, not simply specialist Māori representatives or units.[324]

In May of 1999, Te Ohu Whakatupu welcomed Cath Nesus (Ngāti Porou) as a new manager. In the same year, the Ministry formed Te Korowai Wāhine Consultative Group as an advisory group of Māori women to the Ministry Chief Executive. The group advised the Ministry in relation to its policy work on wāhine Māori, on strategic directions, peer review and tikanga Māori.[325] The leadership saw the advisory group as an addition to the advice provided by Te Ohu Whakatupu, to provide a broader spectrum of Māori voices from the community.[326]

Image 21 – Te Korowai Wāhine Consultation (2000):
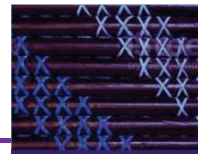(Left to Right: Dr. Dorothy Urlich-Cloher, Kuia Anne Delamere and Minister Laila Harré).

Te Puni Kōkiri report *Progress Towards Closing the Social and Economic Gaps Between Māori and Non-Māori* (1998) was the first government publication to measure inequalities between Māori and non-Māori. It revealed that the socio-economic gaps between Māori and non-Māori were still very significant, and had either stabilised or were widening.

[323] *Māori Women in Focus: Titiro Hāngai, Ka Mārama*, Te Puni Kōkiri and Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1999.
[324] *The Third Report of the Controller and Auditor-General for 1998: Part 4: Delivering Effective Outputs for Māori*, available at https://oag.parliament.nz/1998/3rd-report-1998/part4.htm, accessed 25 August 2020.
[325] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2000/2001*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2001, p. 23, available at
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/WA_State.pdf accessed 5 September 2020.
[326] Interview, Judy Lawrence, 18 September 2020.

The report led to the 'Closing the Gaps' policy being adopted by the Labour Government (under Prime Minister Helen Clark) for the 2000 Budget, in order to reduce inequality. It aimed to assist Māori and Pacific Island communities through targeted social programmes. Relevant policies in the Budget included investment in Māori and Pacific Islander controlled and managed organisations, and $114 million towards capacity building initiatives for Māori and Pacific Islander communities.

Tariana Turia (Ngāti Apa, Ngā Rauru and Tūwharetoa) (later Dame) saw the report as meaning:

> …there is even more reason for departments to engage with whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations to deliver specified services to Māori communities ... Iwi have a number of qualities that can enhance the ability of Government to meet its stated commitment to closing the gaps and support whānau, hapū and iwi self-determination through effecting a Treaty-based partnership.[327]

Turia also described the Capacity Building policy as supporting active iwi participation, and allowing iwi and hapū groups to manage and control their own development: "The policy is about enabling those groups to build their own strategies, systems, structures and skills so that they can move forward."[328]
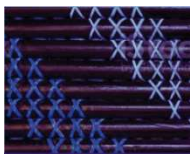
From June 2000, the Government stopped using the term 'Closing the Gaps' to describe its policy after Winston Peters' criticism of the policy influenced the public sphere. The policy came to be widely perceived as unfairly privileging Māori and undermining equality of opportunity in New Zealand. The term 'Closing the Gaps' become too toxic to sustain, so instead the policy was rebranded as 'reducing inequalities' – while its agenda was maintained and continued to be implemented.

The Ministry of Women's Affairs completed an 'Organisational Capability Review' over the year 1999–2000. The 2000 *Statement of Intent* states that the review was partly undertaken to ensure Ministry "capability to address key disparities for Māori and Pacific women in an integrated way across all policy priorities, while maintaining the distinctive Māori policy capability in the Ministry".[329] The influence of the *Third Report of the Controller and Auditor-General for 1998* now started to be felt, with its push to integrate Māori units into larger agencies. This was pushed further by the idea that it would be more effective to have more Māori staff in general in the agency, as individual Māori staff would bring their Māori perspective into play and have a greater influence on policy development.

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[327] *Closing the Gaps*, Tariana Turia speech, available at https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/closing-gaps, accessed 25 August 2020. Tariana Turia was appointed a Dame Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit in 2015.

[328] *Closing the Gaps*, Tariana Turia speech, available at https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/closing-gaps, accessed 25 August 2020.

[329] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2000/2001*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2001, p. 24, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/WA_State.pdf, accessed 26 August 2020.

The result of the review was a strategic decision, by the executive team making decisions about the strategic management of the Ministry, to adopt this approach to strengthen the influence of Māori women on the policy advice function of the Ministry, by directing more resources to that end.[330] This strategy would allow Te Ohu Whakatupu staff to work on the full range of Ministry projects, and enabled Māori analysis to become an integral part of the whole policy programme, which it was thought would strengthen the quality of the policy advice on Māori issues, and issues impacting wāhine Māori.[331]

Consequently, on 1 April 2000 the Ministry implemented a revised organisational structure that was recommended by the review (as outlined in Chapter One). The two policy teams (the Policy Unit and Te Ohu Whakatupu) were amalgamated into one large, separate policy group officially named Te Ohu Whakatupu Policy Group, but continued as two separate teams within the group.[332] The new processes and structure were designed to "enhance policy capability through enabling staff to work together more effectively across the Ministry to address issues for women and Māori and Pacific women".[333] The two policy teams kept their own policy managers, the Policy Manager and Policy Manager (Māori), who managed the day-to-day functions of the teams.[334] The Policy Manager (Māori) was responsible for Māori policy staff and strategic Māori outputs, in addition to other outputs. As the annual report described it:

> Each policy manager is responsible for a group of policy outputs and draws staff from the whole policy group into project teams to provide analysis and advice on those outputs ... The Ministry's Information Service (library and records) is managed by the Policy Manager, and the Nominations Service is managed by the Policy Manager (Māori).[335]

The Māori policy team continued to ensure the 'distinctive Māori policy capability' (noted above) just as before the review, in order to enable the team to develop initiatives that would improve outcomes for Māori women.[336]

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[330] Interview, Judy Lawrence, 18 September 2020.

[331] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 7; Interview, Judy Lawrence, 18 September 2020.
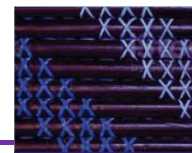
[332] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 7.

[333] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 50.

[334] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2000/2001*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2001, p. 16, available at
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/WA_State.pdf, accessed 26 August 2020.

[335] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2000/2001*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2001, p. 16, available at
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/WA_State.pdf, accessed 26 August 2020.

[336] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2000/2001*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2001, p. 16, available at
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/WA_State.pdf, accessed 26 August 2020.

Te Ohu Whakatupu Policy Group continued to provide advice to the Government on policies that have particular impact on Māori women, such as the Networking for Self-Employed Māori Business Women project, led by the Cabinet Committee. The advice was successful, with the Cabinet Committee agreeing to the proposal that further work should be undertaken with other agencies on the issue.[337] More generally, the role of the Policy Group revolved around liaison and joint work with other agencies, membership of interdepartmental working groups, consultation with Māori women, publications and information services on Māori women's issues and the provision of ministerial services.[338]

After the Government's 'Closing the Gaps' policy was announced, the new Policy Group focused on performing this work through the lens of the Government's Closing the Gaps agenda. During the six-month period from January to June 2000, the Ministry of Women's Affairs published a *Statement of Intent* for 2000/2001 to specifically align with the 'Closing the Gaps' policy initiative.[339] The Statement focused on the 'Closing the Gaps' approach to Māori and Pacific peoples as a priority, to align with the 'Key Government Goals', stating that it would provide advice on Māori women's key social policy areas such as health and housing, development, disaggregated data collection and Māori capacity-building, through consultation and the Nominations Service. It further stated that the Ministry would be providing key advice on the Government's work programme, "developing a strategy for gender analysis for use by other departments as a basis for consideration of their initiatives in the Closing the Gaps work programme for the 2000/01 financial year".[340]

Te Ohu Whakatupu Policy Group prioritised the Government's key goal to 'Strengthen national identity and uphold the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi', by providing advice on development, governance issues and collection of data for wāhine Māori.[341] The group further aligned its work stream to this key goal through the development of a draft framework of Treaty analysis in the context of Māori women's policy.[342]

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[337] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 49.
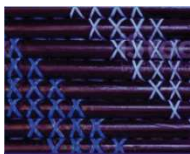[338] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 50.
[339] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2000/2001*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2001, p. 32, available at
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/WA State.pdf, accessed 26 August 2020.
[340] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2000/2001*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2001, p. 32, available at
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/WA State.pdf, accessed 26 August 2020.
[341] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2000/2001*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2001, p. 15, available at
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/WA State.pdf, accessed 26 August 2020.
[342] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 7.

Throughout this period Te Ohu Whakatupu maintained its close relationship with the MWWL, sustaining a constant presence at its conferences.[343] Te Ohu Whakatupu saw the conference as an opportunity to consult with Māori women and gain input for policy advice. An example of the work of Te Ohu Whakatupu in this area was the Karahipi Wāhine Māori: Māori Women's Scholarship, which by 2000 was in its sixth year. The scholarship was established to encourage Māori women to consider a career in public policy development. The scholarship included the opportunity for the recipient, in her final year of tertiary study, to undertake paid vacation employment at the Ministry.[344]

Maintaining the professional development of its own staff played a very important role in the ability of Te Ohu Whakatupu to develop leadership capacity in the public service for wāhine Māori.[345] Te Ohu Whakatupu ensured that its Māori staff were able to take up secondments, provided opportunities for senior Māori staff to act in management roles, provided whakapakari training for all Māori staff, and provided opportunities for Te Reo Māori training for Ministry staff.[346] In 2000, the unit nominated and supported a Māori policy analyst to attend the United Nations University, a young Māori staff member represented the Ministry at the UN Leadership Programme, and another represented the Minister at the New Delhi Commonwealth Conference.[347]

In November 2000 the Ministry of Women's Affairs signed a relationship agreement with Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry of Māori Development. The purpose of the agreement was to establish a collaborative working relationship between the two ministries, and define their separate roles in relation to work for wāhine Māori.[348] The broader aim of the ministries was to improve the quality of their policy advice through automatically considering how policies impact on Māori women, so that government decisions reflect the lives of Māori women. Both ministries agreed to work with other large agencies to improve data collection and reporting (for instance, sorted by ethnicity and gender). They also both undertook to improve monitoring and evaluation of policy implementation.[349]

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[343] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2000/2001*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2001, p. 23, available at
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/WA_State.pdf, accessed 26 August 2020.
[344] 'Karahipi Wāhine Māori', *Pū Kāea*, July/August 1997, p. 19; *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 55.
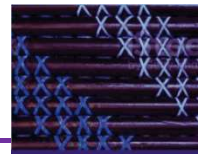[345] Interviews, Brenda Tahi, 25 August 2020; Paula Snowden, 7 September 2020.
[346] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 55.
[347] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2000*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2000, p. 7.
[348] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2000/2001*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2001, p. 22, available at
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/WA_State.pdf, accessed 26 August 2020.
[349] 20 January 2000, 'Summary of Ministry of Women's Affairs Priority Projects', Te Ohu Whakatupu to Te Korowai Wāhine, p. 3, accessed at Manatū Wāhine Ministry for Women.

One of the Ministry's long-term strategies was to increase the influence of Māori women in decision making with its work on the Nominations database. A review of the service during 1999 confirmed that the Ministry was in a good position to develop further strategies for its work on Nominations; strategies such as an established database, working with appointing agencies of the database, and showcasing women at a regional level. However it also identified challenges for the Ministry in this area, such as finding suitable candidates, operation of the database and relationship management with external agencies. The review recommended the Ministry re-focus its attention to, building a strong pool of Māori candidates, building strong relationships with key stakeholders, and supporting women once they had been appointed to boards.[350]

Te Ohu Whakatupu Policy Group consequently launched a regional approach to profile Māori women for appointments to statutory boards. Cabinet Office Circular CO (02) 5 outlines the place of public servants on statutory boards – it discourages public servants on boards, with exceptions for groups including women, Māori, Pasifika and disabled people. Cabinet Office Circular CO (02) 16 was issued outlining the Government's expectations in regard to diversity in appointments to state sector boards.[351]
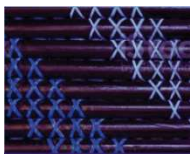
In 2001, Cath Nesus left the Ministry and Denise Messiter took over as Te Ohu Whakatupu manager (Policy Manager Māori). The Te Ohu Whakatupu Policy Group maintained most of its previous workstreams, such as consultation with women, publications on Māori women's issues, and the provision of ministerial services. Publications during this period generally consisted of research commissioned by the Ministry, such as a report on *Māori Women Mapping Inequalities and Pointing Ways Forward* (2001) on the differences between the experiences of Māori and non-Māori women, and *Mahi Ōrite, Utu Tōkeke - Pay Equity For Women* (2002).[352] The latter was a survey in the form of a discussion document. It looked to gain feedback to construct a coherent policy on the issue of pay equity for the New Zealand government. International conventions ratified by New Zealand had recommended that this be addressed through the principle of 'equal pay for work of equal value', but New Zealand had no current policy on the issue, and wished to draw on the views of wāhine Māori as a first step in raising the issue for public discussion and future policy consideration. The discussion document was published specifically to learn the views of wāhine from the MWWL.

The Ministry provided advice on the co-ordination of statistics and data collection about women's lives through consultations with Statistics New Zealand, participation in the Māori Statistics Forum and interdepartmental processes such as the Officials Working Group on Applied Social Science Research and the Foresight Project coordinated by the Ministry of Research, Science and Technology. The Ministry worked with other agencies

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[350] 20 January 2000, 'Summary of Ministry of Women's Affairs Priority Projects', Te Ohu Whakatupu to Te Korowai Wāhine, p. 4, accessed at Manatū Wāhine Ministry for Women.
[351] Cabinet Office Circular CO (02) 5; Cabinet Office Circular CO (02) 16.
[352] *Māori Women Mapping Inequalities and Pointing Ways Forward*, Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2001; *Mahi Ōrite, Utu Tōkeke - Pay Equity For Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2002.

on a number of statistics projects, including the New Zealand Childcare Survey, the Longitudinal Survey on Income Dynamics and the 2001 Census.[353] Te Ohu Whakatupu provided advice on Statistics New Zealand's Māori statistics framework and prepared a profile of Māori women with Te Puni Kōkiri.

Ethnic diversity data started to be collected for Ministry staff in 2000. It showed a fairly high level of diversity during this period, especially regarding Māori, at 33.3 per cent of the staff, with another 10 per cent Pasifika and 3.3 per cent Asian. That means one–third of the staff were Māori and nearly half of the staff that year were of diverse ethnicities. Because of the low numbers of staff at the Ministry, that total still only numbered 13 actual staff members. For the next few years after 2000 the level of diversity remained comparatively high, particularly when it came to the number of Māori staff, who until 2003 made up over 30 per cent of the Ministry. The numbers of Pasifika and Asian staff also stayed comparatively high during those years, with Pasifika staff at over 10 per cent until 2002, and the proportion of Asian staff even reached 15 per cent in 2003.

Te Ohu Whakatupu provided input into the review of the Business Development Programme, to ensure the service provided by the boards to women and ngā wāhine Māori was being assessed.[354] Te Ohu Whakatupu advised the Targeted Family Services Implementation Group on issues relating to the Family Start pilot programmes established in Rotorua, Whangārei and Rānui/Massey. It also advised on the continuation of the Māori Women's Development Fund and the role of Wāhine Pakari and Hikoi Ki Paerangi (New Horizons) programmes within the Government's employment assistance programme.[355]

Although the Ministry had moved away from community engagement, Te Ohu Whakatupu Policy Group (Māori team) maintained some engagement with the community, and indeed saw it as one of the main ways to deliver on its 'output objective' to 'Strengthen National Identity and Uphold the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi'.[356] It therefore maintained links to community groups and events. The group contributed to the launch of Te Ara Kaipakihi Networking workshops, which were held in Whangārei, Auckland, Whakatāne, Palmerston North, Christchurch and Nelson.[357]
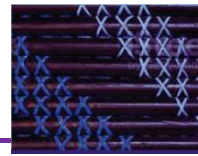
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[353] 'Annual Report 1997/1998 – Policy Advice', available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/policy.html, accessed 21 September 2020.

[354] 'Annual Report 1997/1998 – Policy Advice', available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/policy.html, accessed 21 September 2020.

[355] 'Annual Report 1997/1998 – Policy Advice', available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/annual/1998/policy.html, accessed 21 September 2020.

[356] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2000/2001*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2001, p. 31, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/WA_State.pdf, accessed 26 August 2020.

[357] 8 January 2001, 'Te Ohu Whakatupu Policy Group – Māori Women's Policy Meeting Agenda', accessed at Manatū Wāhine Ministry for Women.

The Ministry also supported Mana Wāhine Week every year, a special week initiated to acknowledge Māori women and promote the achievements of Māori women leaders as role models.[358] Te Ririra Proctor, who was very involved with organising Mana Wāhine Week, said that it, "… has been a successful vehicle for profiling Māori women from a range of different walks of life with different skills. It gave us an opportunity to provide young Māori women with mentors and role models and show them some of the things that they can aspire to."[359]

The Policy Group further developed joint work on gender mainstreaming with other agencies through membership of interdepartmental working groups, such as the Gender Analysis Advisory Group, the Gender Analysis across Government project team and Women's Access to Justice.[360] The latter was a Law Commission study started in 1996, that published two papers, one of which specially investigated wāhine Māori and their experiences in the justice system.[361] Gender mainstreaming is simply incorporating a gender analysis into all policy work – assessing the implications of any planned policy for people of different genders.

The 2002 *Brief to the Incoming Minister* included a thorough section on the priorities and opportunities to improve outcomes for Māori women.[362] The brief exhibits the most recent considerations of the Ministry; this brief focused on engagement with wāhine Māori as tangata whenua and as Treaty partners. It stated, "Durable relationships across government with Māori women are essential, to ensure that the leadership contributions of Māori women are valued, visible, recognised and incorporated into all government decisions."[363]

The brief revealed the most recent outcome of a debate that had dominated the discourse within the Ministry for the past several years.

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[358] *Brief to Incoming Minister: He Whakamōhiotanga ki te Minita Hou*, July 2002, p. 20, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/2002IncomingBrief.pdf, accessed 3 September 2020.

[359] 'Ministry farewells long-time staff member' in *Pānui*, March 2004, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20040708214704/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/panui/MWA_Panui_March_web.pdf, accessed 3 September 2020.

[360] *Brief to Incoming Minister: He Whakamōhiotanga ki te Minita Hou*, July 2002, p. 74, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/2002IncomingBrief.pdf, accessed 3 September 2020.
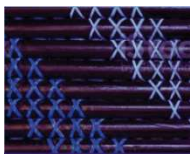
[361] *Brief to Incoming Minister: He Whakamōhiotanga ki te Minita Hou, July 2002*, p. 48, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/2002IncomingBrief.pdf, accessed 3 September 2020; 20 January 2000, 'Summary of Ministry of Women's Affairs Priority Projects', Te Ohu Whakatupu to Te Korowai Wāhine, p. 4, accessed at Manatū Wāhine Ministry for Women.

[362] *Brief to Incoming Minister: He Whakamōhiotanga ki te Minita Hou*, July 2002, pp. 8-9, 19-20, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/2002IncomingBrief.pdf, accessed 3 September 2020.

[363] *Brief to Incoming Minister: He Whakamōhiotanga ki te Minita Hou*, July 2002, p. 20, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/2002IncomingBrief.pdf, accessed 3 September 2020.

The debate was between two conflicting perspectives on the best policy approach to wāhine Māori issues.[364] One approach was to focus on improving the lives of wāhine Māori who were vulnerable – through lack of education, unemployment, poverty, sexual violence or other factors. As the brief points out, this was important in order to address systemic discrimination and inequalities experienced by Māori women.[365]

Some Ministry staff (and external stakeholders) criticised that perspective, however, for promoting stereotypes of wāhine Māori by focusing only on a negative outlook of and for wāhine Māori and seeing wāhine Māori as victims. They felt that the Ministry's main objective should be to reinforce the mana and rangatiratanga of wāhine Māori, and build up capability in the community, by focusing on positive contributions of Māori women, and on areas such as leadership, mentoring and networking, expanding training and employment opportunities, and entrepreneurship.[366] The debate had waxed and waned with successive Chief Executives and Ministers since at least the early 1990s, as discussed earlier.

According to the briefing paper, the Ministry was still committed to progressing the priorities of Māori women. The Ministry would make decisions as to which issues were the priorities of Māori women through discussion and networking with Māori women, primarily through hui with Māori women's groups.[367] Obviously, the most important group in this regard was Te Korowai Wāhine, a Māori Women's Advisory Group set up specifically to advise the Ministry on wāhine Māori issues. However, the Ministry's intention of establishing Te Korowai Wāhine was in order to consult more broadly with the wāhine Māori community, so it also planned to consult with further wāhine Māori groups.[368]

To learn the priorities of wāhine Māori, it was important for the Ministry to maintain the relationships with the wāhine Māori community at the national and local levels it had previously built up, such as that with the MWWL. The Ministry expected to consult these groups, as well as wāhine Māori on the New Zealand Government's Report to the CEDAW Committee, and at various hui and events, such as the Ministry's annual Karahipi Wāhine Māori awards.[369] Issues within the Ministry during this period provided an ideal opportunity for consultation with the MWWL.
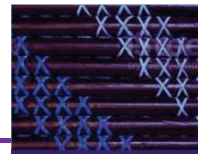
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[364] Interview, Judy Lawrence, 18 September 2020.

[365] *Brief to Incoming Minister: He Whakamōhiotanga ki te Minita Hou*, July 2002, p. 19, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/2002IncomingBrief.pdf accessed 3 September 2020.

[366] Interview, Judy Lawrence, 18 September 2020; *Brief to Incoming Minister: He Whakamōhiotanga ki te Minita Hou*, July 2002, p. 19, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/2002IncomingBrief.pdf accessed 3 September 2020.

[367] *Brief to Incoming Minister: He Whakamōhiotanga ki te Minita Hou*, July 2002, p. 20, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/2002IncomingBrief.pdf accessed 3 September 2020.

[368] Interview, Judy Lawrence, 18 September 2020.

[369] *Brief to Incoming Minister: He Whakamōhiotanga ki te Minita Hou*, July 2002, p. 20, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/2002IncomingBrief.pdf accessed 3 September 2020.

The organisation likewise saw the opportunity to advise the Ministry on how re-setting its structure, processes and work programme could better address their priorities, and improve the status of Māori women within the Ministry and across the whole public service by reflecting a partnership model with Māori.[370]
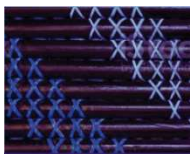

Image 22 – Left to right – Denise Messiter, Helen Potter, Liz Albert and Judy Lawrence at Te Karahipi Wāhine Māori Awards (2002).

Consultation with these wāhine Māori groups revealed that they were concerned about the status and recognition by government of Māori women as Treaty partners, and on economic, social and cultural advancement for Māori women and their whānau. In an issue of *Pānui*, Chief Executive Judy Lawrence outlined the influence of the MWWL on the Ministry's decisions regarding its approach to Māori policy, stating: "Earlier this year, the Māori Women's Welfare League and I had discussions about how we might provide greater status for Māori women in the way we work and contribute towards greater visibility in the way government, across key departments, progresses Māori women's priorities."[371] The most important issues for the Māori women in these groups included racial discrimination, inadequate housing, domestic violence, employment, health, and the lack of culturally appropriate education services.[372]

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[370] *Brief to Incoming Minister: He Whakamōhiotanga ki te Minita Hou*, July 2002, p. 20, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/2002IncomingBrief.pdf accessed 3 September 2020; Chief Executive's Message, *Pānui*, October 2002, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2002, p. 1.

[371] Chief Executive's Message, *Pānui*, October 2002, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2002, p. 1.

[372] *Brief to Incoming Minister: He Whakamōhiotanga ki te Minita Hou*, July 2002, p. 20, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/2002IncomingBrief.pdf accessed 3 September 2020.

To address the priorities expressed by the groups consulted, the Ministry started to develop a 'Kaupapa Māori Framework (Mana Wāhine)', in order to "provide a Māori-centred approach to analysis that is 'embedded in Māori cultural values'".[373]

The framework aimed to place Māori at the centre of all policy development, by applying a Māori cultural framework to all policy work being undertaken. The principle behind the framework was that it could provide policy advice that explores the "breadth and depth of issues for Māori women, and ensure[s] that solutions were Māori centred and reflect Māori women's imperatives".[374] This approach was broadly seen at the time as the way forward for all policy work, and across the entire public service, as a way of genuinely reflecting the Treaty principle of partnership within a modern, Pākehā operational system. Over time, the Kaupapa Māori Framework turned into a 'Treaty of Waitangi Framework', as elaborated at the end of the chapter.

Similarly, the *Statement of Intent* 2002–2005 still viewed Te Ohu Whakatupu in the exact same structure within the Ministry:

> The Policy Manager – Māori is responsible for the team of Māori policy staff and strategic Māori women's priorities, in addition to other outputs. This team continues to ensure the distinctive Māori policy capability is maintained in the Ministry, which has been a hallmark of the Ministry since its inception. This capability enables the Ministry to develop initiatives to enhance outcomes for Māori women. The work of this team includes communications and liaison with Māori women, individually, nationally and locally, through community groups and through iwi. Through this function the Ministry maintains direct relationships with Māori women as Treaty partners, as well as through the two-way exchange of information, ensuring the Ministry's policy advice and influence strategies are well informed.[375]

However, the paragraph then seems to give a forewarning of changes to come. It goes on to say: "The way the Ministry organises itself to deliver its outputs will be reviewed regularly to ensure it is fit for purpose."[376]

Indeed, just a few months later, by March 2003, the situation had changed. The two teams of the previous Te Ohu Whakatupu Policy Group had been restructured. There was now just one policy team in the Ministry led by one policy manager. A separate, single role had been created, solely to deal with Treaty issues – the Kaihautū or Treaty Relationships Manager.

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[373] *Brief to Incoming Minister: He Whakamōhiotanga ki te Minita Hou*, July 2002, p. 20, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/2002IncomingBrief.pdf accessed 3 September 2020.

[374] *Brief to Incoming Minister: He Whakamōhiotanga ki te Minita Hou*, July 2002, p. 20, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/2002IncomingBrief.pdf, accessed 21 September 2020.

[375] *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs 2002–2005*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2002, p. 74.

[376] *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs 2002–2005*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2002, p. 74.
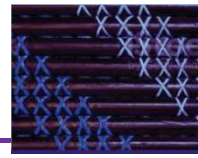
He Kaupapa - He Hangā Tikanga: A Foundation - Shaping a Way: Responsiveness to Māori Plan of the Ministry of Women's Affairs was the Ministry's Māori responsiveness plan specifically in relation to wāhine Māori for 2002/03, and it clearly outlines the theory behind the move. It states that the Te Ohu Whakatupu team produced this responsiveness development plan because being responsive to Māori requires making the needs and aspirations of Māori part of the core business of an organisation. It states that the Ministry has therefore recognised its Treaty of Waitangi obligations through legislation and policy statements, and made the application of Māori perspectives one of its main goals. The Te Ohu Whakatupu team used guideline questions for the Ministry, in order to assess its own success at responding to Māori, and therefore ascertain any weaknesses and areas requiring improvement. The plan is a guide the Ministry can use to fix these problems, including recommending new initiatives and strategies, as well as setting specific actions with associated responsibilities, time targets and performance indicators.[377]

The 2003 *Statement of Intent* was published after the later SSC review had been announced and decisions were in train about how to implement its recommendations. The SSC review had identified the Ministry's capability needs as improving policy development processes, management systems and processes, organisational culture, and cross-government relationships. The *Statement of Intent* describes the situation as follows:

> SSC has commenced the process to appoint a permanent Chief Executive with a strong mandate to progress and reinforce the capability development currently underway. Some progress has already been made. This includes the creation of, and successful appointment to, the position of Treaty Relationship Manager whose role is to lead both internally and externally on Treaty of Waitangi and kaupapa Māori issues to contribute to improved outcomes for Māori women and their whānau, hapū and iwi. A draft Treaty of Waitangi Framework has been developed to be integrated into all future work of the Ministry.[378]

Despite the remaining policy team still apparently being called 'Te Ohu Whakatupu Policy Group' in the *Statement of Intent*, this was in fact the general or normal Ministry policy team, performing all Ministry policy work – the only team, since the Policy Group was now made up of only one team, not two.[379] In other words the Māori policy team, or former 'Māori Policy Unit', had been dissolved. The use of the name 'Te Ohu Whakatupu Policy Group' in this official document seems to be the only link to Te Ohu Whakatupu in relation to the team, or indeed the only acknowledgement of the unit left at all.[380]
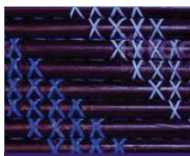
The *Statement of Intent* further states, "Te Ohu Whakatupu Policy Group provides policy advice to the Government on key issues which impact on women and Māori women. The Policy Manager is responsible for the policy outputs, including Māori women's

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[377] *He Kaupapa - He Hangā Tikanga: A Foundation - Shaping a Way: Responsiveness to Māori Plan of the Ministry of Women's Affairs*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1993.
[378] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2003–2006*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003.
[379] Interview, Denise Messiter, 15 September 2020.
[380] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2003–2006*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, p. 47.

priorities."[381] The latter statement makes clear that the group still includes the Māori analysis that used to be sole provenance of the special Te Ohu Whakatupu unit. But that analysis was now to be done by everyone in the general team, whether Māori or Pākehā – facilitated by the new framework under development.

The Treaty Relationship Unit, on the other hand was actually a new creation, and apparently a euphemism for the Kaihautū or Treaty Relationship Manager, as the role was an independent position without any team. The role's principal purpose was described as to "lead both internally and externally on Treaty of Waitangi and kaupapa Māori issues".[382] That included building relationships with wāhine Māori, and working alongside the Policy Manager to identify policy activity and direction for the Māori work programme.[383] The *Statement of Intent* was therefore quite clear that the role did not itself include direct policy analysis work on Māori issues; that was now left to the general policy team. Instead the position was primarily focused on building the Treaty of Waitangi Framework.

So, despite the official name, this restructure really saw the final dissolution of what was once a unit almost unto itself, Te Ohu Whakatupu. How then was the dissolution of Te Ohu Whakatupu able or allowed to happen?

Some observers theorised that funding pressures on the Ministry around this period put an end to the unit. It seems likely that funding was a factor during the restructures, given the constant emphasis on and pressure for cost-cutting and efficiency for all agencies. Indeed there was definitely significant, long–term funding pressure on the Ministry at this time, which had a substantial impact on staff numbers.[384]

In February 2003, the Ministry applied for a substantial increase in funding for its 2003 Budget Bid, in order just to maintain its existing capacity with staffing numbers into the future, partly because it was having problems retaining its staff, with a high turnover rate. In its bid, the Ministry identified the main reasons for this need as its inability to offer competitive salaries to high–quality, qualified and experienced senior policy analysts, as compared with other Ministries.[385] However, first the Treasury declined and then the SSC failed to support the increase, as they saw the slight increase that the Ministry had received in its 2000/01 budget as sufficient, and thought the Ministry should be able to preserve its staff on its existing pay-scale, as the Ministry had not provided enough hard evidence to the contrary.[386] The entire Ministry was subject to staff cuts, yet it was Te Ohu Whakatupu as a unit that was sacrificed.
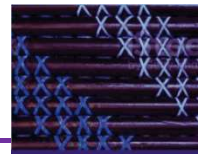
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[381] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2003–2006*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, p. 47.
[382] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2003–2006*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, p. 47.
[383] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2003–2006*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, p. 48.
[384] Interviews, Paula Snowden, 7 September 2020; Denise Messiter, 15 September 2020; Ria Earp, 2 September 2020.
[385] 19 February 2003, *Budget Bid 2003 Briefing Note*, pp. 1–4, Appendix 1.
[386] The SSC attributed the Ministry's problems with high staff turnover to internal human resource issues, rather than insufficient funding. 19 February 2003, *Budget Bid 2003 Briefing Note*, pp. 1, 4–6; *Ministry of*

Nevertheless, it was primarily a much larger policy shift that saw a gradual re-structuring of Te Ohu Whakatupu out of existence; a shift in the design of policy agencies and their relationships with Māori across government. In the Ministry this gradual shift was manifested through a move towards embedding a Treaty framework into all of the Ministry's policy work. The aim was that the kaupapa of Te Ohu Whakatupu and its work would be realised most effectively by inputting kaupapa principles into all policy work undertaken by the Ministry –specifically through the implementation of Treaty principles into all policy work and legislation undertaken in New Zealand, aimed to impact the general population, not just Māori. Theoretically, this would mean that all policy would be designed to respect and improve the lives of Māori, rather than the kaupapa being restricted to a separate workstream via special programmes with a limited impact. Designing the changes around Treaty principles directly, rather than simply around a welfare framework, was an alternative attempt to tackle the issues more effectively. The principle behind the move to the Treaty framework did hold the interests of the kaupapa at its base, and appeared to be a plausible way of achieving its aims.

Image 23 – Te Riria Proctor.

At the end of 2003, Te Riria Proctor retired from the Ministry having served wāhine Māori through her role in the Ministry for 17 years. She was the only staff member left from the earliest period of Te Ohu Whakatupu.

Women's Affairs – 2003 Budget Initiative Proposal: Briefing for Tony Hartevelt as Preparation for Response to Judy Lawrence, pp. 1–2.
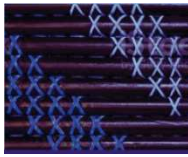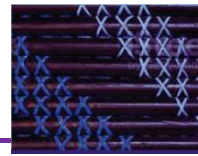
As the Ministry's Māori Communications and Liaison Officer, Te Riria Proctor had played an essential role throughout Te Ohu Whakatupu's existence in connecting the Ministry with Māori communities, and gathering information from Māori women to inform the Ministry's policy advice.[387] On her retirement she stated that highlights for her were the opportunity to profile Māori women in the community through events like Mana Wāhine Week, the Ministry's Karahipi Wāhine Māori Women's Scholarship and engaging with wāhine Māori on marae throughout the country, providing assistance to the community through Pūtea Pounamu grants.[388]

The unit's dissolution was able to happen because there was never a specific, official decision taken to dissolve it – which would have been publicly observed and likely vigorously opposed. Rather, the kaupapa of the unit was restructured gradually as policies were transformed – subsumed into other teams in the apparent interest of the kaupapa.

Having been there from the start, Te Riria Proctor was the last representative of the original, 'old' Te Ohu Whakatupu, the only one left who really had all the mātauranga and network of contacts with the community, built up over years of service. She was essentially the last bastion of the original vision for Te Ohu Whakatupu: one of an independent body of wāhine Māori in the public service, representing and advocating for distinctively wāhine Māori perspectives. With Te Riria Proctor's departure, Te Ohu Whakatupu as it was first conceived was finally lost.

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[387] Interview, Te Riria Proctor, 11 September 2020.

[388] 'Ministry farewells long-time staff member' in *Pānui*, March 2004, p. 9, available at https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20040708214704/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/panui/MWA_Panui_March_web.pdf, accessed 11 September 2020.

4 The 'Policy Unit' and the last decade, 2004 to 2019

In May 2003 Anne Carter (Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Raukawa) started as the Acting Chief Executive part-time for six months, then full time from October 2003 to February 2004. She was familiar with the Ministry having worked previously as a policy manager from 1994 to 1996, and therefore was an obvious choice to lead the Ministry following a rather tumultuous period - most importantly to manage work on the forthcoming *Action Plan*. Carter oversaw a period that encompassed almost the entire formation of the *Action Plan*, from collating and amalgamating the responses of women during the comprehensive national consultation process, to the publication of its report and preliminary planning to implement its goals.[389]

A report in late 2001 had recommended that small public service agencies be reviewed to look at 'opportunities' for structural consolidation for some of the agencies. Motivated by concern about the number and capability of small agencies, it stated that "some structural consolidation will be beneficial, leading to fewer agencies overall – bigger, more 'federal' departments comprising sub-units with compatible objectives".[390] In the wake of the report's recommendation for a broad, public service-wide review of every small agency, from April to June of 2003 the SSC initiated a second, 'Capability' review of the Ministry.[391] The leadership turn-over at this point – being in-between permanent appointments to the Chief Executive role –meant it was a good opportunity to do a 'stocktake' of the Ministry.
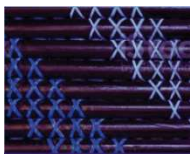
The review investigated whether small agencies were efficient enough to survive, given their small budgets. It used a set of criteria, which were developed by the central agencies and agreed by Ministers, for determining what functions should be carried out by what type of agency and when functions should be shared within an agency, and when they should be separated.[392] In terms of the Ministry, the reviewers were looking specifically at whether the Ministry should be absorbed into another agency.

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[389] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2003*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, p. 6; Ruth Dyson, *Action Plan for New Zealand women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2004, p. 6, available at https://natlib-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=NLNZ_ALMA21240138020002836andcontext=Landvid=NLNZandlang=en_USandsearch_scope=NLNZandadaptor=Local%20Search%20Engineandtab=catalogueandquery=title,contains,Action%20Plan%20for%20New%20Zealand%20women,ANDandsortby=rankandmode=advancedandoffset=0, accessed 26 September 2020.
[390] *Report of the Advisory Group on the Review of the Centre, Presented to the Ministers of State Services and Finance*, November 2001, p. 27.
[391] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2003*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, p.6.
[392] *Report of the Advisory Group on the Review of the Centre, Presented to the Ministers of State Services and Finance*, November 2001, p. 27.

The Ministry of Youth Affairs and Ministry of Women's Affairs were reviewed together, after which it would be decided whether they should stay independent or be absorbed into each other or into a larger agency.[393]

The outcome for the Ministry of Youth Affairs was to incorporate it into the Ministry of Social Development (MSD), but for the Ministry of Women's Affairs the decision was to "strengthen the Ministry internally, under the leadership of a new, change-management focused chief executive".[394] The review assessed that this would be "the best option to ensure a strong focus in the policy process on issues and opportunities for women".[395] The review also concluded that the Ministry's performance needed to improve. It identified the capability needs for the Ministry as principally under its direct control: improving internal culture, leadership, management systems and policy capability, saying "…these have had major external impacts on the credibility and reputation on the Ministry and reduced its ability to influence other government departments".[396] As a second step, it recommended examining the feasibility of implementing 'virtual administration initiatives', such as collaborating with other government departments on work programmes, and possibly outsourcing some business support functions.[397] This review was just the latest of multiple times that the Ministry had been in danger of being dissolved through its history, including during the mid to late 1990s.[398]

In 2004, the National Party called for 'one standard of citizenship' for all New Zealanders. In the 'Orewa speech' given on 27 January 2004, National leader Don Brash suggested all policies 'privileging' Māori should be abandoned, and called for abolition of the Māori electorates and Māori claims to customary title under the Treaty of Waitangi. This event impacted the public discourse on Treaty issues and solidified the trend of public policy towards abandoning, subsuming or re-structuring specialist Māori policy units. Treaty issues also became less prominent in policy discourse for a prolonged period.[399]

The ethnic representation of the Ministry fell fairly dramatically in 2004. The proportion of Māori staff in the Ministry plummeted to 19.2 per cent, though it jumped back very slightly to 26.9 per cent and 20.0 per cent in 2006. Likewise, there was a sudden drop in the number of Asian staff, from 11.5 per cent to 3.8 per cent, with a slight jump back to

[393] Interview, Ria Earp, 2 September 2020.

[394] 'Capability Reviews of the Ministry of Youth Affairs and the Ministry of Women's Affairs', *State Services Commission, 2003*, available at https://www.publicservice.govt.nz/resources/capability-reviews-mya-mwa/, accessed 26 September 2020.
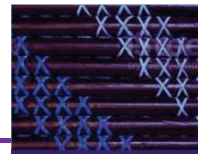
[395] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2003*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, p.6.

[396] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2003*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, p.6; 'Capability Reviews of the Ministry of Youth Affairs and the Ministry of Women's Affairs', *State Services Commission, 2003*, available at https://www.publicservice.govt.nz/resources/capability-reviews-mya-mwa/, accessed 26 September 2020.

[397] 'Capability Reviews of the Ministry of Youth Affairs and the Ministry of Women's Affairs', *State Services Commission, 2003*, available at https://www.publicservice.govt.nz/resources/capability-reviews-mya-mwa/, accessed 26 September 2020.

[398] Interview, Judy Lawrence, 18 September 2020.

[399] Interviews, Judy Lawrence, 18 September 2020; Rachel Robson, 15 September 2020.

6.7 per cent in 2006. The number of Pasifika staff eventually recovered slightly as well, after having plunged to none at all – but only because a single Pasifika staff member joined the Ministry, so making a very slight recovery to 3.3 per cent.[400] Interestingly, these numbers echo the structural change taking place at the Ministry through that period. The first sign of decline displayed in 2004 directly reflects the dissolution of Te Ohu Whakatupu that had taken place the previous year. Most of the Māori staff of Te Ohu Whakatupu left the Ministry gradually during that period.

The *Action Plan* was published in March 2004. It contains no reference to the dissolution of Te Ohu Whakatupu. However, its policy regarding wāhine Māori outlined detailed policy objectives. These objectives were supported by research studies and by consultation with wāhine Māori – through formal consultation hui throughout the country during 2002 and 2003, in partnership with the MWWL and other focus groups, as well as ongoing consultation with Te Korowai Wāhine.[401] It attempted to include policy objectives that would deliver desired outcomes from a Te Ao Māori perspective, rather than only a Pākehā perspective. It aimed to assist Māori women to "progress the aspirations of their whānau, hapū and iwi", through work–life balance, wellbeing objectives and implementation of 'Services by Māori, for Māori', as well as economic outcomes.[402] It supported the principle that "where whānau, hapū and iwi have the power to arrange and control their own development, they are generally able to participate more effectively in the economic, social and cultural life of their communities".[403]

Nevertheless economic success or 'sustainability' was the main objective for the *Action Plan*: "Where circumstances for Māori are extremely critical, or present significant development opportunities, these have been recognised as a matter of priority for the Government."[404]
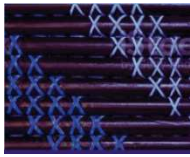
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[400] Human Resource Capability (HRC) Data Collection: Department Level Reports 2000–2019.

[401] Ruth Dyson, *Action Plan for New Zealand Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2004, p. 25, available at https://natlib-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=NLNZ_ALMA21240138020002836andcontext=Landvid=NLNZandlang=en_USandsearch_scope=NLNZandadaptor=Local%20Search%20Engineandtab=catalogueandquery=title,contains,Action%20Plan%20for%20New%20Zealand%20women,ANDandsortby=rankandmode=advancedandoffset=0, accessed 26 September 2020.

[402] Ruth Dyson, *Action Plan for New Zealand Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2004, pp. 18–19, available at https://natlib-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=NLNZ_ALMA21240138020002836andcontext=Landvid=NLNZandlang=en_USandsearch_scope=NLNZandadaptor=Local%20Search%20Engineandtab=catalogueandquery=title,contains,Action%20Plan%20for%20New%20Zealand%20women,ANDandsortby=rankandmode=advancedandoffset=0, accessed 26 September 2020.

[403] Ruth Dyson, *Action Plan for New Zealand Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2004, p. 19, available at https://natlib-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=NLNZ_ALMA21240138020002836andcontext=Landvid=NLNZandlang=en_USandsearch_scope=NLNZandadaptor=Local%20Search%20Engineandtab=catalogueandquery=title,contains,Action%20Plan%20for%20New%20Zealand%20women,ANDandsortby=rankandmode=advancedandoffset=0, accessed 26 September 2020.

[404] Ruth Dyson, *Action Plan for New Zealand Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2004, p. 18, available at https://natlib-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=NLNZ_ALMA21240138020002836andcontext=Landvid=NLNZandlang=en_USandsearch_scope=NLNZandadaptor=Local%20Search%20Engineandtab=catalogueandquery=title,contains,Action%20

It emphasised the broader impact of economic success: "As economic position is a key determinant of health and other social outcomes, working to remedy Māori women's low income levels and improve their overall economic position, will have positive downstream impacts on other dimensions of their lives and New Zealand society."[405] The economic sustainability 'priority actions' included enhancing sustainable business growth by Māori women and Māori women's participation in managing collectively owned assets and sustainable employment. It also contained more specialised policy priorities around healthcare and education, including supporting increased Māori participation in quality early childhood education, and health initiatives for Māori women to reduce smoking, obesity and unplanned teenage pregnancy rates.[406]

The *Action Plan* was not without external criticism. An article in *Women's Studies International Forum* accused the *Action Plan* of privileging certain feminist discourses over others in its vision for the future. The article states that the policy in the *Action Plan* supports feminist discourses advocating for women's participation in the public sphere, in which paid work is privileged over caregiving. It argues that the *Action Plan* in turn minimises the value of motherhood as compared to the public 'duty' of paid work. It explores the idea that this judgement is grounded on capitalist goals of increased productivity and economic growth. The article suggests in effect that the *Action Plan* was driven primarily by an economic agenda rather than the needs of women.[407]

The Statement of Intent for 2004–2007 was published just two months later in May 2004. Its entire emphasis is on its response to the Capability Review of 2003 – addressing its capability issues in order to successfully implement the new *Action Plan.* It also makes no mention of Te Ohu Whakatupu at all. The document discusses the areas for capability development highlighted by the review, including improving policy development processes, management systems and processes, organisational culture and cross-governmental relationships.[408] It emphasises that the Ministry would be rebuilding and refocusing during the next period, concentrating on four key areas. It also mentions that the Ministry had actually gained extra funds of $300,000 in the budget for the year.
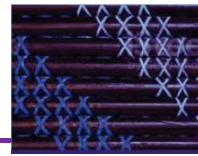
Plan%20for%20New%20Zealand%20women,ANDandsortby=rankandmode=advancedandoffset=0, accessed 26 September 2020.

[405] Ruth Dyson, *Action Plan for New Zealand Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2004, p. 18, available at https://natlib-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=NLNZ_ALMA21240138020002836andcontext=Landvid=NLNZandlang=en_USandsearch_scope=NLNZandadaptor=Local%20Search%20Engineandtab=catalogueandquery=title,contains,Action%20Plan%20for%20New%20Zealand%20women,ANDandsortby=rankandmode=advancedandoffset=0, accessed 26 September 2020.

[406] Ruth Dyson, *Action Plan for New Zealand Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2004, pp. 18–19, available at https://natlib-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=NLNZ_ALMA21240138020002836andcontext=Landvid=NLNZandlang=en_USandsearch_scope=NLNZandadaptor=Local%20Search%20Engineandtab=catalogueandquery=title,contains,Action%20Plan%20for%20New%20Zealand%20women,ANDandsortby=rankandmode=advancedandoffset=0, accessed 26 September 2020.

[407] Ella Kahu and Mandy Morgan, 'A Critical Discourse Analysis of New Zealand Government Policy: Women as Mothers and Workers', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 30, No.2 (2007), pp. 134–146.

[408] *Statement of Intent 2004–2007*, Ministry for Women, 2004, p. 23.

The intention was for the Ministry to continue to develop 'initiatives' in four key areas, started the previous year. The 'Leadership' capability initiative includes an objective to develop capability in applying a Treaty analytical tool, as well as the gender analysis framework. The 'Effective Processes and Systems' capability initiative also includes an objective to "embed an understanding of Treaty analytical tools and relationships across all functions".[409]

The 2004 strategy directed that the Ministry would undertake research into potential policy solutions for the issues of wāhine Māori, specifically focused on Māori women's contribution to the economy as part of an 'Output' objective for Māori Women's economic development. In May 2006, the Ministry commissioned a report from Massey University Health and Development researchers called *Māori Women in Aotearoa: A Report for the Ministry of Women's Affairs: Analysing Data from 'Best Outcomes for Māori – Te Hoe Nuku Roa'.*[410] This report was another longitudinal study, but much larger and longer than the Time Use Survey in 1997. At this point it had been running for 10 years as a random survey of 1,500 Māori in 600 households. The fourth wave of the study was started that year, and had recently been extended for a further five years in additional regions. The study focused on collecting data on employment, education, housing and cultural diversity.[411]

Sonya Rimene (Rangitaane, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāi Tahu and Te Arawa) started at the Ministry in March 2003. She was appointed to a newly created role discussed in the previous chapter, which was first titled Treaty Relationships Manager, then Kaihautū.[412] The Kaihautū role was created primarily to develop and implement a Treaty framework, as an analytical tool for policy work, as discussed earlier.

At first Rimene managed a very small team, including Te Riria Proctor; she brought Lisa Ramanui into the Ministry as a senior advisor, to help with policy advice with the design of the Treaty tool. Kim Ngarimu was contracted to work on the Action Plan. After the departure of Te Riria Proctor at the end of 2003, the Kaihautū no longer led a team, nor was there a team devoted specifically and solely to Māori policy analysis. Māori policy analysis was now to be done by everyone in the general team, whether Māori or Pākehā, facilitated by this new framework.

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[409] *Statement of Intent 2004–2007*, Ministry for Women, 2004, p. 25.

[410] Chris Cunningham, Brendan Stevenson, Eljon Fitzgerald and Rangihaanu Rolls, *Māori Women in Aotearoa: A Report for the Ministry of Women's Affairs: Analysing Data from 'Best Outcomes for Māori – Te Hoe Nuku Roa'*, Research Centre for Māori Health and Development, 2006.

[411] Chris Cunningham, Brendan Stevenson, Eljon Fitzgerald, Rangihaanu Rolls, *Māori Women in Aotearoa: A Report for the Ministry of Women's Affairs: Analysing Data from 'Best Outcomes for Māori – Te Hoe Nuku Roa'*, Research Centre for Māori Health and Development, 2006.

[412] *Statement of Intent: Te Pūrongo Matapaetanga 2003-2006*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, pp. 47–48; *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2003*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2003, pp. 9, 27, 34, 39, 53; *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2004*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2004 pp. 28, 42.
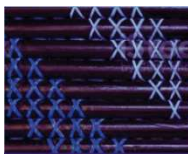
It was thought that the framework would be enough to develop fully rounded analysis on issues of importance to Māori. Individual wāhine Māori staff who remained in the policy team were expected to provide advice about multiple Māori concerns from a Māori perspective and thereby influence policy. The decision apparently had not taken into account the vast gulf between group and individual authority. Once the change had been made wāhine Māori staff simply did not have any influence or way to push their advice as Te Ohu Whakatupu had had, with the collective power of the team.[413]
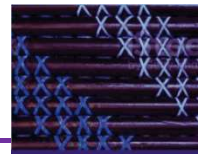

Image 24 – Sonya Rimene.

In the end, therefore, this left a vast gap, between the general policy unit, which dealt with all policy yet also was supposed to be prioritising general Māori policy analysis, and the one specific Māori role, which (primarily) dealt only with Treaty issues. The gap does not seem to have been either predicted in any of the policy work that preceded the restructure, or even perceived by external stakeholders and leadership once the restructure had taken place, other than by a small number of (mostly wāhine Māori) staff members.

Prue Hyman references a similar situation in regard to gender analysis, saying that "Mainstreaming has frequently been the reason given for dismantling WPAs [women's policy agencies], with all agencies responsible for gender analysis. However this often means in practice, not that everyone is responsible, but that nobody is."[414] This does appear to be exactly what ended up happening at the Ministry of Women's Affairs after the dissolution of the unit within the Ministry specifically responsible for promoting and supporting wāhine Māori. When 'everyone' was responsible for policy analysis of Māori issues, no one was directly responsible. While it was supposed to be automatically part of a procedure, by using the framework, the framework was never really implemented properly. This was inevitable once it had become the responsibility primarily of analysts who had no experience of the kaupapa they were supposed to be implementing into their policy work.

Nevertheless, the dissolution of Te Ohu Whakatupu did not bring all work with and for wāhine Māori to a complete halt. As Kaihautū, Rimene provided strategic advice on economic development, leadership and a 'violence free Aotearoa', to achieve better outcomes for Māori women, as well as developing the Treaty framework.

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413 Interview, Paula Snowden, 7 September 2020.
414 Prue Hyman, 'The Ministry of Women's Affairs after 25 years – Personal reflections on its existence, roles and effectiveness', *Women's Studies Association of New Zealand*, Vol. 24, No. 1, (2010), p. 33.

During 2004 to 2005 she was involved in the organisation of *Women in Enterprise*, a project to support the ongoing growth of women in enterprise, particularly Māori women in enterprise, in collaboration with the Ministry of Economic Development. It was guided by a Māori Economic Sustainability Reference Group, which helped to engage Māori women in research on barriers and opportunities for women in enterprise.[415] The research aimed to better understand why, when women were starting small businesses, the majority of these business ventures start and remain smaller, and generate lower incomes than businesses owned and operated by men. The review was undertaken to identify areas where these women could be further supported by government, to inform the Ministry's policy recommendations to government.[416]

Other elements of Rimene's role involved profiling Māori women leaders to be nominated on state sector boards, to assist the nominations team to add Māori women to the nominations database. She helped raise the profile of both the Nomination Service among Māori women and Māori women leaders in the community, by organising an event during Mana Wāhine Week to showcase young Māori women in business. The event upheld Māori women as *pou tokomanawa*, as central pou within their whānau, hapū and iwi communities.[417] Rimene worked on many such significant ana wāhine events that promoted and profiled wāhine Māori. Rimene also supported the MWWL at the national and international level, and worked on updating the *Karanga* project originally created in 1995, including transferring the original tapes onto CDs and creating transcripts for the audio.[418]

However, her role did not include policy analysis. Instead her principal task for her first couple of years was to develop the Treaty Framework for Gender Analysis (or Māori Women's Relationship Treaty of Waitangi Tool) that complemented the Ministry's gender analysis framework. This was a policy analysis tool to address Treaty issues relating to Māori women's lives, which Rimene designed in order to build internal capacity and capability in the entire Ministry policy team, by enabling the analysts to apply the Treaty to all their policy work. It also aimed to help "identify, establish, and maintain key relationships with iwi, Māori and Māori individuals to provide input into key policy areas".[419]

For most of her time at the Ministry Rimene was the only permanent staff member whose role was specifically concentrated on Māori issues, and who therefore directly served wāhine Māori. When Rimene had designed the Treaty framework, she influenced the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet to adopt and test the tool, and worked
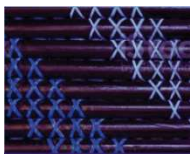
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[415] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2005*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2005, pp. 38, 40.
[416] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2005*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2005, p. 9.
[417] *Annual Report, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Ended 30 June 2006*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2006, p. 13.
[418] *Karanga ngā reo o ngā wāhine Māori - voices of Māori women* (He taonga nā Te Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine hei whakanui i te reo Māori), Radio Te Arawa, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1995.
[419] *Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2005, Part 4: Capability*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2005.

with Ministry analysts to apply it to their policy work, but no efforts were really made to implement the tool in analysts' processes. Despite the detailed policy objectives laid out in the *Action Plan*, any further policy work by the Ministry to deliver on those objectives appears to have drifted into nothing.

By late 2005 the Ministry's role in the *Action Plan* had become limited to monitoring the policy work of other agencies in a 'Monitoring Framework'.[420] In the 2006 and 2007 Annual Reports, the only reference to Māori policy work (outside the nominations area) was to monitoring Te Puni Kōkiri's work on strengthening Māori women's governance and management over collectively owned assets.[421] The Annual Reports in 2008 to 2009 do not even include any outline of a policy in relation to Māori issues, outside the reference to Rimene's role of Kaihautū, and her job description. They also include no references to the Treaty whatsoever, despite the Kaihautū role primarily being appointed (at least originally) in order to create and incorporate a Treaty relations framework into all policy work.
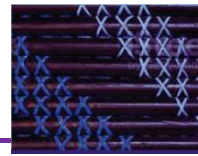

Image 25 – Left to right – Prime Minister Rt Hon Helen Clark, with Tania Simpson (winner of the Best Small Business Award) and Georgina Beyer MP at the Māori Women's Business Awards (2003).

Consequently while the Ministry commissioned various research studies or undertook some policy work on Māori issues at this time, such work was generally arbitrary, rather than part of an underlying strategy. Lisa Davis was contracted to do analysis that would inform the Ministry's policy work for wāhine Māori. Davis wrote an internal paper, 'Promoting Māori Women's Economic Independence Scoping Paper' (2008), to assess the feasibility of developing a project to promote increased economic independence among Māori women. It made recommendations on further research and policy areas to target,

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[420] *Briefing to the Incoming Minister 2005*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2005, p. 32.
[421] *Annual Report, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Ended 30 June 2006*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2006, p. 41; *Annual Report of the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the Year Ended 30 June 2007*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2007, p. 41.

but nothing was done about her recommendations.[422] In the end the policy work during this period did not have a significant impact on wāhine Māori.

Frequent turnover of Ministers between 2005 and 2008 meant the Ministry lacked stable and strong representation in government for several years. In October 2005 Lianne Dalziel was appointed ninth Minister of Women's Affairs. Her resignation from ministerial posts in 2007 meant that Stephanie Chadwick was appointed 10th Minister of Women's Affairs in November 2007. The National Party's victory in the 2008 general election meant that Pansy Wong was appointed the 11th Minister exactly a year later.

In 2007 diversity at the Ministry suddenly plummeted again. The number of Māori staff dropped dramatically at first to just 12.1 per cent, and even lower the following years, to 8.6 per cent in 2008 and 11.8 per cent in 2009. The decline in representation of other ethnicities was even more obvious and impactful, with Pasifika representation falling from just 3.0 per cent to nothing, before returning to 2.9 per cent in 2009, while Asian staff numbers dropped from 6.1 per cent to none at all by 2009.[423]

In 2009, the Ministry started a sustained programme of work in the nominations arena, to address the severe problem of under-representation, as evidence gathered by the Ministry had indicated that numbers of wāhine Māori on New Zealand boards were still extremely low.[424] Led by Rimene, the Ministry organised a series of Māori 'Women on Boards' workshops both in Wellington and throughout the country. The latter included meeting with Ngāi Tahu, Ngā Maata Waka and Māori women directors in Christchurch, and meeting with Te Wānanga o Raukawa in Ōtaki. The Ministry published the discussions from the 'He Wāhine Pūmanawa' Māori Women's Leadership Workshop on 4 June 2009 in a report. Participants discussed how to increase the number of Māori women on boards in both the public and private sectors, as well as practical advice for current and potential women directors on planning a career in governance and how to get onto a board.[425]

Rimene further developed a strategy with specific reference to Māori women on boards. It wrote to specific groups requesting nominations, such as Te Hunga Roia Māori o Aotearoa, to identify Māori women directors who could be appointed to important state sector boards, including state-owned enterprises (SOEs), Crown research institutes (CRIs) and Crown Entity governance boards. The Ministry published profiles of 25 Māori women directors in publications focused on women on boards.[426]
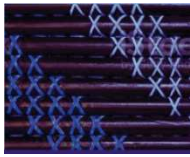
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[422] Davis, Lisa, 'Promoting Māori Women's Economic Independence Scoping Paper', unpublished, 2008.

[423] Human Resource Capability (HRC) Data Collection: Department Level Reports 2000–2019.

[424] *Ministry of Women's Affairs Annual Report for the Year Ended 30 June 2009*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2009, p. 7.

[425] *Māori Women on Boards (Report from the 'He Wāhine Pūmanawa' Māori Women's Leadership Workshop Organised by the Ministry of Women's Affairs 4 June 2009)*, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/maori-women-on-boards.pdf, accessed 24 September 2020.

[426] *Māori Women on Boards (Report from the 'He Wāhine Pūmanawa' Māori Women's Leadership Workshop Organised by the Ministry of Women's Affairs 4 June 2009)*, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/maori-women-on-boards.pdf, accessed 24 September 2020.

Sonya Rimene stayed in the Kaihautū role until May 2010, apart from a 15-month period between February 2008 and April 2009 when she acted in the role of Private Secretary to the Minister of Women's Affairs at Parliament. At this stage, rather than being replaced, the position of Kaihautū was disestablished. Any advocacy for Māori policy work was left to remaining policy staff members, or staff members who happened to be Māori, but with no special remit (or consequently compensation) for this work.

When the *Action Plan* came to an end the Ministry undertook a raft of community engagement again, to consult women throughout the country on the Ministry's priorities for a strategy or plan over the next few years. However although the consultation involved some hui with Māori women, there was no specific consultation on Māori issues, or apparent focus on creating a new strategy for Māori engagement and policy issues.[427]
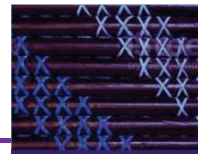
From this point on, for nearly 10 years, there does not seem to have been any replacement initiated for the Kaihautū role or section of the *Action Plan* on wāhine Māori – in fact there seems to have been almost no strategy in relation to Māori policy issues at all. There is not, at least, any reference to a strategy or plan for Māori policy issues in any of the *Annual Reports* from 2010 to 2017, the *Statements of Intent* and *Four Year Plan*'s from 2011 to 2017, or the *Briefings to Incoming Ministers* between 2008 and 2017. The only reference to policy work for Māori is as a 'priority' group within the policy objectives for all women, and to Māori as a group at greater risk of sexual violence or health issues.[428] Nor is there any reference to the Treaty. The official *Annual Reports* and *Statements of Intent* during this period display a lack of consideration as to how to engage with and include Māori viewpoints in the Ministry's policy work, or plans to increase cultural competency among staff and improve the Ministry's Māori representation.

While some research studies were commissioned which specifically related to wāhine Māori, they fell into very narrow categories, and there seems to have been a lack of a consistent strategy for this research, or plans as to how the research would be built upon in relevant policy work. Furthermore, there does not appear to have been any plan to investigate or deal with Māori concerns in any detail, or vision as to how the Ministry would approach Māori issues in the future. With no distinct Māori unit, or even anyone in a unique Māori role to push the agenda, Māori policy needs were conspicuously pushed to the side, even neglected.

The Ministry did, however, maintain a fairly strong focus on encouraging wāhine Māori into governance through its Nominations Service, by sending 'mail outs' to Māori women

[427] *Ministry of Women's Affairs Annual Report for the Year Ended 30 June 2009*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2009, p. 7.

[428] *Ministry of Women's Affairs Annual Report for the Year Ended 30 June 2010*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2010, p. 44; *2014–2018 Strategic Intentions: Ministry of Women's Affairs*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2014, p. 13; *Statement of Intent 2012–2015*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2012, p.6; *Briefing to the Incoming Minister 2011*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2011, p. 8; *Briefing to the Incoming Minister 2017*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2017, p. 15.

about the service, and promoting to Māori women organisations an self-assessment tool on the Ministry's website called *My Board Strengths*.[429]

In 2010, a research project on Māori women's participation in governance used a survey and face-to-face meetings to benchmark Māori women's participation in governance. The project was ear-marked for inclusion in the Human Rights Commission's *2010 New Zealand Census of Women's Participation*.[430]

Upon Shenagh Gleisner's resignation as Chief Executive in the middle of 2010, Rowena Phair was recruited back to the Ministry as the new Chief Executive.[431] Having worked directly under Gleisner for much of her tenure, Rowena Phair continued to pursue the same direction for the Ministry in regard to wāhine Māori issues.

Between 2010 and 2011, the Ministry underwent a significant restructure within the corporate services sector that reduced staff numbers. The diversity of staff at the Ministry subsequently dropped quite suddenly to a very low level for several years, with just a very small number of Māori staff – two staff members (between 6 per cent and 9.5 per cent from 2010 to 2011) – and no other ethnicities represented at the Ministry. That drop coincided with – perhaps as a result of – the removal of any specific Māori policy team or even a single role devoted to Māori issues. In 2012, the number of Māori staff at the Ministry reached a nadir of just one staff member, or 4 per cent of the Ministry, and similarly no Pasifika staff and just two Asian staff, or 8 per cent of the Ministry.[432]

The Ministry published its *Statement of Intent* for 2011–2014. It outlined the Ministry's priorities for its policy work: greater economic independence, more women in leadership roles, and increased safety from violence.[433] These three priorities would continue to be the three key focus areas for the Ministry for the next decade, with essentially all of its policy work and research dedicated and confined to these topics through three separate work programmes. The Ministry's work on each of these three topics has included some element of analysis on the impact on Māori. The Nominations Service obviously fulfilled the leadership role priority, which devoted considerable resources to nominating wāhine Māori, as discussed above.

For the other two areas however, Māori policy work for the most part consisted of commissioning a handful of research reports throughout the decade, with just two reports on sexual violence against wāhine Māori, widely spaced apart. After collaborating with Massey University's Centre for Social Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation on a report published in 2010, called *Sexual Coercion, Resilience and Young Māori: A Scoping*
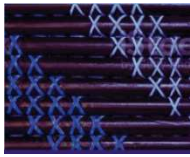
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[429] *Ministry of Women's Affairs Annual Report for the Year Ended 30 June 2011*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2011, p. 6.

[430] *Ministry of Women's Affairs Annual Report for the Year Ended 30 June 2011*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2011, p. 6.

[431] *Ministry of Women's Affairs Annual Report for the Year Ended 30 June 2010*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2010, p. 4.

[432] Human Resource Capability (HRC) data collection: Department Level Reports 2000–2019.

[433] *Statement of Intent 2011–2014*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2011, pp. 5–7.

Review, there was just one other research report published in 2015 (see below). Even the scoping review was in fact a review of research on the topic, rather than contributing new research. Nevertheless it provided an overview of sexual coercion and violence suffered by Māori rangatahi in New Zealand, particularly wāhine Māori, from a Māori perspective. It discussed sexuality, resilience and healthy relationships between rangatahi Māori, as well as looking into approaches to preventing sexual violence investigated in various research reports.[434] Importantly, the review highlighted the gaps in knowledge about sexuality and sexual coercion among rangatahi Māori, primarily the gap of the perspectives and experiences of rangatahi themselves.[435]

Supporting wāhine in business has been slightly more of a focus of any policy work for wāhine Māori over the last 10 years, but still hardly prolific. The Briefing for the Incoming Minister in 2011 (in anticipation of a new appointee in an election year), made just one very brief reference to a potential policy focus on wāhine Māori, and it was in the context of lifting women's economic independence: "Both the Ministerial Committee on Poverty and the Government's focus on ensuring job and skills training for the jobless offer opportunities to lift economic outcomes for women, particularly for sole-parents and young Māori and Pacific women."[436] All other references to Māori in the document were related to demographic statistics. In December, Jo Goodhew was appointed the new (13th) Minister.

In May 2012, Kim Ngarimu (Te Aitanga ā Mate, Ngāti Porou) acted as Chief Executive for six months when Rowena Phair left, until Jo Cribb was appointed in November. She was only the second wāhine Māori to act in the role of Chief Executive in the Ministry's history, after Anne Carter. Kim Ngarimu is on the current Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry Panel for the Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry.
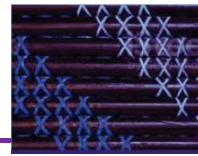
During Dr Jo Cribb's term as Chief Executive, the Ministry continued to pursue the priorities as set by the Minister and Government of the time. The Ministry worked to fulfill its three-year strategic push outlined in the 2011 *Statement of Intent* (see above). Jo Cribb implemented a whole new 'business model' during her tenure to deliver on those priorities. This meant that she initiated a new way of working, with greater emphasis on influencing 'clients' to make policy changes. In an interview she stated:

> The way we (the Ministry) think about ourselves now is more like a consulting firm
> where the product we deliver is influence – we influence others to act and change
> their behaviour. We are continually working out who to work with, how to influence

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[434] *Sexual Coercion, Resilience and Young Māori: A Scoping Review: Report Prepared for the Ministry of Women's Affairs*, Centre for Social Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation, 2010, pp. 35–40, 67–71, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/sexual-coercion-resilience-and-young-Māori-a-scoping-review-pdf.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[435] *Sexual Coercion, Resilience and Young Māori: A Scoping Review: Report Prepared for the Ministry of Women's Affairs*, Centre for Social Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation, 2010, pp. 81-90, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/sexual-coercion-resilience-and-young-Māori-a-scoping-review-pdf.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
[436] *Briefing to the Incoming Minister 2011*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2011, p. 8.

them and what they need to do to be successful … it's about being completely customer centric – working with the 'client' who needs support to achieve a goal.[437]

A few months after Dr Jo Cribb had started, the Ministry's *Statement of Intent* for 2013–2016 first described this new approach, and explained the reasoning behind the narrow focus of the Ministry's priorities. "The Ministry works to influence other government agencies, non-government agencies and the private sector to understand issues, develop solutions, and encourage others to take appropriate action. By focusing on a select few indicators of progress within each outcome area, the Ministry is able to work with other organisations in a targeted and purposeful way, to achieve the greatest impact."[438] The *Statement of Intent* also outlined how each of its three priorities contributed to a government goal: the Better Public Services results, the rebuild of Canterbury, the Business Growth agenda and achieving the 45 per cent target of women on state sector boards. Each priority work programme asked six questions: What are the Government goals? Why is this important? What does success look like? Have things been changing? What is our contribution? How will we know when we have succeeded?[439]

The specific goal for the following year was to focus the Ministry's policy work on helping to improve the utilisation of women's skills by employers, including increasing opportunities for women in leadership roles and focusing on low skill, low income women. "Critical to our work is ensuring it is relevant, grounded in women's real life experiences, and reflective of the realities faced by employers and decision makers."[440] However the only policy focus described in the strategy to specifically refer to wāhine Māori, was in the area of violence against women: "In providing policy advice we will concentrate on improving outcomes for certain groups of women. With our work to increase women's safety from violence we will work to increase safety for all women, and specifically to increase safety outcomes for Māori and Pacific women."[441]

The Ministry worked with the whānau and wāhine involved in the *Karanga: Ngā reo o ngā Wāhine Māori* interviews and portraits project, as part of the digitisation and publishing of these Taonga. The Ministry was also actively engaged in a range of reforms - lead by wāhine Māori – in the areas of Justice, Tertiary Education and Employment relations.
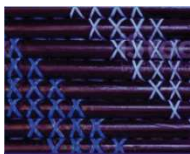
[437] R. Northcott, 'A woman of influence', *Public Sector*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (2016), p. 12, available at https://issuu.com/ipanz/docs/psj_39_4_final, accessed 26 September 2020.

[438] *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs 2013–2016*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013, p. 4, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/MWA-Statement%20of%20Intent%202013.pdf, accessed 26 September 2020.

[439] *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs 2013–2016*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013, pp. 2, 6–11, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/MWA-Statement%20of%20Intent%202013.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

[440] *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs 2013-2016*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013, p. 2, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/MWA-Statement%20of%20Intent%202013.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

[441] *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs 2013-2016*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013, p. 2, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/MWA-Statement%20of%20Intent%202013.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

The Ministry's 2014 four-year strategy document, *2014–2018 Strategic Intentions: Ministry of Women's Affairs,* still discussed essentially the same priorities for the Ministry's future work as the strategic plan employed over the previous three years. The Ministry's concentration on economics and employment issues in relation to Māori continued throughout this period. The rare reports published by the Ministry that provided any research on Māori were primarily focused on employment and training. Even in these rare reports, Māori comprised just one group among several included on general gender issues. The paper, *NEET by Choice? Investigating the Links Between Motherhood and NEET Status*, for instance, briefly discussed Māori and Pacific women as a group in the context of making up a higher proportion of those in the unemployment category of those NEET than other ethnic groups. It noted the cultural factors associated with policy solutions in this context.[442]

The *Annual Reports* of 2013 and 2014 set specific targets for an outcome in industry training of Māori women making up 29 per cent of trainees, but it was not part of a broader, consistent strategy for Māori.[443] It did, however, lead to the Ministry performing much more work in this area in 2015, through a relationship with the Māori and Pacific Trades Training programme. The Ministry worked with Te Matarau Education Trust and North Tec in Northland and with the Auckland City Council's *The Southern Initiative,* supporting employers and training providers to achieve better outcomes for Māori and Pasifika women.[444] In October 2014 Louise Upston was appointed 14th Minister of Women's Affairs.

The Ministry's report *E Tū Ake! Stand Tall and Proud* (2014) was also investigating the effectiveness of policy initiatives and programmes that would support women into employment, specifically in Tāmaki-Makaurau region. Using demographic data from four Auckland board areas, it analysed the effectiveness of a social investment programme by comparing incomes between the areas. The paper argued that further and more detailed research and analysis, focusing on wāhine Māori and Pasifika demographics, was needed to find solutions.[445] It is a working paper that aims to provide data on the employment and outcomes of vulnerable groups to agencies and non-government organisations. It breaks down demographic, economic and education data on groups of women with low or no qualifications; women who are not in education, training or employment; sole and teen mothers; and Māori and Pasifika women. It examines and compares programmes for

[442] Sean Molloy and Deborah Potter, *NEET by Choice? Investigating the Links Between Motherhood and NEET Status*, Ministry for Women, pp. 1–2, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/LEW%20paper%20on%20motherhood%20and%20NEET%20status-111214.pdf, accessed 25 September 2020.
[443] *Ministry of Women's Affairs Annual Report For the Year Ended 30 June 2013*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013, p. 8; For the Year Ended 30 June 2014 Ministry of Women's Affairs Annual Report, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2014, p. 16.
[444] *For the Year Ended 30 June 2015 Ministry for Women Annual Report*, Ministry for Women, 2015, pp. 6, 16; Ministry for Women Annual Report For the Year Ended 30 June 2017, Ministry for Women, 2017, p. 13.
[445] *E Tū Ake! Stand Tall and Proud: A Working Paper on Raising the Qualifications and Earnings of Low Income Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2014, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/sexual-coercion-resilience-and-young-Māori-a-scoping-review-pdf.pdf, accessed 25 September 2020.
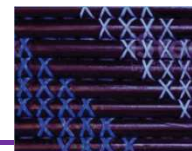
improving the economic independence of these groups, summarising the characteristics of those that are the most effective and promising.

The Ministry did publish one other research paper in the last 10 years on violence against wāhine Māori. *Wāhine Māori, Wāhine Ora, Wāhine Kaha: Preventing Violence Against Māori Women* (2015) contributed towards this research in order to assist government agencies to better respond to the needs of wāhine Māori when generating policy that impacts on them. The paper provides an overview of the factors that are important in preventing violence, particularly looking at the importance of whānau, education, employment, mātauranga Māori and gender roles and responsibilities. It also attempts to ensure that policy makers take tikanga and cultural safety for wāhine Māori into account when looking at policy measures.[446]
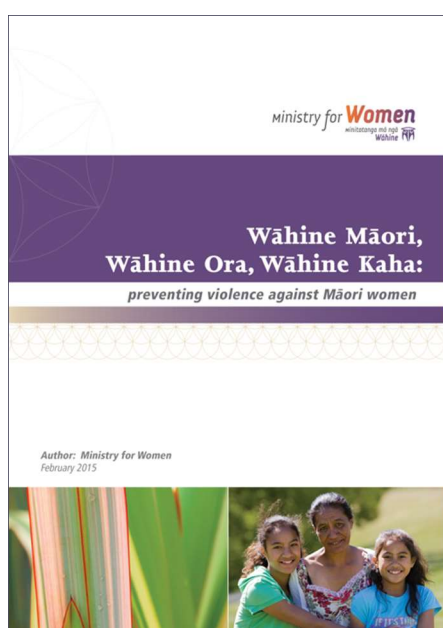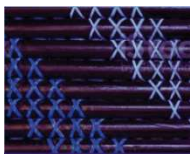
Image 26 – *Wāhine Māori, Wāhine Ora, Wāhine Kaha* (2015) report.

From 2013, the ethnic diversity of the Ministry suddenly improved, with the number of Māori staff jumping up to 14.3 per cent of the Ministry and Asian staff at 7.4 per cent, though there were still no Pasifika staff. The diversity of the staff gradually improved up until the present. The proportion of Māori staff stayed above 10 per cent, though it did not grow above the height of 2013 until 2019, when it jumped to 19.2 per cent. The proportion of other ethnicities at the Ministry has also improved substantially over the last few years, but this has primarily been a growth of Asian staff numbers, which eventually in 2019 reached 15.4 per cent. Pasifika representation on the other hand has stayed much lower, reaching a high of only 5.7 per cent in 2018.[447]

The Ministry's recent struggle with Māori representation nevertheless became quite clear during the course of 2016, when the Ministry's long relationship with the MWWL hit a

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[446] *Wāhine Māori, Wāhine Ora, Wāhine Kaha: Preventing Violence Against Māori Women*, Ministry for Women, 2015.
[447] Human Resource Capability (HRC) Data Collection: Department Level Reports 2000–2019.

stumbling block. The International Commission on the Status of Women Conference, and Eighth CEDAW Report (2016) became flash points for MWWL clashes with the Ministry over policy differences. As they expressed in their feedback to the CEDAW Report, the MWWL felt that the Ministry was failing in its duty to represent wāhine Māori voices, interests or even acknowledge their special status as indigenous women. It was particularly critical of the *Wāhine Māori, Wāhine Ora, Wāhine Kaha* report, and of the disbandment of Te Ohu Whakatupu, as the cause of the loss of any representation of the voices of wāhine Māori within the Ministry.[448] While the Ministry made some attempts at redress, inviting the MWWL to speak to the Ministry, these attempts did not go far enough for the MWWL. The Ministry's relationship with the MWWL continued to be strained.

In 2016 the Ministry assisted the organisation of a 'Māori Women in Leadership' workshop in Whangārei. Margaret Retter (September to October 2016, March to July 2017) Karen Jones (October to December 2016), and Fiona Ross (December to March 2017) acted as Chief Executives temporarily after Jo Cribb left the role.[449] In December, Paula Bennett was appointed the 15th Minister for Women. Renee Graham (Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa) was appointed the new Chief Executive of the Ministry early in 2017.[450] Graham moved to the Ministry from a policy director role at the Ministry of Education, with a background in leading strategic policy development at the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Social Development, as well as operational and management roles in Work and Income.
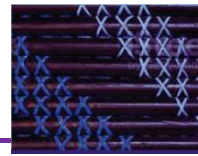
Graham re-focused the Ministry's attention to improve outcomes for wāhine Māori in its work programme, as well as policy work encouraging gender and ethnic diversity on boards, such as contributing to the Papa Pounamu Board for Diversity and Inclusion. She prioritised rebuilding the Ministry's relationship with the MWWL, through a sustained effort to re-engage with, and commit to, the work of the MWWL. The relationship took some time to rebuild, but it has gradually improved over the four years of Graham's leadership, with the Ministry continuing to attend the organisation's AGM again. Greater priority has been given to engagement with the wāhine Māori community, with the Ministry sponsoring the Huihuinga Wāhine-Māori Women's Leadership Summit in 2017. The Ministry also contributed to the Tumeke Enterprise Youth Summit and Youth Awards in 2019.

In October 2017 Julie Anne Genter was appointed 16th Minister for Women. In 2018, the Ministry published its latest *Statement of Intent for 2018-2022*. The statement set out its plan in regards to its Strategic Framework, its operating context (the contemporary social

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[448] Māori Women's Welfare League Inc., *Feedback on Draft 8th Periodic CEDAW Report by the Government of New Zealand on the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, 2015, pp. 2–5.
[449] Cath Robinson and Dallas Welch also acted as Chief Executive of the Ministry for brief periods during 2013 and 2014, while Ann Clark acted as Chief Executive for Judy Lawrence during 2000.
[450] Helen Potiki acted as Chief Executive for three months in 2018 while Renee Graham was away on secondment.

context in which the Ministry operates) and the Government priorities. It then outlined three new desired strategic outcomes and three strategies for its operating model. The new 'strategic outcomes' were still similar to those issues prioritised over the last decade: the contribution of all women and girls is valued; all women and girls are financially valued and can fully participate and thrive; and all women and girls are free from all forms of violence and harassment.

However the new strategy did start to take a stronger approach to wāhine Māori. As stated in Chapter One, these strategic outcomes aimed to address concerns of public service stakeholders, expressed in the most recent Stakeholder Engagement Survey, about the Ministry's lack of focus in its policy work to improve outcomes for all minority communities, but most particularly for wāhine Māori.[451] The first strategic outcome, to value the contribution of all women and girls, accepted the statements of these stakeholders about the need for the Ministry to 'rebuild and focus on' wāhine Māori, and even the implicit intimation that the Ministry had neglected its special obligation to work on behalf of wāhine Māori since the dissolution of Te Ohu Whakatupu.[452] The *Statement of Intent* stated that the Ministry now aimed to "embed the principles of the Crown–Māori partnership."[453] It flagged the Ministry's intention to build up a kaupapa Māori response.

Recent research on wāhine Māori has continued to predominantly evaluate or promote economic issues. *Māori and Pasifika Women in Trades: Stories of Wāhine Toa Developing Trade Careers* (2018) showcased the profiles of 10 wāhine Māori and Pasifika working in the trades, in order to inspire other wāhine to pursue these careers, and give advice to those investigating a similar career. They represented different hapū, iwi and ethnic groups spread throughout the country, and exemplified different career stages of various trade industries.[454]
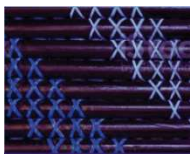
Ngā Wāhine Kaipakihi: He Tirohanga/Māori Women in Business: Insights (2019) likewise showcases the stories of six successful wāhine Māori in business. It collected key data about businesses owned by Māori women to investigate its lessons as to how and where these businesses are successful. It particularly focused on whether these successful

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[451] *Ministry For Women Stakeholder Feedback*, Ministry for Women, 2017, pp. 22–23; *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs 2018-2022*, Ministry for Women, 2018, pp. 13, 17 available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Statement%20of%20Intent%202018%20Ministry%20for%20Women.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

[452] *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs 2018-2022*, Ministry for Women, 2018, p. 13 available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Statement%20of%20Intent%202018%20Ministry%20for%20Women.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

[453] *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs 2018-2022*, Ministry for Women, 2018, p. 13 available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Statement%20of%20Intent%202018%20Ministry%20for%20Women.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.
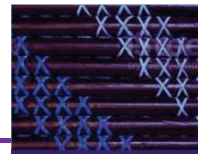
[454] *Māori and Pasifika Women in Trades: Stories of Wāhine Toa Developing Trade Careers*, Ministry for Women, 2018, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Māori%20and%20Pasifika%20women%20in%20trades.pdf, accessed 25 September 2020.

wāhine Māori employ other wāhine Māori, and their involvement in their communities, to see how to support wāhine Māori in furthering their success.[455]

The 15–year period after the dissolution of Te Ohu Whakatupu saw the Ministry gradually drift away from and eventually abandon virtually all policy work targeted directly at and for wāhine Māori, up until the last few years. This was despite the primary concerns of the Ministry having significantly narrowed in focus, until policy work was the principal and almost the only 'business' of the Ministry. While engagement with the community (at one time such an important and unique element of the Ministry) had already diminished, the Ministry became further detached from its links to the wāhine Māori community – particularly evident in the increasing lack of Māori representation on the staff. Furthermore any other work for wāhine Māori was essentially limited to one sphere – that of governance and leadership, concentrating on the area of nominations, in which the Ministry already had a concentrated team.

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[455] *Ngā Wāhine Kaipakihi: He Tirohanga/Māori Women in Business: Insights*, National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women and Ministry for Women – Te Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine, 2019, available at https://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Māori%20Women%20In%20Business.pdf, accessed 28 August 2020.

5 Mana Wāhine Joint Roopū, 2015 to the present

In 1993, the Mana Wāhine Claim was first filed with the Waitangi Tribunal by the MWWL on behalf of all Māori women, and given the reference Wai 381. The claims were lodged by a group of wāhine Māori with great mana, including Dame Mira Szászy, Areta Koopu (later Dame), Aroha Reriti-Crofts (later Dame), Rīpeka Evans, Mary-Jane Papaarangi Reid and Donna Awatere-Huata.[456] The original Claim was focused on the Crown's denial of the mana of wāhine Māori, and its failure to protect the rangatiratanga of wāhine Māori, both historically and in modern leadership and decision making roles. The Claim spoke to the severe impact of the Crown's actions, omissions, policies and practices on the wellbeing of wāhine Māori, as a consequence of the Crown's failure to recognize the rangatiratanga of wāhine Māori inherent in traditional tikanga Māori.[457]

Members of the MWWL filed their foundational claim in response to a failure to appoint any women to the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission, which was responsible for managing fisheries assets returned to Māori in the Fisheries Settlement. The move was sparked when Dame Mira Szászy was removed from the Crown's shortlist of appointments to the Fisheries Commission and replaced by a younger Māori male. The Claim raises concerns about the Crown's appointment and selection procedures to organisations that are representative of Māori, or involved in the management of Māori-owned assets for Māori beneficiaries.[458]

The Waitangi Tribunal first publicly proclaimed the start of a series of Kaupapa Inquiries in 2015.[459] Kaupapa Inquiries assemble Tribunal claims by themed topic, instead of by a district or region. They relate to broad issues of national significance, as opposed to individual or group claims. On 15 March 2018, 25 years after the claim was first filed, the first judicial conference was convened to discuss the potential of the Waitangi Tribunal convening a Kaupapa Inquiry into issues relating to mana wāhine.[460]
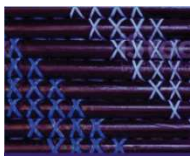
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[456] In 2019 Areta Koopu was appointed a Dame Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit, for services to Māori and the community. Aroha Reriti-Crofts was appointed a Dame Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit for services to Māori and the community in 2020.

[457] 24 January 2020, Wai 381/Wai 2700, #1.1(b) *Second Amended Statement of Claim*, pp. 3-6, 9-11, 15-16, 19-24, 26.

[458] July 2020, Wai 2700, #6.2.1, Walker, Kesaia, The Chief Historian's Pre-Casebook Discussion Paper for the Mana Wāhine Inquiry, p. 13.

[459] 1 April 2015, Wai 27, #2.5.1(a), Memorandum of the Chairperson Concerning the Kaupapa Inquiry Programme.

[460] 15 March 2018, Wai 2700 #2.5.3, Waitangi Tribunal Memorandum–Directions following 13 March Judicial Conference.

On 20 December 2018, the Waitangi Tribunal officially opened the Wai 2700 Mana Wāhine Inquiry. Judge Sarah Reeves was appointed the Presiding Officer of the Inquiry.[461] The Inquiry was established in order to hear all claims that allege Crown actions or omissions that have breached the Crown's duty to protect and support the social, economic, cultural and spiritual wellbeing of wāhine Māori, or that have failed to uphold the mana and rangatiratanga of wāhine Māori. These claims extend across many fields of Crown policy, practice, acts and omissions, both historical and contemporary, and of related legislation, service provision and state assistance.[462]

The Tribunal has framed the claims within the Inquiry through four *pou* for both historical and contemporary aspects of the claims: rangatiratanga – the iho of ngā wāhine Māori and how the position of wāhine Māori has been excluded from decision-making from the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi; whenua – the way that wāhine Māori have been treated in relation to whenua; whakapapa/whānau – the oranga and intergenerational wellbeing of Māori women and their whānau, including, hauora, manaakitanga/ whānau, and mātauranga; and Whairawa – the way wāhine Māori have been treated in relation to the economy and enterprise.[463]

In July 2019 Minister Mahuta and Minister Genter agreed to be co-lead Ministers on the Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry and agreed on the arrangements with their agencies including the establishment of a Joint Roopū of officials from Te Puni Kōkiri and Ministry for Women. The Joint Roopū was set up to be responsible for coordinating and facilitating the Crown's participation in the Inquiry and for working on a wider Crown approach to how to improve outcomes for wāhine Māori. Their role is to support the co-lead Ministers in the Crown's participation in the Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry.

In August 2019 Dr Robyn Anderson, Dr Ruakere Hond and Kim Ngarimu were appointed to join Judge Reeves as fellow members of the Tribunal panel, and by the end of the month around 166 statements of claim had been registered with the Tribunal.[464] During this period officials from Te Puni Kōkiri and Ministry for Women developed an organisational structure and governance arrangements for the Joint Roopū and started a recruitment for members to join the Ministry. By 4 November 2019, most of the Joint Roopū officials representing the Ministry had been appointed, and a pōwhiri was held to mark the initiation of the Joint Roopū on 18 November 2021.
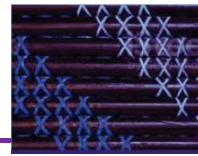
On 17 February 2020, Judge Reeves informed all the Inquiry parties that Tribunal staff had commenced work on an exploratory scoping report. The purpose of the report was to investigate the extent of existing evidence relevant to the Inquiry, and assess this in

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[461] 20 December 2018, Wai 2700, #2.5.8, Memorandum-Directions of the Chairperson initiating the Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry, p. 2.

[462] Waitangi Tribunal, *Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry*, https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/inquiries/kaupapa-inquiries/mana-wahine-kaupapa-inquiry/, accessed 1 October 2020.

[463] Wai 2700, #3.1.277(c), *Wai 2700 – The Scope of the Inquiry*, pp. 2-4.

[464] 28 August 2020, Wai 2700, #3.1.273(b) Terms of Reference Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry Joint Research Committee, p. 1.

relation to the scope of the evidence necessary to allow the Tribunal to investigate all the claims consolidated within the Mana Wāhine Inquiry.[465] The assignment required identifying major gaps in the evidence, proposing how these gaps could be addressed with additional research reports for the inquiry's research casebook and providing a brief bibliography of the main evidential sources.[466]

In May 2020 the Crown announced that $400,000 allocated for the Inquiry's research funding had been made available for claimant research for the following financial year.[467] A Judicial Conference was convened on 27 May 2020, where it was proposed that a joint claimant research committee be formed.[468] After terms of reference were discussed, it was decided that the committee would ensure that submissions made to the Tribunal concerning the research casebook are coordinated and coherent; that the research produced by the relevant parties is of high quality; and that the casebook that results is sufficiently comprehensive to cover all the primary issues confronting Māori women today, including the concerns of the claimants.[469]

On 31 July 2020, the Tribunal released the exploratory research scoping report.[470] Another Judicial Conference met on 5 October 2020 to discuss the tūāpapa hearings and the exploratory scoping report and the joint research committee.[471] By September 2020, the Tribunal listed 170 registered claims seeking to participate in the Inquiry.[472] On 23 November 2020, an historian member was added to the Tribunal Panel – Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith.

The first tūāpapa hearing was held at Kerikeri in early February 2021, leading up to Waitangi Day.[473] The preliminary tūāpapa hearings are held to give context to the rest of the hearings, and to provide claimants with the opportunity to introduce their cases and present their kōrero in an oral form, rather than being limited to written legal submissions. Ngā Puhi played a large role in the first hearing, and several oral submissions discussed mana wāhine issues based on the signing of the Treaty.

[465] 28 August 2020, Wai 2700, #3.1.273(b) Terms of Reference Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry Joint Research Committee, p. 1.
[466] 28 August 2020, Wai 2700, #3.1.273(b) Terms of Reference Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry Joint Research Committee, p. 1.
[467] 26 May 2020, Wai 2700, #3.1.213, Crown Memorandum in Advance of the Judicial Conference on 27 May 2020.
[468] Waitangi Tribunal, *Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry*, https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/inquiries/kaupapa-inquiries/mana-wahine-kaupapa-inquiry/, accessed 1 October 2020.
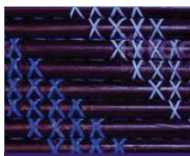[469] 28 August 2020, Wai 2700, #3.1.273(b) Terms of Reference Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry Joint Research Committee, p. 2
[470] 31 July 2020, Wai 2700, #2.5.25, Memorandum-Directions of Presiding Officer Releasing the Exploratory Scoping Report.
[471] Waitangi Tribunal, *Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry*, https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/inquiries/kaupapa-inquiries/mana-wahine-kaupapa-inquiry/, accessed 1 October 2020.
[472] 1 September 2020, Wai 2700, #2.5.13(a), Appendix A: List of claims seeking to participate in the Wai 2700 Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry.
[473] 19 June 2020, Wai 2700, #3.1.227, Joint Memorandum of Claimant Counsel; 20 December 2018, Wai 2700, #2.5.28, Memorandum–Directions of the Chairperson Initiating the Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry.
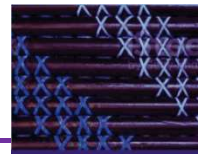
A second hearing was held at Tūrangawaewae Marae in Ngāruawāhia, from 24 to 26 February 2021. The hearing aimed to hear evidence from witnesses on their wāhine atua, as well as the leadership and status of their whāea tūpuna and their place in Te Ao Māori in pre-1840 times. With the location of the hearing at Tūrangawaewae Marae, witnesses and hau kāinga (people of the marae) spoke particularly of the strong female leaders from that rohe, such as Princess Te Puea Hērangi and Dame Te Atairangikaahu. Over the remainder of 2021 and in early 2022 four further tūāpapa hearings are expected to be held as part of this initial stage of the Inquiry.

The Joint Roopū seeks to participate in this Inquiry in a manner which is collaborative and solutions focused. The underlying kaupapa that informs the Crown's overall approach to this Inquiry is honouring the mana of wāhine Māori.

The Joint Roopū facilitates two interdepartmental groups for a Crown-wide approach: the Interdepartmental Working Group made up of officials from the relevant agencies, and the Interdepartmental Steering Group made up of senior officials that have the authority to make high level commitments on behalf of their agencies. The Ministers also co-lead a multi-Minister group that focuses on strategic policy conversations and collaboration on early progress to address issues raised in the claims. This group links back to their own agencies to respond to the Inquiry and link with other Inquiries as part of their portfolio responsibilities. The interconnection across these groups is to ensure that the Crown approaches the claims in this Inquiry in a comprehensive and non-adversarial way and involves all relevant agencies across Government.

Crown engagement with claimants is a priority for this Inquiry. An example of the collaborative approach is a proposed Shared Research Agenda as a research partnership between Crown and claimants. A Shared Research Agenda is one way to meet the unmet research requirements of the claimants, and support and enable the articulation of the voices of wāhine Māori. It could also help to guide research on potential improvements to government policies and services for wāhine Māori, their whānau, hapū and iwi. The Crown envisages sharing a substantial measure of responsibility and control with the claimants, in preparing the Shared Research Agenda, in a manner that supports the vision of claimants and at the same time ensures the necessary research expertise.

The Crown has proposed that it work with the Joint Research Committee to design the Shared Research Agenda in partnership and to ensure that what is developed is fit for purpose. The Crown has also proposed that the Shared Research Agenda include gaps identified in the casebook and any additional research required. The Joint Roopū, alongside the Interdepartmental Working Group, is at the early stages of a process of securing the participation of, and obtaining input from, departments across the Crown for this purpose.

The Joint Roopū is led by a new vision and principles. The intention is to be not only a group established to work on the Crown's response to the Mana Wāhine Inquiry, but also to re-establish an independent work stream within Manatū Wāhine to implement policy to lift outcomes for wāhine Māori. Its future direction will lie more broadly in delivering on the Crown's responsibility to wāhine Māori under the Treaty, by engaging with wāhine Māori claimants, and investigating their recommendations for improvements to policy regarding wāhine Māori, to ensure that policy is influenced and effective. It will plan with other government agencies to ensure that wāhine Māori voices are contributing to future policy and planning programmes.
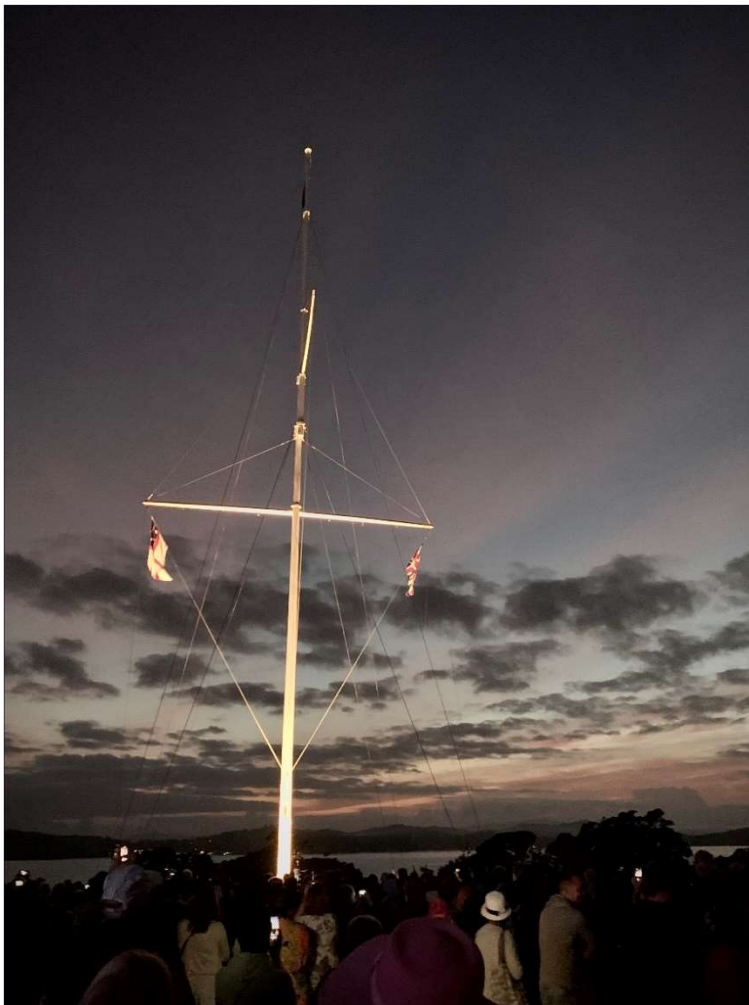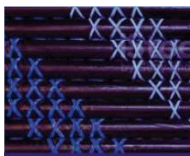

Image 27 – Flagpole at the Waitangi Treaty House grounds, taken at the Dawn Ceremony, Waitangi Day 2021, which coincided with the Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry tūāpapa hearing, Kerikeri.
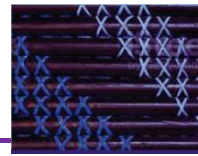(Credit: Joshua Pierson)

Conclusion

The Ministry has undergone significant changes over its relatively short 35-year history. This has primarily been because of the nature of the public service, and its reflection of contemporary political trends as well as the preferences of individual Ministers (and, to a lesser extent, Chief Executives). The policy priorities of a Ministry are significantly dictated by the concerns and political ideologies of its current Minister and government of the day. This has been clearly displayed by the history of the Ministry for Women, with its waves of policy priorities, as ideological shifts, public service trends and Chief Executives have swept in and out. The waves have, however, for the most part advanced in one all-encompassing direction: from an extremely broad, community-based vision of policy progress, representation, and engagement with women – particularly wāhine Māori – to an almost policy-only (though wide-ranging policy) work-programme, to far narrower, specific policy work streams.

Nowhere is this more obvious than in the creation and eventual dissolution of Te Ohu Whakatupu. Te Ohu Whakatupu started its life as a dynamic group of innovative staff creating a new, all-encompassing model for tikanga-based Māori public service units, which focused on the needs of wāhine Māori in its policy work. More importantly, its work also prioritised the needs that wāhine Māori themselves regarded and informed the unit were those most important for them in terms of their real experiences. As well as understanding those needs from their own experiences as wāhine Māori, Te Ohu Whakatupu staff undertook extensive, tangible engagement with wāhine Māori in communities throughout the country. However, over the period of its existence, the unit at various times had more and more of its functions stripped away, eventually transforming into a 'policy-shop' only, which lacked the funding even to hold intermittent, larger-scale consultative events, such as the Rūnanga Kuia.

In the end, the reason Te Ohu Whakatupu was dissolved was not the result of a specific, directly aimed decision by the leadership of the Ministry for Women or Ministers. Rather, it reflected a larger-scale policy shift that saw a gradual restructuring of Te Ohu Whakatupu out of existence, a shift in policy theory that led to a reorganisation of policy agencies and their relationships with Māori across government. This policy shift caused a gradual transformation of the kaupapa of Te Ohu Whakatupu – its guiding principles and reason for being – meaning that the unit was slowly subsumed into the broader Ministry for reasons that, at the time, were felt to be in the interests of Māori as a whole.

This gradual shift in policy theory consisted of a push to embed the Treaty Framework into all of the Ministry's policy work. The idea was that this Treaty based kaupapa would be assisted most effectively by inputting kaupapa principles into all policy work performed by the Ministry, and the implementation of Treaty principles into all policy work and legislation undertaken by the state. It aimed to cement a Treaty-based, bicultural perspective into whole-of-government policy analysis, to impact the entire state and general population – not just limited to independent Māori bodies, or analysis focused and impacting solely on Māori. Theoretically, this would mean that all policy would be
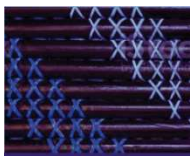
designed to respect and improve the lives of Māori, rather than the kaupapa being restricted to a separate workstream via special programmes with a limited impact. Designing the changes around Treaty principles directly, rather than simply around a welfare framework, was an alternative attempt to tackle the issues more effectively. This principle behind the changes held the interests of the kaupapa at its base and appeared a plausible way of achieving its aims.

The purpose of a policy strategy however is its effectiveness – the true test of its success. The period since the dissolution of Te Ohu Whakatupu has shown the problems with the 'whole-of-government' theory. After Te Ohu Whakatupu was dissolved, wāhine Māori no longer had a specific, representative group looking after their interests within the Ministry. Māori staff no longer had a 'place' in the Ministry in which to progress their policy recommendations and ensure they were incorporated into advice (as well as a place for career development on an individual level). This meant that wāhine Māori were therefore no longer a key focus, and the Ministry has neglected the special needs and interests of the community for the majority of the past 15 years since Te Ohu Whakatupu was dissolved, to the great disappointment of many former Ministry staff members, particularly Te Ohu Whakatupu staff and others in the community who had placed great hopes in the potential of Te Ohu Whakatupu to deliver progress for wāhine Māori.

Moreover other key elements of the original kaupapa of Te Ohu Whakatupu appear to have been neglected with these changes: the vision of a wholly independent, influential representation of wāhine Māori in the public service that could, and would, take the voice of wāhine Māori into New Zealand governance. Further, a tikanga-based body with comprehensive, inclusive community engagement that would enable wāhine Māori to express their needs and whakaaro, ensure their implementation into real policy, and thereby impact and improve the lives of wāhine Māori.

The Ministry now sees the Mana Wāhine Joint Roopū as a longer-term opportunity to re-establish a work–programme that puts efforts to work on behalf of wāhine Māori at its core once again, as well as its relationship with wāhine Māori. Establishing the Joint Roopū upon an enduring basis is necessary if the Ministry is to solidly and successfully embed this kaupapa into its permanent processes and workings. The Ministry's recent name change to 'Manatū Wāhine: Ministry for Women' is just a start. The Ministry will have to learn the lessons from its past.

Timeline

1974

➢ Committee of Women re-structured from the National Development Council subcommittee.

1981

➢ Committee on Women's Affairs became the 'Advisory Committee' (ACWA), in order to advise the Government on women's issues and administer the Project Fund.

➢ The United Nations instituted the Convention to Eliminate Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) as an international treaty (which New Zealand signed), and established a committee to implement its measures.
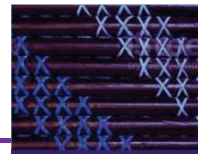
1983

➢ Labour Party promises to establish a Ministry especially devoted to Women's Affairs in its election campaign.

1984

➢ [July] Ann Hercus appointed Minister of Women's Affairs.

➢ Advisory Group of 13 women set up to help establish the Ministry, including Mira Szászy and Judith Aitken.

➢ Twenty-one Women's Forums held during the year throughout the country to ascertain women's expectations of the new Ministry.

➢ [August] 'Submission to the Minister of Women's Affairs from a Working Group of Māori Women of Tāmaki Makaurau' was submitted to the Wellington conference.

➢ [November] Cabinet releases Cabinet Paper CM 84/45/8, directing the creation of the Ministry of Women's Affairs.

➢ [November] Māori Women's Working Party submit proposal regarding appointments process to Advisory Group on Ministry.

1985

➢ - [January] New Zealand ratifies CEDAW, requiring periodic reports to be submitted to the CEDAW monitoring committee.

➢ - [March] Official creation of the Ministry of Women's Affairs.

➢ - [July] Appointment of Mary O'Regan as first Secretary of the Ministry of Women's Affairs.

➢ (Third) UN World Conference on Women held in Nairobi, attended by a New Zealand delegation.

- A working party on provision of childcare for public servants established, including representatives from the Ministry.
- Appointment of Māori Advisory Group to hire wāhine Māori staff for Te Ohu Whakatupu.
- Management of the Women's Appointment File taken over from the ACWA.

1986
- May] Appointment of all staff for Ministry completed. David Lange officially opens the Ministry's new office.
- First (legislated) Ministry review by the SSC.

1987
- [March] Te Ohu Whakatupu organised its first Rūnanga Kuia at Takapūāhia Marae, Porirua.
- Ministry develops checklist for government departments to ensure they include women in decision-making, in collaboration with housing, health, justice and tourist and publicity departments.
- Ministry works on women's resource network pilot scheme.
- Ministry involved with transfer of childcare from the Department of Social Welfare to the Department of Education.
- [August] Margaret Shields appointed second Minister of Women's Affairs.
- [December] Ministry undertakes publication of WAg magazine from the ACWA.
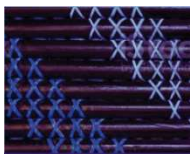
1988
- Ministry contributes a submission to the Cervical Cancer Inquiry.
- Ministry focuses its Resource Network on Northland and West Coast as priorities for economic development.
- [June] Mary O'Regan retires from the position as Secretary of Women's Affairs.
- Appointment of Judith Aitken as new Chief Executive of the Ministry.
- The Ministry moves accommodation from Commerce House to Braemar House.

1989
- [December] Te Ohu Whakatupu holds a wānanga for 'Māori Women in Business' at Tatai Hono Marae in Auckland, in collaboration with the MWWL.

1990
- Second (legislated) SSC review of the Ministry.

> [November] Jenny Shipley appointed third Minister of Women's Affairs, and Katherine O'Regan as Associate Minister.

1991

> [March] 1991 Te Ohu Whakatupu organises a second Rūnanga Kuia at Takapūāhia Marae in Porirua.

> Miriama Evans retires as Manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu.

1992

> [January] Elizabeth Rowe appointed the new Chief Executive of the Ministry after Judith Aitken resigns.

> [May] Brenda Tahi appointed Manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu after acting in the role since January.

> Te Ohu Whakatupu publishes *Karanga!* from May 1992 until February 1993.

> The Centennial Suffrage Project becomes a specific unit within the Ministry to facilitate organisation of the many Centennial celebrations and events.
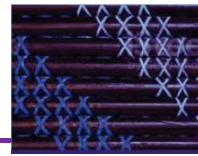
1993

> The Ministry organises and implements Suffrage Centennial celebrations through the Centennial Suffrage Project.

> Ministry involved with providing advice on Censorship (Pornography) Bill, which became the Films, Videos, and Publications Classification Act 1993.

> Te Ohu Whakatupu holds a third series of Rūnanga Kuia in 1993.

1994

> Judy Lawrence appointed as Acting Chief Executive of the Ministry, taking over from Elizabeth Rowe.

> Margaret Te Hiko takes over temporarily as Manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu

1995

> [March] Ria Earp is appointed new manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu.

> [April] Judy Lawrence appointed (permanent) Chief Executive.

> Te Ohu Whakatupu organises another Rūnanga Kuia at Takapūāhia Marae.

> Te Ohu Whakatupu produces a project to celebrate Māori Language Year: 'Karanga Ngā Reo o Ngā Wāhine Māori: Voices of Māori Women (He taonga nā Te Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine hei whakanui i te reo Māori)'.

> World Conference on Women held in Beijing, attended by Ministry representatives including the manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu.

- Nominations Service (unit within the Ministry) call for Māori women to put their names on the Nominations Service database.

1996

- Rūnanga Kuia review supports their success and effectiveness.
- [September] Ria Earp resigns.
- [October] Paula Snowden appointed Manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu.
- [December] Christine Fletcher appointed fourth Minister of Women's Affairs.

1997

- Te Ohu Whakatupu initiates Māori women in decision-making project.
- Ministry commissions KPMG to identify Māori women with business and technical expertise for inclusion on the nominations database.
- [September] 1997 Jenny Shipley re-appointed Minister of Women's Affairs.

1998

- [August] Georgina Te Heuheu appointed sixth Minister of Women's Affairs.
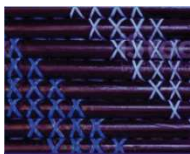- Te Ohu Whakatupu organised the last Rūnanga Kuia.

1999

- [May] Cath Nesus is appointed Manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu.
- Ministry publishes statistical profile called Māori Women in Focus: Titiro Hangai, Ka Marama.
- Ministry releases its new strategy plan, Māori Women Increase Influence.
- [December] Laila Harré appointed seventh Minister of Women's Affairs.

2000

- Ministry launches a regional approach to profile Māori women for appointment to statutory boards.
- Ministry publishes its new *Statement of Intent* for 2000/2001.

2001

- Ministry publishes report on Inequalities Between Māori and Non Māori.
- Denise Messiter is appointed Te Ohu Whakatupu Manager (Policy Manager Māori) for a year, after Cath Nesus leaves. Kath Boswell remains the other Te Ohu Whakatupu Policy Manager.

2002

➢ Cabinet Office Circular CO (02) 16 issued outlining the Government's expectations in regard to diversity in appointments to state sector boards.

➢ Ministry publishes four-year *Statement of Intent* for 2002–2005.

➢ [August] Ruth Dyson appointed eighth Minister of Women's Affairs.

2003

➢ [March] Sonya Rimene appointed to new Kaihautū/Treaty Relationship Manager role in restructure of Ministry that sees an end to Te Ohu Whakatupu.

➢ [April] Anne Carter appointed as Acting Chief Executive after Judy Lawrence resigns.

➢ [March–June] SSC Capability Review of the Ministry.

➢ Te Riria Whatarau-Proctor retires from the Ministry after serving for 17 years.

2004

➢ [February] Shenagh Gleisner takes over from Anne Carter as Chief Executive.

➢ [March] Ministry publishes *Action Plan for New Zealand Women*.

➢ Ministry publishes *Statement of Intent* for 2004–2007.

2005

➢ [October] Lianne Dalziel appointed ninth Minister of Women's Affairs.

2007

➢ [November] Stephanie Chadwick appointed 10th Minister of Women's Affairs.
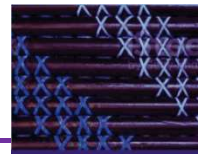
2008

➢ [November] Pansy Wong appointed 11th Minister of Women's Affairs.

2009

➢ Ministry organises series of regional Māori 'Women on Boards' workshops.

➢ Ministry nominations strategy developed with specific reference to Māori women on boards.

➢ Ministry publishes several publications focused primarily on violence, including *Restoring Soul: Key Findings from Strong and Safe Communities*.

2010

➢ [May] Kaihautū Sonya Rimene officially leaves and the position is not renewed.

- [June] Rowena Phair takes over from Shenagh Gleisner as Chief Executive.
- Ministry involved in research project on Māori women's participation in governance.
- Ministry publishes *Statement of Intent* for 2011–2014.
- [November] Georgina Te Heuheu reappointed acting Minister of Women's Affairs for a month.
- [December] Hekia Parata appointed 12th Minister of Women's Affairs.

2011

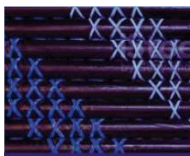- [December] Jo Goodhew appointed 13th Minister of Women's Affairs.

Image 28 – Ministry staff (far left and far right) at Commission on the Status of Women (2011). Pauline Winter (middle) was part of the delegation in her role as the chair of NACEW.

2012

- [May] Kim Ngarimu appointed Acting Chief Executive for six months when Rowena Phair leaves.
- [November] Dr Jo Cribb starts role as Chief Executive of the Ministry.

2013

- Ministry publishes *Statement of Intent* for 2013–2016.
- Ministry publishes *Current Thinking on Primary Prevention of Violence Against Women*.

2014

➤ Ministry publishes new four-year *Strategic Intention* and *Statement of Intent* for 2014–2018.

➤ Ministry publishes strategy for wāhine Māori and Pasifika: *Accelerating Effectiveness for Māori and Pacifica 2014 to 2016*.

➤ [October] Louise Upston appointed 14th Minister for Women, after which the Ministry's name is changed to Ministry for Women.

2015

➤ [March] celebratory event for the 30th anniversary of the Ministry for Women.

➤ Ministry publishes *Wāhine Māori, Wāhine Ora, Wāhine Kaha: Preventing Violence Against Māori Women*.

2016

➤ Ministry holds 'Māori Women in Leadership' workshop in Whangārei.

➤ Karen Jones (November), Fiona Ross (December) and Margaret Retter (March) act as Ministry Chief Executive temporarily after Jo Cribb leaves role.

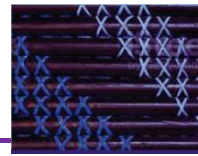➤ [December] Paula Bennett appointed 15th Minister for Women.

2017

➤ [June] Renee Graham appointed as new Chief Executive of the Ministry.

➤ Ministry sponsors the Huihuinga Wāhine–Māori Women's Leadership Summit 2017.

➤ [October] Julie Anne Genter appointed 16th Minister for Women.

2018

➤ Publication of *Statement of Intent* for 2018–2022.

➤ The Waitangi Tribunal initiates the Mana Wāhine Inquiry as one of its Kaupapa Inquiries.

➤ [August] Eugenie Sage appointed Acting Minister for Women until November.

➤ [September] Ministry organises events and resources to celebrate the 125th anniversary of women's suffrage.

2019

➤ [November] Ministry officially establishes the Mana Wāhine Joint Roopū with Te Puni Kōkiri to assist the Crown's response to the Inquiry.

2020

➢ [May] Ministry publishes Annual Board stocktake, showing nearly 50 per cent representation of women on boards.

➢ [June] Period Poverty Products in Schools programme approved.

➢ [July] Duration of Paid Parental Leave payments are extended from 22 weeks to 26 weeks.

➢ [July] Ministry distributes grants from COVID Response Fund.

➢ [July] Equal Pay Amendment Bill 2020 passes its third reading in Parliament.

➢ [July] Ministry launches a 'What's my Gender Pay Gap?' tool online.

➢ [November] Jan Tinetti appointed 17th Minister for Women.
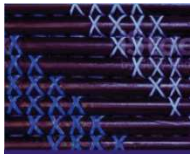
Glossary of Te Reo Māori kupu

Hui – meeting; gathering; seminar; conference

Karanga – call; shout; summon; formal call onto marae

Kaupapa – subject; theme; issue; idea

Kuia – grandmother; elder

Kupu – word/s

Mana – authority; status; prestige; influence; power; spiritual force

Marae – meeting house; generous; hospitable

Pānui – read; announce; notify; proclaim

Pounamu – greenstone

Pūtea – fund; finance; sum of money

Roopū – working group

Rūnanga – council; assembly discussion; conference; meeting

Taonga – treasure; prize; object; possession

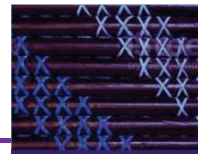Te Ohu Whakatupu – 'A working group to assist with the process of growth'

Tikanga – correct; etiquette; protocol; rule; method; purpose; technique; lore; manner; customary cultural practice

Tirohanga – view; sight; aspect

Wāhine/wahine – women/woman

Whānau – extended family

Whānui – broad; wide; extensive

Literature Review: Ministry publications

[MW] = Available on the Manatū Wāhine Ministry for Women website. [NL] = Available at National Library.

Formation of the Ministry: The 1980s

Community outreach

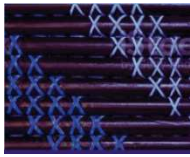- *The 1984 Women's Forums*, Office of the Minister of Women's Affairs, Wellington, (March) 1985. [NL]

One of many reports, one from each of 21 forums held round the country, all held in order to establish what New Zealand women wanted from the new Ministry of Women's Affairs. Outlines recommendations made by the Wellington forum (held on 17 November 1984) to the (future) Ministry on all subjects, issues and specific policies the women attending wanted the Ministry to prioritise and target in its work. The forum held special workshops on older women, women in paid employment and unions, the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW), women at home, voluntary workers, education and other unnamed topics. It recommended various actions on behalf of different groups of women. For students the forum recommended extra funding to ensure equality of access for all groups; for self-employed women and employers it recommended more support for women to start businesses, and access to financing; for disabled women it recommended equal educational opportunities and access; and for beneficiaries it recommended extra funding, support for child care and housing. Lesbians asked for protection and support to improve their lives; Māori women wanted the Ministry to focus on economic management, including Kōhanga Reo, housing, education, maternity health and health research. Pasifika women wanted extra funding for women, to be dealt with as a distinct group, not just with Māori women, and recommended the Ministry be led by a collective group of women, not just one director.

- *The 1984 Women's Forums: Policy priorities*, Office of the Minister of Women's Affairs, Wellington, (March) 1985. [NL]

An amalgamation of conclusions from the reports from the 21 forums held in order to give New Zealand women the opportunity to contribute to the priorities of the new Ministry "within the framework of the Labour Government's Women's Policy". The policy had been settled after considerable public consultation, but the Ministry wanted to know the policies women would prefer the Ministry to prioritise, and the relative importance women attached to the various policies, as well as discuss various means of communication between the Ministry and the public. One of the central themes of the response was the desire for choice in relation to work and lifestyle, as well as education in parenting, and concern about pornography. The report analyses the responses from the multiple forums, and scores them according to priority. It then outlines the final Policy determined from the analysis in detail, along with a summary of relevant comment from the forums, and summarises some issues that did not feature in the final Policy.

- *The 1984 Women's Forums: What women want of the ministry*, Office of the Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, (May) 1985. [NL]

The second report that was published after the policy priorities report summarises comment from the 21 forums on the Ministry itself – its structure, activities, and how it would work. Some special workshops during the forums particularly concentrated on how the Ministry should communicate with women, and be accessible. Women at the forums were concerned that the Ministry should be

representative of and relevant to all women, and have the power to effect change. The report includes a section on the request to establish Te Ohu Whakatupu. A group of wāhine Māori from Northland and Tāmaki Makaurau did not feel the Minister was a spokeswoman for Māori women, and presented a submission at the forums asking for a special Māori secretariat within the Ministry to consult with Māori women's groups, and represent and work for the interests of wāhine Māori.

- *The Mid-term progress report on the implementation of Labour's programme of equality for women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, (January) 1986.

A report on progress made by the Labour Government on its women's policy, as set out in its manifesto. First section of booklet sets out the progress made in the establishment of the Ministry so far – just few weeks after the Ministry had come into being. It outlines the extensive policy work that was already being done on child care, training and employment, affirmative action, parental leave, education, health, and work for doubly disadvantaged groups – including the creation of Te Ohu Whakatupu. It also looks briefly at its liaisons with women's organisations and Project Fund grants, as well as CEDAW. The report then sets out the progress made by the Labour Government on implementation of its policies throughout the public service. It outlines each action taken by every public service department in three areas: Economic Equality, divided into childcare, training and employment, and general; Social and Cultural Equality, divided into home and community, education, health and 'doubly disadvantaged women'; and Legal and Political Equality.

- *Rūnanga Kuia: Takapūāhia Marae, Porirua, March 1987*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1988. [NL]
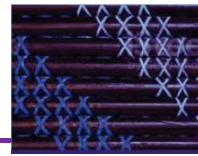
The primary aim of the booklet is to outline the main outcomes from the Ministry-led rūnanga held at *Takapūāhia Marae.* It first introduces Te Ohu Whakatupu's aims and rationale for the rūnanga: primarily to provide a forum to develop support networks for kuia, connecting kuia both between iwi groups and to the Ministry, and thereby the Ministry to the wider community. Further aims were to gather the input of kuia, to hear their concerns and needs, and draft their support. The booklet summarises the hui kōrero by listing their agreed recommendations to Te Ohu Whakatupu and the Ministry on actions and policy reforms for them to undertake, as well as a summary of discussions on housing, parental roles and taha wairua and women in control. It also contains a list of the hui participants and letter from the Minister of Women's Affairs.

- Wehipeihana, Maree, *Pūtea Pounamu: July Report,* Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1989.

A public report on an event organised and held by Te Ohu Whakatupu. Māori women elders attended a national hui of kuia at the invitation of the unit. The purpose of the hui was to allow the kuia to review the work programme of Te Ohu Whakatupu and to identify and discuss social, economic, cultural and political issues that affect women and their iwi.

- *The Women's Voice*, VHS, Duration: 22 minutes (colour), Produced by Perspective Video for Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1988. [A - Copy at Archives but not publicly accessible]

A short documentary film on the establishment, purpose and work of the Ministry. It talks about the importance of grass-roots communication with the community for the Ministry (at this point), through networking with women's groups, and written material such as newsletters. It also discusses the creation of Te Ohu Whakatupu, driven by the Tāmaki Makaurau submission, and the way tikanga supports the staff of Te Ohu Whakatupu, on a personal level as well as influencing their work. It specifically discusses whenua as a primary policy focus of Te Ohu Whakatupu, because of the proportionally significant amount of Māori land left in the hands of wāhine Māori, and the implications for wāhine Māori within iwi development and spaces of power. Mary O'Regan also talks about the role of biculturalism within the Ministry. The film primarily focuses on the importance for the Ministry of being part

of government, and therefore able to exert direct influence on policy, as well as the policy focus on economic independence for women, with the need for the Ministry to commission the first research on women's contribution to the economy.

Wāhine Māori in the Economy

- Barclay, Jenny, *Women's education and training for employment: A Paper*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1987.
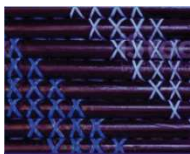
A paper commissioned by the Ministry to investigate issues around education and training for women in preparing them for employment. After discussing issues with the current labour market for women, it makes a case for the accessibility of women's development, determined by women. It uses a case study of a training scheme in England, and summarises the problems found by those in that training scheme, to discuss what the case study could teach us about providing women's education in New Zealand. It concludes with multiple recommendations on how to activate these lessons. The paper's chief argument is that new, more practical approaches have to be developed to address the gender imbalance in the labour market. It essentially calls for a transformation of the education system, to 'rebuild the learning construct' that contributed to socio-economic disparity for women. This transformation could be achieved partly through innovative projects, and a comprehensive approach to vocational training for women.

- Horsfield, Anne and Evans, Miriama, *Māori women in the economy: A preliminary review of the economic position of Māori women in New Zealand*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1988. [NL]

Published book reporting on the contribution to and contemporary position of Māori women in the economy, by an economist in partnership with an analyst from Te Ohu Whakatupu. It brings together newly collated demographic statistics focused on Māori women within the economy, using data that had never previously been available to therefore assess the position of Māori women in a way that had never been undertaken. The aim was to provide a tool kit, or 'keke parareka', of data on Māori women to assist further analysis and research by those working to improve the wellbeing of wāhine Māori, particularly through policy development. The book is introduced by a brief history and discussion of the scope and potential role of the Treaty of Waitangi, particularly in an economic and policy light, and from the perspective of Te Ohu Whakatupu. The rest of the book evaluates economic statistical data such as paid employment, incomes, industry participation and unemployment, but also covers elementary demographic and family data, unwaged work, hui participation and education and training services. This was partially made possible by including a case-study on a (MWWL) household survey of a group of women living in Rapuora, in South Auckland. The survey was a very important source for the report in terms of the range, detail and value of the data it provided.

- McLean, P. and Tahi, B., *Māori women steps to enterprise*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1989 (revised in 1990, 1994). [NL]

A business resource 'kit' which contains two brochures on MWA programmes, one on the Māori Women's Development Fund, and one on SCOPE – small co-operative enterprises scheme - as well as promotional material for a correspondence school, Māori Business Technology Scheme, and general business support 'how tos'. The primary item in the kit, however, is a booklet that outlines the steps involved in starting a new business, including specific guidelines for preparing a business plan, and advises wāhine Māori on how to procure financial support for a business venture. It also provided a directory of contact details for financial advice and funding agents. Given the added problems and discrimination wāhine Māori still frequently face trying to access funding from normal investment channels, Te Ohu Whakatupu had identified one of the most important needs, or blocks to success of wāhine Māori, and compiled the kit to help bridge the gap.

The Ministry in the 1990s

Gender Pay Gap

- Cook, Diana and Briggs, Phil, *Gender wage gap: Scenarios of the gender wage gap, Report for Ministry of Women's Affairs*, NZ Institute of Economic Research (INC), Wellington, 1997. [NL]

A brief booklet report of statistical analysis of gender ratios to illustrate the gender wage gap.

- Dwyer, Maire, 'Homecare Workers – A Case Study of a Female Occupation', in *Labour, Employment and Work in New Zealand,* Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1998.

This research project used a case study to investigate the factors influencing the low pay and conditions of homecare workers in New Zealand, and involved interviews with funders, six home care agencies, workers and clients. It found that the factors were similar to those that normally caused low wages in this sector: agencies refusing to pay for travel time, or allowances for using personal vehicles; a lack of specialised training; and most workers not being recompensed for extra time spent with clients.

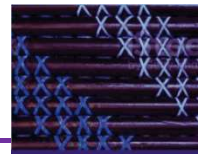Online access: https://ojs.victoria.ac.nz/LEW/article/view/1009/820.

Ministry policy and work

- *Full Picture, Te Tirohangā Whanui: Guidelines for gender analysis*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1996. [NL]

A slim policy booklet for the Ministry to use when creating policy. It sets out a framework as to how to apply gender analysis in policy work. This advice is aimed at all entities that could apply gender analysis however, from state-owned enterprises and other government agencies to community groups or organisations. The booklet explains the principles of gender analysis, and its advantages, and provides advice as to how to implement gender analysis. It also includes case studies on the different implementation of gender analysis between the public and private sectors.

- *He kaupapa - he hangā tikanga: A foundation - shaping a way: Responsiveness to Māori plan of the Ministry of Women's Affairs*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1993. [NL]

A booklet in both Te Reo Māori and English – Te Reo on one side and the full English translation upside down from the back. The booklet outlines its strategic plan for the following few years specifically in relation to wāhine Māori. It states that being responsive to Māori requires making the needs and aspirations of Māori part of the core business of an organisation, and that the Ministry has therefore recognised its Treaty of Waitangi obligations through legislation and policy statements, and made the application of Māori perspectives one of its main goals. As a result the Te Ohu Whakatupu team produced this responsiveness development plan. The team used guideline questions for the Ministry, in order to assess its own success at responding to Māori, and therefore ascertain any weaknesses and areas requiring improvement. The plan is a guide the Ministry can use to fix these problems, including recommending new initiatives and strategies, as well as setting specific actions with associated responsibilities, time targets and performance indicators.

- *Karanga!: He pānui na Te Ohu Whakatupu, Minitatanga mo ngā Wāhine,* Whanganui-a-Tara, 1992-1993. [NL]

Pānui was the Te Ohu Whakatupu newsletter, providing updates on their work programme and activities, mostly for the wider wāhine Māori public, as well as Ministry staff. It provided general updates on Te Ohu Whakatupu's contemporary work, especially the various programmes it was running, and it's extremely wide range of interests. Pānui frequently requests feedback of wāhine Māori on many issues, but especially on their work. Just two issues, May 1992 and February 1993, are available at the National Library.

- *Ngā Mea I Whakairongia e Ngā Tau Ki Toku Hinengā ro: Speaking from my own experience*, 1993 Runangā Kuia Proceedings, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1993.

A report that sets out the recommendations on multiple issues of the rūnanga Kuia organised by Te Ohu Whakatupu in 1993. These issues include the Treaty of Waitangi, iwi development, housing, health, social welfare, crime prevention, employment, education and taxation. It summarises the recommendations first, then outlines each issue in detail, summarising the discussion by kuia, illustrated by specific quotes, before listing their recommendations as a group. At the end are the letters of response on each issue by the Minister of relevant Ministries.

- *Pānui newsletter: A publication of the Ministry for Women, Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine,* Wellington, 1997-1999. [NL]
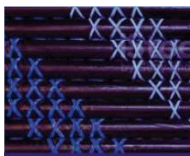
Pānui continued to be published through the 1990s but is only available online starting from April 1997, and only via individual articles. There are individual hard copies from the early 1990s still in various archive records. The issues from the early 1990s maintained the approach and design of the newsletter from its foundation – they were slightly longer and set aside a specific section for the work of Te Ohu Whakatupu. Later issues after 1997 continue to concentrate on the contributions of the Ministry to policy work, and events the Ministry was involved in such as APEC and Rūnanga Kuia, as well as news updates and messages from the Minister.

Online access:
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/panui/index.html

- *Review and evaluation of Rūnanga Kuia*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1997. [NL]

A booklet reporting on the 1997 review the Ministry officially commissioned of its series of consultative Rūnanga Kuia at Takapūwāhia Marae since 1987. The review was to evaluate the effectiveness of the Rūnanga Kuia and the recommendations that arose from the Rūnanga; to suggest ways to improve the input of Māori women in the policy process; and to provide the Ministry with a Strategy to improve the access and influence of wāhine Māori on policy. The review interviews a large group of wāhine Māori, including nine kuia and nine public servants (primarily Ministry staff) to evaluate agencies' engagement with the Rūnanga recommendations. It also used all the Rūnanga proceedings and the responses to the recommendations made from the Rūnanga as data sources. One of the main aspects the review noted was the organisational changes from the first Rūnanga to the last, including the programming approach; it became more formal and structured over time, and more focused on official recommendations. The review first looked at how and why Te Ohu Whakatupu initiated the Rūnanga, and its original format, then at subsequent hui, their processes and outcomes. It discussed the effectiveness of the Rūnanga, and assessed different options for policy input by wāhine Māori. It finally recommended a strategy for a future 'national conference' for the Ministry - that wāhine Māori should be involved in organising and conducting such a conference, to improve both their policy input, and the Ministry's relationships with them, particularly Māori women organisations.

- Roper, Rachel, *Mana Wāhine Wai 381*, Written for Te Ohu Whakatupu Māori Women's Unit, Wellington, 1998.

A report commissioned by and written for the Ministry on the Mana Wāhine (Wai 381) Tribunal claim by a group of wāhine Māori. It outlines the circumstances and assesses the legitimacy of the amalgamated claim. The paper examines the history and gender roles of wāhine Māori in relation both to Māori men during the pre-European contact era, and in relation to post-contact colonisation. It also looks at the modern roles of wāhine Māori, and impact of colonisation on producing the current circumstances. The paper assesses the position of the claim as at writing and into the future, and gives strong support to its legal legitimacy.

- *Te mana wāhine: Hei ara whakatupu – recognition of women's mana is the pathway to equality: Rūnanga kuia: Takapūwāhia marae*, Porirua, December 1995, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1997. [NL]

This booklet published the proceedings of the 1995 Ministry-run Rūnanga Kuia. It provides a mission statement and summary to introduce the values and work of the Ministry and the Rūnanga, before outlining the specific objectives of this Rūnanga Kuia of 1995. The objectives were to acknowledge the mātauranga and mana of kuia; to provide an opportunity for them to contribute their mātauranga to the development of policy; to establish the most important issues for wāhine Māori; and to ensure that wāhine Māori and kuia have a space to express themselves and their concerns. The majority of the publication is a summary of the proceedings of the Rūnanga, concentrating on the main statements expressed by kuia and government representatives, though it printed the entire opening speech of the CE of the Ministry. The booklet also listed the key issues discussed at workshops held during the Rūnanga, and the consequent recommendations agreed by kuia at the workshops.
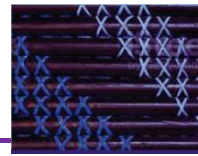
Wāhine Māori in the Economy

- *Enterprise assistance and Māori women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1993. [Victoria University Library]

A booklet report evaluating the extent and range of government assistance for wāhine Māori in business development and enterprise. It briefly summarises the background of current government policy on enterprise assistance for and business needs of wāhine Māori, before evaluating the various schemes available under the current government assistance structure. These include each of the three grant schemes for business development boards; the community employment group; the Be Your Own Boss training package; the LEEDS (scheme) and employment and enterprise fund; the business skills training and advice grant; the Technology for Business Growth programme; Wāhine Pakari; the Greenstone Fund and Tourism Joint Venture Programme. Further assistance available includes the NZ Employment Service and Enterprise (job seeker) allowance, and TradeNZ (Trade Development Board) - including the International Trade and Economic Initiatives programme it operates. The report concludes that more could be done to increase uptake of enterprise assistance by wāhine Māori, particularly by improving the Ministry's relationships with Māori business women and organisations, and improving its system for disseminating information with specific promotion strategies.

- Ertel, Kathy and Tahi, Brenda, *He tohutohu mo te tono herengi: Māori women as borrowers: Guidelines for you and your business*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1991. [NL]

A booklet by an economist in partnership with the manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu, providing financial advice for Māori women who are business owners, particularly focused on applying for loans.

- *He Take toro haere: A directory of Māori business and professional women*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1992. [NL]

A directory of Māori businesses, business owners in different cities and groups that are sources of funding and assistance, interspersed with advertisements. A brief foreword and introduction from Brenda Tahi, manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu, explains the aims of Te Ohu Whakatupu in regard to its support for Māori women in business. It describes the aim of the directory was to boost Māori women's 'commercial and professional activities', to increase wider community awareness of Māori women in business, and to provide assistance, support and networking opportunities to Māori business women, as well as promoting their initiatives. An additional Appendix to the directory is an essay about the history of Māori women in business.

- *He wānanga: Business money and Māori women*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1990. [NL]
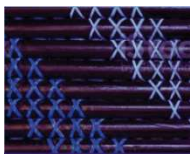
A substantial publication on a wānanga-seminar held over the weekend of 23 and 24 June 1990 at Tatai Hono Marae, which was hosted by Te Ohu Whakatupu in collaboration with the MWWL and funded by the Māori Women's Development Fund. It followed on from a seminar held just a few months previously which identified finance as a huge problem for Māori women in business enterprise and development (see below). The wānanga was therefore held to explore solutions to the various problems encountered by Māori women in business, primarily to assist Māori women to raise innovative or development financing. These included the lack of information held by bankers and lenders on the needs and issues of Māori business women; changes to the credit market for their businesses; and inadequate lending schemes. The wānanga aimed to discuss ways to improve access to traditional venture finance, and ideas on alternatives to the traditional financing and banking facilities. Te Ohu Whakatupu intended to build on these findings with policy solutions in the future. After listing the panellists the publication lays out the transcription of the entire proceedings of the wānanga. It also introduces brief profiles of all the attendees in the appendix.

- *He Wānanga: Māori women mean business*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1990.

A publication on a seminar held for Māori women in business in December 1989 at Tatai Hono Marae (in Grafton, Auckland). The seminar was hosted by Te Ohu Whakatupu (also) in collaboration with the MWWL, partially funded by them through the Māori Women's Development Fund. The booklet provides a complete transcription of the seminar, after a short introduction about the reasons for holding and aims of the seminar, and brief descriptions of the subject of each session. Te Ohu Whakatupu held the seminar to investigate the obstacles that hold wāhine Māori back from starting businesses, and ways that Te Ohu Whakatupu can support Māori businesswomen. The booklet includes an epilogue listing the barriers to and supports for wāhine Māori entrepreneurship, as well as strategies to combat the barriers, and a conclusion, describing the seminar's finding that finance was the primary obstacle to wāhine Māori trying to start their own business.

- Simpson, D., and Raumati, H., *Māori women in business: The issues and trends they face when establishing their businesses*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1991.

A report investigating the issues and problems facing Māori businesswomen, using case studies of two women in particular, with their respective businesses. It also surveyed a group of Māori businesswomen from the Te Ohu Whakatupu database on problems they encountered running their businesses, to see if they matched the problems faced in the two case studies. The report outlined the results of the survey first, then discussed the situations, problems and conclusions of each case study, followed by its broader conclusions and recommendations to Te Ohu Whakatupu. The survey asked 42 women about their type of business; why and how they started their business; how it was financed; and their perception of their own management skills. The report found that

the main problem for these wāhine Māori was obtaining financing for their businesses, as well as gaining the confidence needed to start a business. The majority of the group placed great importance on centring tikanga and kaupapa Māori in their business, and felt that it helped their business endeavours. The report admitted, however, that the survey population was not large or diverse enough to generalise conclusions for the Māori businesswomen community. The wāhine in the two case studies similarly found problems dealing with lending institutions, and had strong ties to their Māori community. They had also both survived difficult periods for their businesses, and succeeded through their own skills and ability. The report recommended that urgent action be taken to provide more opportunities for wāhine Māori, and make it easier to gain financing by changing attitudes among those working in financial institutions.

- Tahi, Brenda, *The role of small business in the New Zealand economy*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1991.
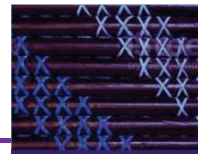
A paper prepared for the Ministry by Manager Brenda Tahi on the contribution of small businesses to New Zealand, and the role they play in economic terms. It is supported by high level data from the Economy Wide Census as well as secondary sources. It summarises the state of the New Zealand economy and 20th century history of small businesses before comparing the impact and turnover of small business to larger companies. It discusses the impact of small business in terms of employment, salary and wages, and its contribution to New Zealand's GDP, and briefly looks at the social dynamics of small businesses, and their central role in entrepreneurship. The paper goes on to focus on factors influencing trends in self-employment, and the policy implications of this analysis, with projections for the future.

- *Te Whakarite whai oranga mō Te wā e kuia ai Te wāhine Māori: Māori women and private provision for retirement*, paper prepared by Ministry of Women's Affairs, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1993. [NL]

The document is a report on the recommendations of a specialist task force established in 1990 to look into retirement options, specifically looking at policies to encourage greater financial 'self-reliance'. The Ministry published the report to inform Māori women of this important policy advice, and encourage Māori women to participate in the public debate. The report is divided into two parts. The first part summarises the history of cultural deprivation, and outlines issues for Māori women in terms of participation in areas such as the labour market, health, housing and unpaid work, including some statistical analysis. The second, key part of the document looks at the task force's analysis of private provision for retirement. It sets out three different options for the Government to provide to kuia for their retirement, presenting the model for each option, along with its advantages and disadvantages. These three are the 'Voluntary Option', the 'Tax Incentive Option' and the 'Compulsory Option'. The report concluded that none of the options were ideal for Māori women as with all three the disadvantages outweighed the advantages. It stated that the Government needed to take account of its impact on Māori women when making policy decisions.

- *Te whiriwhiri mahi me ngā kōtiro Māori: he tirohangā tuatahi: Māori girls and career choice: A preliminary study*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1993. [NL]

This report presents the data collected by Te Ohu Whakatupu on the ambitions of Māori girls for their future careers, in order to contribute to a broader programme of research on the challenges to entrepreneurism for Māori women. It includes a methodological report and literature review on the research, before setting out its findings. The study was primarily based on questionnaires given to wāhine Māori secondary students in four schools. The key findings of the research were the importance of vocational counselling for students; the importance of Māori teachers in providing counselling for their students; and that the current system was constraining Māori girls from achieving their goals.

- *Think Export: Proceedings of the 'Think Export' Conference for New Zealand Women in Business (14 and 15 May 1993, Waipuna International Hotel, Mt Wellington, Auckland)*, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1993. [NL]

A report on the proceedings of a 'Think Export' conference, a conference on trading and business issues for women, particularly focused on giving advice for women in the trading and export sectors, and ways to improve New Zealand trading outputs. The conference (and report) was primarily focused on international trade, particularly exports. It includes a speech on 'The Export-led Recovery' delivered by Ruth Richardson, as well as the speeches delivered by other eminent speakers at the conference. At the end of the report is a summary of the biographies of the speakers.
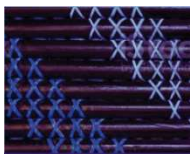
Te Reo Māori

- *Karanga ngā reo o ngā wāhine Māori – Voices of Māori women* (He taonga nā Te Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine hei whakanui i te reo Māori), Radio Te Arawa, Te Ohu Whakatupu: Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1995; 2006. [NL]

A Ministry of Women's Affairs project was commissioned by the Ministry to celebrate Te tau o te Reo Māori, the National Year of Te Reo Māori in 1995. It consists of 13 programmes of interviews with 30 pou wāhine recorded on four audio tapes, wholly in Te Reo Māori and interspersed with music and wāhine singing waiata. (Along with the tapes, a tape player is available at the National library). The interviews record kōrero with wāhine (sometimes in small groups), about facets of modern Māori life and tikanga that comprehend or incorporate Te Reo, such as kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, karanga , waiata, kapa haka, and Te Atārangi (teaching method). In 2006 the Ministry updated and translated the project in order to inform policy thinking. A booklet was created to accompany the audio project. It describes the key topics and themes of the kōrero and outlines its process and purpose. It first lists five overarching themes, then details the key points or issues within each theme on each tape, along with the relevant pou kōrero (speakers) and kaiuiui (interviewer). The booklet refers to the potential for the programme to inform the Ministry's future policy development.

Sociological and Demographic Statistics

- *Status of Women in New Zealand 1998, the CEDAW Report*, Ministry for Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1998. [NL]

In 1981 the United Nations instituted the bill of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and established a committee to implement its measures. New Zealand signed on to and ratified the Convention, and continued to send delegations to the committee every four years. The Ministry played a central role in these delegations, and to New Zealand's contributions to the committee, including publishing all of New Zealand's reports on the Convention. The CEDAW report presents the progress the Government has made on the provisions of the CEDAW Convention since the last committee meeting. The 1998 report focuses particularly on progress made on New Zealand's two reservations under the Convention – specifically, increasing career opportunities for women in the armed forces, and improving parental leave for women and men. The report also details New Zealand's progress implementing the Beijing Platform for Action.

- *Māori women in focus: Titiro hāngā i, ka mārama*, Te Puni Kōkiri and Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1999. [NL]

A statistical summary report produced in collaboration with Te Puni Kōkiri to provide essential data on the lives of Māori women. It focused primarily on demographic and economic statistics, accompanied by elucidatory graphs. The report notes that, despite improvements in education statistics, social and economic outcomes continued to fall, proportional to Pākehā. It emphasises the need for different Government agencies to recognise the unique challenges and experiences of Māori women in order to succeed in improving their wellbeing with policy responses.

Online access:
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/Māoriwomen.pdf

- *Women in New Zealand,* Department of Statistics and Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 1990. [NL]

A statistical report of the contemporary status of women and girls in different areas of New Zealand society, produced as a collaboration between the Ministry of Women's Affairs and the Department of Statistics. It is introduced by essays contributed by the Ministry of Women's Affairs summarising the status of women, after a general overview of the sociological implications of the report's statistical findings. The first looks at the status of Māori women in terms of the long-term erosion of mana wāhine under colonisation, and recent attempts to reclaim their mana through various movements, and raise living standards through improvements in health, employment, fertility and education. The second essay introduces the statistical review by discussing 'empowerment perspectives', describing the processes that led to the current situation of women as displayed in the report's statistical findings. It outlines women's contemporary participation in society, and situation in regards to fertility, equal pay, education, income, and family status.
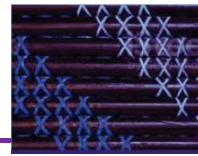
The Ministry in the 2000s

Ministry Strategy and Policy Plans

- *Brief to the Incoming Minister: He Whakamohiotanga ki te Minita Hou*, Wellington, July 2002.

The substantial briefing document was created in preparation for a change in Minister after the 2002 election. It was extremely thorough, containing a vast amount of material on the Ministry's strategy framework, programmes and policy development, as well an overview of its purpose (outlined in its last *Statement of Intent*). Showcasing the multiple avenues of research the Ministry had commissioned, the Brief sets out the need for the Ministry to improve the wellbeing of New Zealand women. It includes a three page section on the priorities and opportunities to improve outcomes for Māori women, and smaller sections for groups such as Pasifika women and women with disabilities.

Online access:
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/2002IncomingBrief.pdf

- Dyson, Ruth, *Action plan for New Zealand women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2004. [NL]

The action plan folder 'kit' contains a brochure on the programme, and an introductory booklet with an overview of the plan, summarising its vision and aims within each area along with key indicators, as well as the main consultation report. The consultation report outlines the key discoveries from the Ministry-led consultation process with New Zealand women on its action plan. It outlines the issues women who contributed to the consultation were concerned with, particularly as expressed by different groups such as wāhine Māori, Pasifika women, refugee women, low-income women, rural women and women with disabilities. These issues were grouped into themes of economic sustainability, work–life balance and wellbeing.

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- *Pānui newsletter: A publication of the Ministry for Women, Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine,* Wellington, 2000–2017. [NL]

The Ministry continued to publish a quarterly newsletter through the 2000s. It updated the community on the achievements of the Ministry during the last quarter, particularly legislation the Ministry has contributed towards passing, and the release of reports on which it has worked. It also covers new Ministry initiatives such as instructional or training programmes, or technological tools, and important events held or attended by the Ministry, such as programme launches and national or international conferences.
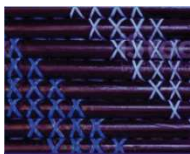
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- *Statements of Intent (2000/2001, 2002–2005)*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2000–2018. [NL]

The Ministry produced two new Statements of Intents during the decade 2000-2010. These strategic documents were broader, longer–term reviews of the direction of the Ministry.

2000/2001

This Statement was the only Ministry of Women's Affairs report specifically aligned with the Government's brief 'Closing the Gaps' policy initiative from January to June 2000. The Statement focused on a 'Close the gaps' approach to Māori and Pacific peoples as a priority, to align with the 'Key Government Goals', stating that it would provide advice on Māori women's key social policy areas such as health and housing, development, disaggregated data collection and Māori capacity building, through consultation and the Nominations Service. It also prioritised the Government's Key Goal to 'Strengthen national identity and uphold the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi', by providing advice on development, governance issues and collection of data for wāhine Māori. The Statement discusses the current context for the plan in reference to external influences, its response to the environment, and internal factors, which included the Ministry's 'organisational capability review' during the year 1999/2000. It also set out the medium to longer-term objectives for its plan, primarily regarding policy advice.

Online access:
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/WA_State.pdf

2002–2005

This Statement gave an overview of the Ministry's vision and its values, before summarising the historical, social, economic and demographic context of women's status. It outlines the Government's core expectations and goals for women: Equity; Opportunity and choice; Full and active participation; Adequate resources; No discrimination; and A society that values the contribution of women. The Statement emphasises that for these expectations and goals to be achieved, all of women's contributions to society need to be valued, and incorporated into Government decisions. It also looks at the expectations of women for their own lives, as expressed in Ministry consultation carried out for the CEDAW response report. It then outlines the Government's goals and priorities in more detail, with expected outcomes in tables. The report also justifies the policies by discussing how the Ministry will be accountable for implementing its planned outcomes. It also discusses the more practical element of the Ministry's capacity to deliver the outcomes, in terms of its infrastructure, and even looks briefly at the *Māori Responsiveness Plan - He Kaupapa…He Hanga Tikanga.* Some of the text is translated into Te Reo Māori.

Online access:
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/Statement_of_Intent_2002.pdf

2004–2007

This Statement concentrates on addressing capability issues in the Ministry in order to successfully implement the new Action Plan. It discusses the areas for capability development highlighted by the Capability Review of 2003, including improving policy development processes, management systems and processes, organisational culture, and cross-governmental relationships. It emphasises that the Ministry would be rebuilding and refocusing during the next period, concentrating on four key areas, for which the Ministry had started to develop new 'initiatives' during the previous year. The 'Leadership' capability initiative includes an objective to develop capability in applying a Treaty analytical tool, as well as a gender analysis framework.
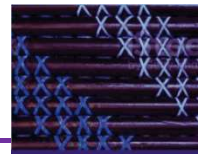
Online access:
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20040708214704/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pdf/MWA_SOI_2004-2007.pdf

- *Towards an Action Plan for New Zealand Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2002.

A consultation document to provide guidance on the proposed Plan provided by the Ministry, and assist the request for community feedback on the plan. The paper describes the main issues affecting the lives of women and girls, and outlines the Ministry's plan to respond to those issues. It asks for feedback on the Plan to help develop it further, and to decide on the areas of highest priority. The idea behind the Action Plan was to have an integrated, 'whole-of-government' approach in terms of goals and policy priorities for women. It would take changing economic and social conditions and the diverse lives of women into consideration. The Plan outlines the contemporary environment for women in terms of demographic trends, social roles, progress on women's issues, economic sustainability and wellbeing, and includes a specific section on the current situation for wāhine Māori. At the end of each of those topic sections it lists questions for respondents to consider in their submissions on the Plan.

Online access:
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/cont_wk.html

Gender Pay Gap

- Hendry, Catherine and Moyle, Jarrod, *Research on Wages and Costs of Education and Training*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2006. [MW]

A brief report summarising the data and results of a study commissioned by the Ministry and undertaken by Sheffield Ltd (Reward Consultants). The study surveyed a range of occupations to provide a snapshot of current market trends and practices in regards to wages and costs of education and training in occupations that use work-based training. It aimed to provide a preliminary indication of the financial rewards associated with these careers, in order to inform the work of the Ministry and other government agencies.

- *Mahi Ōrite, Utu Tōkeke – Pay Equity for Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2002. [NL]

A published survey in the form of a discussion document, it explains what pay equity is, provides a summary of the current status of pay equity for Māori women and the reasons for this, and asks for feedback on a variety of questions based on the information provided. It is particularly aimed at discovering the views from wāhine Māori as to a handful of main questions, primarily focused around the importance of the issue to wāhine Māori, and what action the Government should take.

- *Next Steps Towards Pay Equity, A discussion document*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2002.

A report on the gender pay gap distributed by the Ministry to the public to provide information on which to receive feedback submissions. It was intended to gauge public opinion about the evidence and conclusions provided in the reports. It defined and scoped the gender pay gap in New Zealand, as well as pay gaps between specific groups such as Māori women, and described the policy work that had already been done on the issue. It explained the main three ways by which the pay gap worked. It outlined the approaches taken by comparative nations, and answered the most common questions on the issue, before exploring potential policies that could fix the problem and asked for feedback to specific questions.
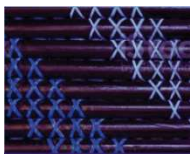
- *Women in Enterprise: A report on women in small and medium enterprises in New Zealand*, Ministry of Women's Affairs and Ministry of Economic Development, Wellington, 2008. [MW]

Women in Enterprise was a project that looked into women's experiences in business, undertaken by the Ministry of Women's Affairs in collaboration with the Ministry of Economic Development. It aimed to document and examine the common characteristics, performance and status of small and medium enterprises owned by women, and identify the factors and obstacles that impacted women's success in business. This report outlines the findings of this project. It includes summaries of a significant variety of data points, particularly relating to ethnicity, age and education.

Governance and Leadership

- *Women on Boards: Why women on company boards are good for business*, Business NZ, Institute of Directors and Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2009. [MW]

A brief booklet promoting the advantages of appointing women on boards to business leaders. After messages from key leaders of relevant agencies, it looks at the evidence from New Zealand and international research studies about the value of gender balance on boards. The booklet goes on to answer the common questions and myths cited from those doubting the benefits or need for more women to sit on boards. It explains both why and how leaders can and should recruit women, and provide mentoring to develop their career paths.

- *Māori Women on Boards; Advice for Women Directors*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2009. [MW]

Two short papers reporting on the results of 'He Wāhine Pūmanawa' Māori Women's Leadership Workshop, organised by the Ministry of Women's Affairs. The first paper reports on discussions held during the workshop on how to increase the number of Māori women on boards. The discussions brought up suggestions from participants as to collective actions and messaging that could encourage Māori women to take up governance positions, including actions from participants themselves, as mentors. The second paper provides advice for women that resulted from the workshop discussions, on how to get on to boards, and how to be an effective and influential director. It includes answers to typical questions for women to know before applying.

International

- *The Status of Women in New Zealand: Fifth Report on New Zealand's Progress on Implementing the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2002.

New Zealand's report to the United Nations Committee on CEDAW presents the progress the Government has made on the provisions of the CEDAW Convention since the last Committee meeting. The 2002 report is divided into New Zealand's progress in multiple different areas, such as exploitation, representation, health, law and rural women. However it specifically focuses on gender analysis in policy; legislative reform, specifically the introduction of bills such as the Human Rights Amendment Act 2001 and the amendment of the Matrimonial Property Act 1976; and the delivery of such strategies as Te Rito: New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy. The report includes the Government's statement of response to the Committee's assessment of our progress.

Online access:

https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20021216213905/http://www.mwa.govt.nz/pub/CEDAW-RPT-NZ%27s-5th-Report-2002.pdf
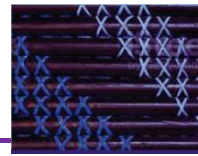
Violence against Women

- Jordan, Jan, Kingi, Venezia, MacGibbon, Lesley and Mossman, Elaine, *Responding to sexual violence: Environmental scan of New Zealand agencies*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2009. [MW]

An overview of the findings of Crime and Justice Research Centre and Victoria University researchers from one of four research streams into effective interventions to help survivors of sexual violence, commissioned by the Ministry of Women's Affairs. The research focused on a survey (or scan) of informants, made up of a range of community service providers and criminal justice groups, to discover their views on services for sexual violence survivors. The report outlines the responses from informants on issues such as the factors and barriers preventing the access of survivors to these services, and the capacity of their services to meet their needs. Unfortunately the survey does not adequately reflect the views of Māori service providers, due to the lack of a kaupapa Māori research methodology, which resulted in a low response rate from Māori service providers.

- *Restoring Soul: effective Interventions for Adult Victims/Survivors of Sexual Violence*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2009. [MW]

A review of the four reports on different elements of a two year research project on sexual violence. The project collaborated with the Ministry of Justice and Police. It aimed to produce data that could provide evidence as to ways to better keep survivors safe and support their wellbeing, as well as evidence for effective policy approaches. Each of the four reports were based on a separate

study. One was based on interviews and questionnaires with survivors, another was based on surveys, another was a data analysis study, and the fourth was a literature review. Rather than summarise the individual reports, it integrates and looks broadly at the findings of the reports overall, but organised into different topics. It first looks at methodological issues, before summarising basic characteristics and impacts of sexual violence; social networks as a support system for survivors, such as social media; the role of the criminal justice system; how survivors interact with formal support services, and problems with the services available; and conclusions as to how to best support survivors of sexual violence. The conclusion made recommendations as to how the justice system and formal support systems can improve their services.

Wāhine Māori and Pasifika

- *Māori women mapping inequalities and pointing ways forward*, Ministry of Women's Affairs: Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine, Wellington, 2001. [NL]

A thorough report on the differences in the experiences of Māori and non-Māori women. It uses indicators of gender disparity across six sectors to investigate inequalities between ethnicities and genders, and assess the existing status of wāhine Māori. Those sectors are housing, employment, income, education, health and criminal justice. It was published to serve as a resource for whānau, hapū and iwi. The report emphasises the importance of co-operation between agencies, and identifies the need for agencies to take a more strategic approach to improving outcomes for Māori women; specifically through engagement with Māori women in order to devise programmes and enterprises that advance their progress.

Online access:
https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE763315

The Ministry 2011–2020

Gender Pay Gap

- *Closing the gender pay gap: Actions for employers*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2017. [MW]
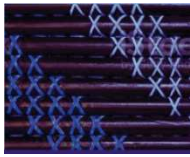
A small booklet encouraging employers to close the gender pay gap at their business, by outlining the advantages, and providing advice as to the actions they can take to do so, from analysing their data to assess the extent of the pay gaps within their own business – both gender and ethnicity, to more extensive measures such as enabling more flexible work time for women.

- *Eliminating the Public Service Gender Pay Gap 2018-2020 Action Plan*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2018. [MW]

A tiny pamphlet 'fact sheet' of the current situation regarding the gender pay gap in the public service, and what actions are being taken by public service leaders to address it. It lists the aims and objectives of the current Action Plan, including agency level actions and accountability measures.

- *Gender inequality and unpaid work: A review of recent literature*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2019. [MW]

A survey of recently published research into unpaid work, that primarily consists of a literature review. The review covers only literature published since 2010, and focuses on the proportion of unpaid work undertaken by women, its impact on women's workforce participation, the relationship between paid parental leave and access to affordable childcare, availability and uptake of separate paid parental leave for fathers, assessing the value of unpaid work, and understanding

its policy implications. The survey also includes international literature on child-care policies, paid leave for fathers and gender budgeting. The review aimed to provide a research resource for further policy work on these issues by the Ministry.

- *Gender Pay principles*, Ministry for Women: Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine, Wellington, 2017. [MW]

The small pamphlet was published in order to offer a guide to work underway in government agencies, particularly the Ministry, to ensure gender pay equality. It outlines five core principles developed by a working group formed of state sector unions and agencies. The principles aim to ensure the elimination of the gender pay gap in the state sector. Each principle is accompanied by an issues statement and list of intended outcomes in workplace behaviour. The five principles to display in the workplace are: freedom from bias and discrimination; transparency and accessibility; relationship between paid and unpaid work (redressing imbalance); sustainability; and participation and engagement.

- Sean Molloy and Deborah Potter, *NEET by choice? Investigating the links between motherhood and NEET status,* Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2014. [MW]
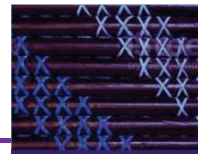
A paper examining the reasons why a high proportion of young mothers aged 15 to 24 are not in employment, education or training, and potential policy responses to improve employment rates for this group,. The paper identifies that many young mothers are involved in education or are not NEET by choice, and it particularly investigates initiatives that could assist them.

- Pacheco, Professor Gail, Li, Chao, Cochrane, B., *Empirical evidence of the gender pay gap in New Zealand*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2017. [MW]

A study of the driving factors behind the gender pay gap in New Zealand, commissioned in order to find the right solutions to reduce the gap. The study brings the data available up to date, in order to assess any change, whether positive or negative, deriving from actions that have been taken to reduce the gap since work on the issue began. The study finds that traditional factors for the gender pay gap (for instance education (qualifications), family responsibilities and type of employment) are no longer as influential as they were, especially for women at the higher end of the pay scale. Instead factors that are harder to quantify play a larger role, such as behaviour, attitudes and unconscious bias. However the traditional factors are still important reasons for women on lower incomes, and in traditionally female dominated occupations, particularly from minority groups such as Māori, Pasifika and migrant women. The data shows that more work has to be done to combat stereotypes of women's work. The publication includes a literature review before setting out the latest data accompanied by graphs and a methodological data analysis.

- Pacheco, Professor Gail, Sin, Dr Isabelle and Dasgupta, Dr Kabir, *Parenthood and labour market outcomes*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2018. [MW]

A report on a study of labour market data to investigate how parenthood impacts the gender difference in outcomes and the gender pay gap. The study compares administrative monthly earnings data, birth records, and survey data on working hours and earnings between three different sample groups; non-parents, parents who had their first child in 2003-10, and parents who had their first child in 2005. The booklet is solely concerned with presenting the findings of the study in great detail, using the data and graphs and tables to represent the data.

Governance and Leadership

- *Increasing the representation of women on private sector boards: A review of Initiatives in Selected Countries*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2016. [MW]

A report summarising the findings of a review of international research on the most effective initiatives to encourage or require the public sector to increase the numbers of women on boards. It explains the low representation of women on public sector boards in New Zealand compared to international equivalents, and outlines the principal reasons for low representation. The report summarises the international research gathered by the Ministry for Women, and recommends a diverse list of potential measures that the Government could undertake to encourage representation in the private sector, as well as describing the barriers that remain for women, that currently limit their participation in greater numbers.

- *Realising the opportunity: Addressing New Zealand's leadership pipeline by attracting and retaining talented women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2013. [MW]

A report that investigates the reasons for the barriers women face, which are preventing more women from taking on leadership roles, and the role organisations play in creating these barriers. It draws on both international and national research, as well as "practitioner information in the public domain". The report investigated two questions: what is stopping New Zealand organisations from achieving gender balance in leadership roles? And what interventions would accelerate the change process? The Ministry established an external Advisory Panel in order to investigate these questions, which focused on three areas: unconscious bias; processes for women leaving and re-entering the workplace following career breaks; and flexible working arrangements that would better meet individual and business needs. The report first explains why the issue is important, and action is needed to remove these barriers, before providing an analysis of each of these three barriers to women's progression in turn. It also investigates ways that organisations can mitigate these barriers, particularly the role of leadership, pro-active talent management, and a strategic approach. It is aimed at supporting businesses with information and advice on how to improve their practices, and asks questions for businesses at the end of each section.
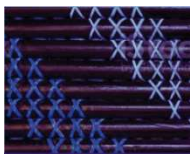
- *Women in governance 2017: Increasing participation on State Sector Board and Committees*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2018. [MW]

A large booklet providing a summary of the findings of the 2017 Gender Stocktake of State Sector Boards and Committees. After introductions by the Minister, the Chief Executive and the Institute of Directors, the booklet describes the key six ways and four actions through which boards could be made more diverse. It ends with a brief outline of the Ministry's work to improve women's representation on boards through the Nomination Service, and the methodology used to undertake the gender stocktake, as well as the gender stocktake figures.

Ministry policy and strategic frameworks

- *2014-2018 Strategic Intentions: Ministry of Women's Affairs,* Te Purongo Matapaetanga a te Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine, Wellington, 2014. [MW]

The document sets out the Ministry's Strategy for the following four years. The Strategy prioritises three areas: greater economic independence, more women in leadership roles, and increased safety from violence for women. The document is introduced by the Minister and the CE, after which it sets out statistical reports on the contemporary situation of women in New Zealand in those three areas, accompanied by the relevant Ministry goals and plans to address issues in the areas. Each area asks six questions: what are the Government goals; why is this important; what does success look like; have things been changing; what is our contribution; and how will we know when we have succeeded? The document then outlines how the Ministry's performance over the

next four years will be measured, and how its operational and workforce development fits into the strategic plan.

- *Pānui wāhine: A publication of the Ministry for Women, Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine,* Wellington, 2018-2020. [NL and MW]

The newsletter continued to be published through the 2000s, but from summer 2018 updated its name and dating system to be labelled seasonal rather than quarterly. It continues to update the community on the achievements of the Ministry during the last quarter, particularly legislation the Ministry has contributed towards passing, and the release of reports on which it has worked. It also covers new Ministry initiatives such as instructional or training programmes, or technological tools, and important events held or attended by the Ministry, such as programme launches and national or international conferences.

Online access (2002–2019):

https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/webarchive/wayback/20181104085050/http://women.govt.nz/documents/p%C4%81nui-quarterly-newsletter

- *Statement of Intent of the Ministry of Women's Affairs*, Te Purongo Matapaetanga a te Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine, Wellington, 2011-2022. [MW]

These documents are released every three to four years as the Ministry's Strategic Plans are renewed periodically. They are very similar to other Strategy documents in setting out the Ministry's strategic framework and plan for the following few years. Each *Statement of Intent* includes introductory statements from the Minister and CE, before describing the Ministry's role and purpose. The 2011 *Statement of Intent* goes on to outline the three key outcomes the Ministry will prioritise: greater economic independence, more women in leadership roles, and increased safety from violence. Following this, it describes its performance success measures, risk management approach and operating capability. The 2013 *Statement of Intent* is essentially identical to the 2014-2018 Strategic Intentions document above. The 2018 Statement sets out its plan in regards to its Strategic Framework, its operating context (the contemporary social context in which the Ministry operates) and the Government priorities. It then outlines three new desired strategic outcomes and three strategies for its operating model. The new strategic outcomes are: the contribution of all women and girls is valued; all women and girls are financially valued and can fully participate and thrive; and all women and girls are free from all forms of violence and harassment.
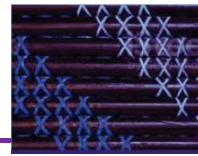
Social issues and Demographics

- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) reports. [MW]

The Status of Women in New Zealand: New Zealand's Seventh Report on its Implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, *March 2006-March 2010*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2010.

Women in New Zealand: United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, Eighth Periodic Report by the Government of New Zealand 2016, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2016.

Further periodic progress reports to the United Nations Committee on CEDAW presenting the progress made by the New Zealand Government on the provisions of CEDAW. After introducing the reports with a brief summary, they outline New Zealand's progress in Articles divided into four parts. The first part looks at discrimination and protections, human rights, prejudice and exploitation; the second part is on Participation in political and public life, representation and nationality; the third is on education, employment, health, social assistance and rural women; and the fourth part looks at equality before the law and the elimination of discrimination against

women in marriage and family relations. Both reports also give their response to the CEDAW recommendations in an Appendix.

- *Decoding Diversity: How to attract and retain girls and women in tech education*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2017. [MW]

A small booklet providing a guide for education and training providers, such as teachers, university lecturers, career advisors and community leaders, on how to encourage girls and women to pursue digital technology education. It reports on relevant statistics to provide a business case for gender balance in the tech industry, and provides tips based on surveys of 70 young women between 16 and 23 about what would attract them to digital technology, and barriers that might stop them from choosing tech career options. The guide drew further on local and international research to provide its advice. The majority of the booklet focuses on its advice to attract young women to the field, but it also includes three case studies of interviews with two young women studying and working in digital technology, and an international university that has successfully encouraged young women into its digital tech programme.

- *Insights into Digital Harm: The online lives of New Zealand girls and boys*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2017. [MW}

A research report on the experience of New Zealand youth of digital harm, particularly exploring the gendered aspects of their experiences. One of the main findings was that young people are more scared of harm from people they know, as well as showing the lack of help available for young people, and how they support each other in that absence. After setting out its methodologies the report describes its findings first on young people's online lives, then about their experiences of harm. It explores and makes recommendations on means of preventing harm.
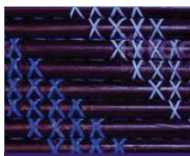
- *"Something's got to change": Insights from mothers*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2018. [MW]

A small booklet presenting the findings of a study of 40 mothers from Whangārei, South Auckland and Gisborne on the effectiveness of government support for mothers. It was based on face-to-face and focus group interviews with each mother as to their own experiences of being on a benefit and of support services. These were primarily focused on nutrition, parenting skills, the environment and their stress levels. Responses by mothers were virtually universal in expressing frustration as to communication from the public service on the support available and entitlements to the benefit. The other main findings were that mothers were experiencing difficulties with the complexity of benefit entitlements, were stressed from struggling financially, and dealing with physical or mental health issues. The booklet recounted the experiences mothers reported in more detail, and made recommendations as to how the Government could improve services based on what the mothers interviewed had said. It summarised the methodology used by the study.

Violence against Women

- *A malu I 'aiga, e malu fo'i i fafo: Protection for the family, protection for all, Samoan people's understanding of violence against women*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2015. [MW]

A report on violence within the Samoan community, and how it is understood within fa'a Samoa (Samoan culture). It explores concepts in Samoan culture such as va tapuia, feagaiga and fa'asinomaga, which were traditional ways to keep women safe from violence. It discusses how many issues have resulted from the decline of some of these customs, after translocation from Samoa to New Zealand, and the effectiveness of the customs in preventing violence. The report looks at the parameters of the study and the background context and literature on the concepts discussed, before summarising its findings on the best ways to prevent violence.

- *Current Thinking on Primary Prevention of Violence Against Women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2013. [MW]

A short paper discussing the most recent ideas and strategies from the international field of policy studies to prevent violence against women occurring at all, and their effective implementation within the New Zealand context. The aim of the paper was to update those working on the front lines in the area of primary prevention on the latest developments in the field internationally. The paper focuses sexual violence and male violence against female partners, as opposed to other forms of family violence, but allows for the same or similar principles to be applied in those areas as well, because of the high co-occurrence of all forms of family violence. It also looks at the general picture of violence against all women, rather than focusing on wāhine Māori or Pasifika. The paper compares the newest understandings about violence against women to previous ideas, to show how thinking has changed, and discusses how modern thinking frames the problem within a public health setting. It explains that primary prevention also takes a very broad problem-solving approach, by including men and boys in the policy solutions and attempting to transform social attitudes to gender. The paper includes an extensive glossary of key policy terms.

- *Lightning Does Strike Twice: Preventing sexual re-victimisation*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2012. [MW]

A report presenting the findings of a research project investigating the most effective means to assist adult survivors of sexual violence. It found that the most important issue for survivors was the prevalence and impact of repeat victimisation, meaning that one of the measures that would make the most difference to survivors is finding ways to prevent repeat victimisation. The evidence also highlighted the link between sexual violence and other gender-based violence, including childhood sexual abuse domestic partner violence. The findings stressed the need to break the cycle of repeat victimisation and provide appropriate support for survivors. The project was undertaken by the Ministry in collaboration with other agencies and NGO's.

- *Speak Up, Seek Help, Safe Home: A Review of literature on culturally appropriate interventions for intimate partner violence in ethnic communities*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2010. [MW]
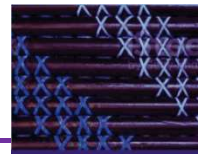
A literature review covering all academic research on sexual violence, focusing on the need for prevention efforts to be culturally appropriate. The review is introduced with a summary of its key findings and a description of the context. It publishes relevant statistical tables and brief summaries of each reference article as appendices.

- *Wāhine Māori, Wāhine Ora, Wāhine Kaha: preventing violence against Māori women*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2015. [MW]

This paper was published to contribute towards research on violence against women, in order to assist agencies to respond to the expectations and needs of wāhine Māori. It attempts to ensure that policy makers take tikanga and cultural safety for wāhine Māori into account when looking into policy measures. The paper affords a voice for wāhine Māori service providers by providing an overview of the factors that all those groups see as important in preventing violence. After introducing the research methodology the paper outlines its findings, looking at the importance of whānau, education, employment, mātauranga Māori, and gender roles and responsibilities.

- Whāriki and Massey University, Centre for Social Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation, *Sexual coercion, resilience and young Māori: A scoping review*: Report prepared for the Ministry of Women's Affairs, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2010. [MW]

A review of research performed by a research group commissioned by the Ministry in order to broaden the research literature on sexual violence. It provides an overview of sexual coercion and violence suffered by Māori rangatahi in New Zealand, particularly wāhine Māori, from a Māori

perspective. It also discusses sexuality, resilience and healthy relationships between rangatahi Māori, as well as looking into approaches to preventing sexual violence. It recommends a methodological approach for researching the topic through engagement with young Māori. The review concludes by highlighting the gaps in knowledge about sexuality and sexual coercion among rangatahi Māori, primarily the gap of the perspectives and experiences of rangatahi themselves.

Wāhine Māori and Pasifika

- *E Tū Ake! Stand Tall and Proud: A working paper on raising the qualifications and earnings of low income women*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2014. [MW]

A working paper that aims to provide data on the employment and outcomes of vulnerable groups to agencies and non-government organisations. It breaks down demographic, economic and education data on groups of women with low or no qualifications; women who are not in education, training or employment; sole and teen mothers; and Māori and Pasifika women. It examines and compares programmes for improving the economic independence of these groups, summarising the characteristics of those that are the most effective and promising.

- *Literature Scan: Unpaid work – a Pacific gender perspective*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2019. [MW]
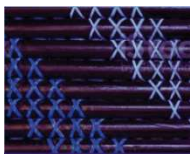
A literature review of recently published research into unpaid work performed by Pasifika women in New Zealand. The survey covers quantitative and qualitative research in both government and non-government sources between 2010 and 2018, and focuses on time use in New Zealand, primarily by Pacific populations, and childcare for Pasifika women. The survey identified five qualitative reports that focused on unpaid work performed by Pasifika women, but noted that overall there was a severe lack of research that even included, let alone focused, on a gendered perspective from Pasifika ethnicities.

- *Māori and Pasifika women in trades: Stories of wāhine toa developing trade careers*, Ministry for Women: Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine, Wellington, 2018. [MW]

A booklet entirely devoted to showcasing the profiles of 10 wāhine Māori and Pasifika working in the trades, in order to inspire other wāhine to pursue these careers. They represented different hapū, iwi and ethnic groups, spread throughout the country, and exemplify different career stages of various trade industries. The wāhine include automotive and carpentry apprentices, a painter/decorator, mechanical engineer, quantity surveyor and plumber. In each brief profile they were interviewed, describing their experiences training for the trade, and giving advice to others investigating a similar career.

- *Pacific women and men in business*, Manatū Wāhine: Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2021. [MW]

A report providing data and summarizing research from an examination of Pacific business activity across New Zealand, particularly data on the industries Pasifika business owners are involved in and the regions they are in. It analysed two 2017 research projects on Pasifika business owners in Auckland that provided insights into their characteristics and common experiences of establishing and running their businesses. It also incorporated results from an online study completed by Pasifika entrepreneurs in Auckland. The report highlights the contributions made by Pasifika business owners in New Zealand, and aimed to find ways to help them succeed, as well as encourage further entrepreneurship within Pacific communities.

- Reedy, Riripeti, *E Tū Ake! Investment in Wāhine Māori and Pasifika Women*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2014.

A short paper aiming to use data from the Māori and Pacific Trades Training initiative to improve the economic independence of wāhine Māori and Pasifika. It expands on the findings of the Ministry for Women's report *E Tū Ake! Stand Tall and Proud* on effective policy initiatives and programmes, specifically in the context of the Tāmaki-Makaurau region. Using demographic data from four Auckland board areas, it analyses the effectiveness of a social investment programme by comparing incomes between the areas. The paper argues that further, more detailed research and analysis focusing on wāhine Māori and Pasifika demographics is needed to find policy solutions that would support these women into employment.

Online access: https://ojs.victoria.ac.nz/LEW/issue/view/212.

Women in the Economy

- *Building back better: Utilising women's labour in the Canterbury recovery, A snapshot of the research findings*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2013. [MW]

A pamphlet summarising the main points of the full research report findings. The report surveyed Christchurch women (both unemployed and non-professional) to look into whether there was potential to interest more women to work on the building recovery, and found that there was a large, untapped, 'hidden' workforce of women in Canterbury. The pamphlet sets out the need for more workers for the Christchurch recovery, and the reasons that women are not currently applying for this type of work, as well as what would encourage women to apply for such jobs. The pamphlet promotes encouraging these women to enter the workforce involved in the rebuilding effort.

- *Getting it done: Utilising women's skills in the workforce – Lessons from the Canterbury rebuild, A case study by the Ministry for Women*, Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2015. [MW]

A report presenting findings on research into the lessons to be learnt from the Canterbury earthquake recovery in terms of employment. The report discusses the work the Ministry has undertaken to improve the numbers of women in trades in Canterbury. It has collated available data on the measures that have worked to grow these numbers, and sets out a case on what further needs to be done. It also displays some case studies of local Canterbury leaders who have worked to increase the number of women involved in the rebuild. The report provides guidance aimed at employers, industry groups, training organisations and schools, in order to help them to grow the number of women in the trades in Canterbury, as well as showing those in other regions how it is possible to improve those numbers in their region.

- *Growing your trades workforce: How to attract women to your jobs*, Ministry for Women: Minitatanga mō ngā Wāhine, Wellington, 2014. [MW]

A pamphlet for managers and directors in the trades industry, aimed at encouraging them to employ more women, and giving advice on how to do so. It sets out reasons for hiring women and the advantages in doing so, including the ways it can give a competitive edge to companies. It also gives tips as to how to encourage women to apply when advertising new jobs. The pamphlet is primarily made up of encouraging quotes from industry leaders and women who are working in the trades. It also provides a list of websites for more information.
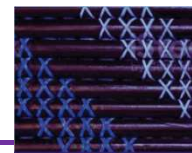
- *Growing your trades workforce: Te Whakatipu i tō taiao mahi ā-rehe*, Manatū Wāhine: Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2021. [MW]

A refresh of the 2014 pamphlet to encourage trades industry leaders to employ more women, this booklet primarily outlines the advantages of a gender diverse workforce, and advises employers on how best to attract women to vacancies in their workforce. It showcases comments from women currently working in the trades and their employers.

- *Inspiring action: Action plans and research to help you attract and retain talented women*, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington, 2010. [MW]

An annotated bibliography of articles and reports related to women in business. It was published to direct New Zealand businesses towards a research base of literature on gender diversity in business. The publication supports the Ministry's broader goal to assist businesses to develop and improve women's career opportunities. It includes 117 articles and reports, both domestic and international, covering seven employment topics most relevant to women: Action; Business Case; Career Breaks and Flexible Working; The Data Story; Leadership; New Zealand Data and Research; and Unconscious Bias.

- *Ngā wāhine kaipakihi: he tirohanga, Māori women in business: Insights*, National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women and Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2019. [MW]
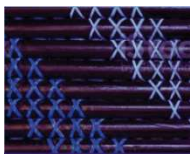
A report collecting the key data and details about businesses owned by Māori women, in order to see what lessons this data can teach us about how and where these businesses are successful, and how to support wāhine Māori to further this success. After the Ministers' introductions, the report highlights two essays voicing the perspectives of two experts in the field, and showcases the stories of six successful wāhine Māori in business. It summarises the data collected from the study on wāhine Māori in business around New Zealand illustrated by tables. It looks at the ages, personal details, education and qualifications, incomes, region and industries of these women, and particularly focuses on whether they employ other people, particularly wāhine Māori, and their involvement in their communities.

- *Trades industries – beyond construction: Ngā taiao mahi ā-rehe*, Manatū Wāhine: Ministry for Women, Wellington, 2021. [MW]

This booklet is intended to attract women and girls into the construction and trades industries. It highlights the opportunities available in the construction and related industries, particularly in less traditional or well-known roles, and tries to dispel the lingering myths that discourage women's participation in the sector. The booklet explicitly profiles women working in different roles within the industries, giving them a platform to describe what these roles have to offer women and their own positive experiences.

- *Women in Innovation Summit: Enabling and Empowering through the Tech Sector - Summary and Recommendations*, National Advisory Council of Employment of Women, Wellington, 2014.

A report summarising the outcome of two summits organised by NACEW in Auckland and Wellington, to start a public conversation about the issue and identify potential policy solutions to recommend to the Government. The purpose of the summits was to bring together 90 leaders in education, government and business, in order to discuss the reasons for, and solutions to the gender imbalance in the digital technology industry. The summit identified opportunities available to women and girls in the industry, the barriers preventing women from starting or staying, and recommendations for overcoming it. The report outlines all these findings and key messages from the summit, as well as the final recommendations on the issues under discussion.

Annotated Bibliography: All sources not published by the Ministry

[NL] = Available at National Library

Formation of the Ministry: The 1980s

- Aitken, J., 'Women's Work', *Future Times* (Autumn, 1989), p. 6.

An article by Judith Aitken as head of the Ministry of Women's Affairs, about the remaining barriers to women blocking the fight for equality, and the role the Ministry has in removing these barriers. She says that though the legal obstacles to equality have been removed, those remaining are the entrenched structural barriers that are hardest to eliminate, those created by tradition and attitudes. Aitken's objectives for the Ministry were to ensure that policy-making includes input from women, and that other agencies take women's needs into account. The Ministry has created a guidance 'checklist' for government agencies as a way to compel these actions. The article also describes other strategies that the Ministry is working on in order to remove economic obstacles, including the gender pay gap, employment opportunities and discrimination. The main project underway was a research survey on the extent and conditions of unpaid work, in collaboration with the Department of Statistics.

- Coney, S., 'First meeting of the Advisory Group for the newly formed Ministry of Women's Affairs', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 123, No. 6 (1984), p. 6.
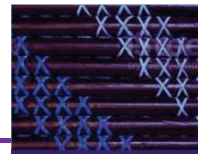
A very short magazine article accompanied by a photo and list of the Advisory Group at their first meeting. It briefly describes the function of the group, as well as issues and problems that different groups and women have raised about the potential Ministry, including its structure and funding. It also criticises representation of women on the recent economic summit. The article asks readers to submit any input or suggestions they might have for the group.

Online access: https://broadsheet.auckland.ac.nz/document/1984_%28Nos._116-125%29/No._123_%28October_1984%29/p1?action=null

- Gee, Debbie, 'Te Ohu Whakatupu', *Agenda,* 1988/1989, Wellington.

An interview with the entire team of Te Ohu Whakatupu, it discusses the role and purpose of the unit. It describes the purpose as primarily to provide policy advice on wāhine Māori issues. The article starts by looking at the establishment of the unit in a new, alternative way to the normal public service process, appointing staff in a method that accords with tikanga. First a committee of five wāhine Māori advised Mary O'Regan on the process, and three further wāhine Māori organised regional hui to allow local communities to have input into the nominations of an eight-member interview panel. This meant that from the start Te Ohu Whakatupu was based and focused on tikanga, and had significant connections to the wāhine Māori community. The staff interviewed discussed how they look at feminist issues from a specifically Māori perspective, in ways that are embedded in tikanga, and that they do not like Pākehā men or women deciding those perspectives on behalf of wāhine Māori.

The staff also discuss unemployment as one of the key issues for Māori women, and therefore a key focus for the unit. They have been working on ACCESS programmes as well as related social issues such as education, health, housing and land. Te Ohu Whakatupu manager Miriama Evans tries to work with the rest of the Ministry staff and Department (then Ministry) of Māori Affairs, particularly on funding programmes such as Pūtea Pounamu. The staff see networking as very important to the unit, and at this point are slightly worried about the shift they are starting to see towards a more bureaucratic, less collective system under the new CE, Judith Aitken. They would like also like other Pākehā staff to give them more assistance with their heavy workloads. The unit

had recently undergone a review process from the wāhine Māori community throughout the country, to examine its progress and work programme – the results were still being processed.

- Hall, S., 'The Forums', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 131, No. 7 (July/Aug 1985), p. 7.

A small article analysing a group of reports on the forums organised by the Ministry of Women in the year previously, discussed the policy priorities of the forums. The point of the forums was to ask questions and get as many responses from the public as possible. The article assessed and ranked the reports by the viability of their recommendations, and the extent of their coverage of the priorities under discussion. The article also looked at the priorities that were ignored at the forum, as being just as important. The reports on the forum (and therefore the article) focused specifically on the broader neglect by Labour of wāhine Māori and Pasifika. The forums attempted to address this neglect in their recommendations on Te Reo and Māori health and other welfare issues. The article focuses on the main priority emphasised by the public at the forum, childcare. It goes on to praise the strong feminist voice heard throughout the report, and credits the Minister for Women for her achievement in managing to establish the new Ministry, and for its potential future achievements.

Online access: https://broadsheet.auckland.ac.nz/document/1985_%28Nos._126-135%29/No._131_%28July-August_1985%29/p1?action=null

- McCulloch, A., 'Judith Aitken: She for whom the bills toll', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 162, No. 20 (1988). [NL]
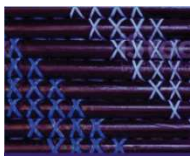
The article interviews Judith Aitken as the newly appointed (officially first) Chief Executive of the Ministry of Women's Affairs. Though essentially a biography, it also discusses the controversy surrounding her appointment as a 'right-wing feminist', and her ideas about feminism and capitalism. It goes on to ask Aitken about her plans for the future of the Ministry. She explains her views about certain expressions of the collective and bicultural environment of the Ministry being unnecessary, such as weekly meetings about personal circumstances, and discussions about racism. She wanted to put a renewed emphasis on policy analysis in the planned staffing restructure, and saw the Ministry's chief function as providing the Government with policy advice on women's issues.

Online access: https://broadsheet.auckland.ac.nz/document/1988_%28Nos._155-164%29/No._162_%28October_1988%29/p1?page=0andaction=searchresultandtarget=

- McDowell, Te Aroha, 'Tokenism in the Ministry', *INNZNA [Broadsheet]*, No. 128 (April 1985), Auckland, pp. 28-30.

An article from a Māori feminist perspective attacking the lack of support and even undermining of Māori women and their kaupapa from Pākehā feminists in the New Zealand women's movement. It criticises the limited role given to Māori women in public affairs and social policy, and asserts that white feminists are fighting for changes that will still render Māori women invisible. The article warned against the potential for this to continue within the proposed Ministry of Women's Affairs, in light of the submissions on the Ministry that Pākehā feminists had submitted up to that point, which, while making some tokenistic gestures, had no provision to genuinely represent wāhine Māori and their kaupapa Māori perspectives. It warns of the consequences of ignoring this imperative, but does not expect any response from the State Services Commission to the submission of Māori women on their special demands for an alternative, kaupapa Māori structure and selection process for the Ministry.

Online access: https://broadsheet.auckland.ac.nz/docs/1985/Broadsheet-1985-128.pdf

- McLeod, Marion, 'Out among the women', *NZ Listener*, Vol. 121, No. 2526 (30 July 1988), pp. 22-23. [NL]

Interview of Mary O'Regan, Secretary of Woman's Affairs 1985-1988, at the end of her service as Secretary. The interview examines the activities and achievements of the department during that time, as well as asking her about personal goals and work with Women's Refuge. It particularly concentrates on O'Regan's view of the primary objectives [and direction] of the Ministry, and her own approach to Ministry operations. The article describes the creation and recruitment of Te Ohu Whakatupu at the beginning of the Ministry. O'Regan uses it as an example of the Ministry's approach in using community engagement to help achieve its objective to change government processes. The article also comments on the significant under-funding of the Ministry, which limited its fulfillment of even its policy remit.

- McTagget, Sue, 'All dressed up and nowhere to go', *NZ Listener*, Vol.109, No. 2343 (12 January 1985). [NL]

This article interviews Minister of Women's Affairs Ann Hercus about the expectations that women have for the ministry. She blames the delay in appointing a permanent head for the Ministry on the Opposition (which would allow it to be officially established). Minister Hercus describes the hard work that her 20 staff have put into establishing the Ministry during the previous five months. The article also talked to Mira Szászy about the effects of the delay on setting up the Māori Women's secretariat within the ministry, and speaks to the Ministry spokesperson for Pasifika issues Louisa Crawley about the Ministry's plans to improve the welfare of Pasifika women.
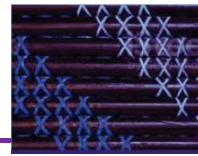
- Nathan, Judith, *Establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs: A case study of the creation of a new organisation*, Unpublished MA thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1989.

A PhD thesis on the establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs primarily in terms of leadership and management, and their impact on the creation development and culture of an organisation. The thesis therefore outlines in great detail the first decisions and actions taken to establish the Ministry, including those on its function, organisation, policy and strategy. It closely examines the early culture of the Ministry, using (anonymous) responses from those who were involved in the Ministry in its first years, particularly concentrating on staffing issues, such as pressures on staff and attrition. The thesis also specifically discusses the role of Te Ohu Whakatupu, including why and how it was established, staffing appointments, and how it worked within the Ministry, particularly in terms of exploring how biculturalism was valued in the Ministry.

- Rankine, Jenny, 'Māori Women and the Ministry', *Broadsheet*, Sept. 1985, p. 26.

A short article interviewing Atareta Poananga (of Mana Motukahake) about the group's issues with the newly created Ministry under Ann Hercus as Minister. Poananga expresses the dissatisfaction of Titewhai Harawira and herself with the white-washing of the 'collaborationist' Ministry, as the way that the new Māori unit was decided on was "ultimately tokenist" and subverted to Pākehā interests from its very inception. Even the supposedly radical group (including Donna Awatere) who submitted the request for the unit had accepted a 'reformist' and 'assimilationist' solution. The two (Poananga and Harawira) expected the Ministry would completely disregard the views and concerns of Māori staff, in their advisory role, because it had been limited to 7 of the 20 staff, rather than the 12 requested by the Tāmaki Makaurau group. The unit staff would merely be co-opted by the Pākehā power dynamic, subject to public service regulations, so remaining powerless and marginalised. Mana Motuhake had pushed for a completely autonomous structure headed by wāhine Māori, which was the only model that would support mana wāhine and mana motuhake.

Online access: https://broadsheet.auckland.ac.nz/document/1985_%28Nos._126-135%29/No._132_%28September_1985%29/p1?action=null

- Rosier, Pat, 'Making a Ministry', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 139, No. 17 (1986).

A long article setting out the structure and staff of the new Ministry of Women's Affairs immediately after its establishment. It details the alternative staff hiring process undertaken by the new Secretary of the Ministry (Mary O'Regan), particularly for Te Ohu Whakatupu, the Māori Unit. The article gives credit to the Ministry for following (for the most part) the recommendations of the Māori Women's submission regarding the hiring process. The article then provides specific profiles on every new staff member in the Ministry, starting with Te Ohu Whakatupu, before outlining the purpose of the Ministry as set out in legislation and how it will work. Rosier gives a 'review' of how well the Ministry is likely to deliver on its promise, from a feminist perspective, how it is already performing, and what she would like to see it achieve in future. She was sceptical that the Ministry would be able to continue its principle of collective decision-making for long within the public service, or be able to effectively challenge problematic policies of each government of the day. Rosier also called for the Ministry to pay for community consultation and research it undertakes, as well as provide extra resources.

Online access: https://broadsheet.auckland.ac.nz/document/1986_%28Nos._136-145%29/No._139_%28May_1986%29/p1?page=0andaction=searchresultandtarget=

- Rosier, Pat, 'Approaches to Efficiency and Effectiveness in Government Departments', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 169, No. 9 (1989).

A brief article on a Judith Aitken speech to the Senior Executive Service about her reforms at the Ministry. It summarises the harsh criticisms (apparently) Aitken expressed about the earlier incarnation of the Ministry in her speech, and lists her strategies to remake the Ministry. Rosier summarises the expectations women can have of the future Ministry after the complete transformation Aitken intended, as revealed in the speech. All that can be done is to try to support those women still working there in trying to maintain 'feminist integrity'.

Online access: https://broadsheet.auckland.ac.nz/document/1989_%28Nos._165-174%29/No._169_%28June_1989%29/p1?page=0andaction=searchresultandtarget=

- Rosier, Pat, 'Up and running', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 157, No. 14 (1988), pp. 14-18.

A long article that assesses the achievements of the Ministry of Women's Affairs at the end of the first three years since its inception. It looks at how effective the Ministry, and particularly Mary O'Regan, had been in her attempt to create a new, more democratic and women-friendly way of running a Ministry. It acknowledged the challenges of the effort as well as the progress that had been made up to that point, but also criticised the extent to which the Ministry still had to deliver on its promise. However the author was essentially fairly positive in her assessment of the Ministry's potential for delivering change, stating that she was "broadly optimistic". The article primarily closely examines the achievements of the Ministry up to that point. The latter includes discussions of the cervical screening submission; Rūnanga Kuia; research projects on wāhine Māori to create an information database; the women's 'Checklist' for public service agencies; the Ministry's influence on the 'Social Equity Cabinet Committee' to advance women's interests; the Women's Resource Networks; their payments to women's groups for research work; community outreach; and their work on childcare, health and rural issues. It also looks at Te Ohu Whakatupu and its influence in creating a genuinely bicultural workplace, and making sure the Ministry operates with Treaty of Waitangi principles at its core.

Online access: https://broadsheet.auckland.ac.nz/document/1988_%28Nos._155-164%29/No._157_%28April_1988%29/p1?page=0andaction=searchresultandtarget=women

- Rosier, Pat, 'BROADCAST: The Ministry of Women's Affairs', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 173, No. 9 (1989), pp. 9-10.

A review of sorts of the latest 'outputs' from the Ministry, including *A Women's Guide to Housing*, the latest issue of *Pānui*, a discussion paper called *Valuing Women's Unpaid Work*, and that year's annual report and statement of intent. Rosier welcomes the idea of the discussion paper doing
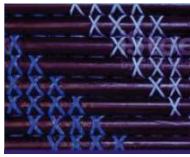
research on women's unpaid work, which is desperately needed, but she also criticises the lack of differentiation between voluntary work that helps women challenge the oppressive social structure, and the work that upholds that structure. She also wanted the paper to look at the difficulties of gaining financial funding. In general the 'review' welcomes some of the statements made by the Ministry that signify any type of challenge to the conventional system, but also criticises the Ministry for its lack of real action, rather than just statements.

Online access: https://broadsheet.auckland.ac.nz/document/1989_%28Nos._165-174%29/No._173_%28November_1989%29/p1?page=0andaction=searchresultandtarget=

- Tamihana, Shirley and Rosier, Pat, 'Ehara taku toa; te toa taka tahi engari he toa taka tini: My strength is not one of the individual but one of unity', *Broadsheet*, Vol. 169, No. 9 (1989).

In this article Te Ohu Whakatupu staff members, Lee-Anne Farrach, Carrol Thomson and Powhiri Rika-Heke talk to the Broadsheet interviewer about changes at Te Ohu Whakatupu under the leadership of Judith Aitken. Primarily they express their dissatisfaction with structural changes at the Ministry, a disregard of the views and concerns of Māori staff, and a refusal to implement a genuine bicultural environment, or bicultural policy at the Ministry. Lee-Anne Farrach discusses the circumstances which led to her resignation.
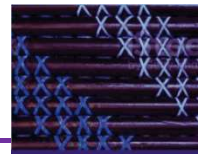
Online access: https://broadsheet.auckland.ac.nz/document/1989_%28Nos._165-174%29/No._169_%28June_1989%29/p1?page=0andaction=searchresultandtarget=

- Waring, Marilyn, 'Small percentage', *NZ Listener*, Vol. 109, No. 2358 (27 April 1985), Wellington, pp. 26-27. [NL]

The article comments on National Party opposition to the establishment of a Ministry of Women's Affairs, and her response to some of the submissions on this establishment from the public, including submissions from groups such as Women for Life and the National Council of Women. It proposes an auditing checklist for projects and legislation on how these might affect women's issues.

- Washington, Sally, 'Great expectations: The Ministry of Women's Affairs and public policy', *Race, Gender, Class*, No. 7 (1988), pp. 7-16. [NL]

An article written for a public policy forum (event) inserted in the journal, by a public servant who actually works for the Ministry, but writes in an independent capacity. She justifies the existence of the Ministry, writing about the need for the Ministry because of the lack of women in decision-making roles, and the reality of women's position using statistics. She describes the purpose, and 'great expectations' of the work of the Ministry, and outlines the way the Ministry can best achieve these expectations. The article argues that progress can in fact be made working 'within the system' by changing the decision making processes of government, and by modelling a collective decision-making process while being directed by a feminist perspective and purpose. There are special benefits to working within the system the Ministry can therefore use to their advantage to force change, such as access to information about policies before they are implemented. The Ministry can then influence policy by making sure the needs of women, including wāhine Māori, are taken into account by other departments, as well as training some of the staff in other departments with a practical policy checklist, to make sure that policy meets women's needs. The Ministry can also model best practice, particularly in regard to ensuring a truly bicultural environment within the Ministry, affirmative action programmes, and work on wāhine Māori issues. The article lastly argues for the Ministry's ability to have an impact by empowering women themselves through providing research, information and resources, and ensuring women's representation in leadership and governance positions, such as on boards.

The Ministry in the 1990s

- 'Advancing Māori women's interests', *Kahungunu*, No. 5 (July 1993), p. 26.

This article provides information on Te Ohu Whakatupu and the aims of their Think Export conference for Māori women in business.

- Cohen, D., 'Women's Stories (the Ministry never told us)', *North and South*, No. 127 (October 1996), pp. 122-129.

This article, written from the perspective of a self-described 'typical conservative New Zealand male', analyses the role and achievements of the Ministry since its inception. Supported by interviews with Chief Executive Judy Lawrence and Minister of Women's Affairs Jenny Shipley, it explores and criticises a perceived lack of purpose and policy work by the Ministry. It comments particularly on the non-completion of Suffrage Centennial Year projects.

- Curtin, Jennifer, *The Ministry of Women's Affairs: Where Feminism and Public Policy Meet*, Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 1992.

A thesis submitted for a Masters degree at Waikato University, it provides a substantial investigation specifically of the role and effectiveness of the Ministry of Women's Affairs from its inception in 1985 until 1990. It examines the "extent to which the Ministry of Women's Affairs has contributed to or affected social change for women during the period of the Fourth Labour Government". It investigates three key questions or elements: what strategies the Ministry adopted; what compromises the Ministry might have had to make; and whether significant gains could be made for women through this type of government agency with a feminist underpinning. The thesis concluded that it was possible for such an agency to make considerable advances for women, if these changes are attempted with the support and assistance of the broader women's movement.

- 'Domestic violence', *Te Māori News*, Vol. 3, No. 18 (September 1994), pp. 18-19.
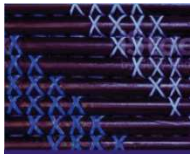
This news article discusses the main characteristics of domestic violence, including the disproportionate and escalating numbers of Māori men involved in the incidents. It includes three sections which look separately at the work of Te Ohu Whakatupu, Te Rūnanga Tane and the NZ Children and Young Persons Service in addressing violence. The latter section focuses particularly on the impact of emotional abuse on children.

- Else, Anne (Ed.), *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand in the Ministry of Commerce and its Predecessors, 1894-1993,* Women's Suffrage Centennial Project, Ministry of Commerce in association with Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs and Daphne Brasell Associates, Wellington, 1993.

A general history of women's organisations in New Zealand which contains some references to the Ministry, including specifically to Te Ohu Whakatupu. It refers to the importance of the MWWL to the establishment of Te Ohu Whakatupu, and refers to hui organised by Te Ohu Whakatupu, specifically the Pūtea Pounamu programme (1987-1991). It mentions the Ministry as a source of grants for different women's organisations, seminars and meetings, as a liaison point to be able to assist and support different cultural women's groups with community issues/problems, women's business organisations such as Zonta, Altrusa and Soroptimists, and political organisations such as the National Council of Women.

- 'Experienced, motivated new manager for Te Ohu Whakatupu: Raising profiles of Māori women', *Māori News,* Vol. 1 No. 21 (November 1996), p. 3.

A fairly long article interviewing Paula Snowden on her appointment as manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu. It describes her background and experience, and reports Snowden's comments on

understanding the lives of Māori women, having been a single parent. It looks at the unit's functions, aims and policy focus, along with Snowden's own new objectives for the unit and for Māori women.

- *Hauora Wāhine Māori: Recent Directions for Māori Women's Health, 1984-1994*, A Report to the Population Health Services section, Kotuku Partners, Ministry of Health, 1994.

A Ministry of Health report on the health of wāhine Māori, it includes recommendations from Rūnanga Kuia and other hui organised by Te Ohu Whakatupu.

- 'Karahipi Wāhine Māori', *Pū kāea*, Jul/Aug 1997, p. 19.

The article profiles Glynis Philip-Barbara, the recipient of the Karahipi Wāhine Māori scholarship from Te Ohu Whakatupu for 1997. The scholarship was not just based on academic merit, but also on more traditional tikanga Māori values. It aimed to promote public policy development and foster other skills and talents among young wāhine Māori, as well as provide the networking opportunities that came with working at Te Ohu Whakatupu, and encourage them to continue their career at the Ministry.

- 'Māori Women's awareness Week/Te Wa Te Wāhine Māori: Te Iho Kohine', *Te Māori News*, Vol.2 No.21 (December 1993), p. 9.

This news article outlines the activities and objectives of the 'Māori Women's awareness Week event organised by Te Ohu Whakatupu. It discusses the role of Te Iho Kohine.

- 'Māori women's role in preserving te reo Māori applauded by Ministry of Women's Affairs', *Te Māori News*, Vol.4, No. 24, December 1995, p. 8.
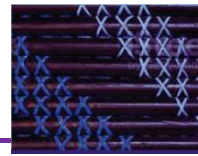
A small notice in the paper, inserted by the Ministry, promoting the Karanga project for Te Tau o Te Reo Māori. It quotes Ria Earp as Manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu on the importance of projects such as Karanga for preserving Te Reo, and as a historical taonga, before briefly describing the project and its objectives.

- 'Ministry seeks women's input', *Kia Hiwa Ra*, No. 31 (June 1995), p. 19.

This article discusses the Ministry of Women's Affairs consultation with women on matrimonial issues, after the Government signalled a willingness to revisit legislation on the issue. The Ministry held separate consultations with Māori and Pākehā women on matrimonial property. It found that all women continued to be concerned about shared property being divided fairly and equally after divorce. It continued to be a large problem for women who were left with custody of children, particularly with the subsequent added burden of finding paid work. Māori women were concerned about issues with shared property and qualification-loss from the ending of de facto relationships and also from deaths. For Māori women property might include family heirlooms, taonga, or land, which could then be an issue with regard to their whānau or hapū. Māori women wanted a more consistent approach in the relevant legislation. Māori women were also concerned about adoptions in the Pākehā system, outside of whānau or hapū, and the consequences for Māori children.

- 'Ministry focuses on women's needs', *Kia Hiwa Ra*, No. 46, (October 1996), p. 6.

An article celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Ministry of Women's Affairs. It highlights the Ministry's work for women and the Wāhine Pakari programme.

- 'Ministry updates business booklet', *Kia Hiwa Ra*, No.26 (December 1994/January 1995), p.6.

The very brief article simply informs readers that an updated version of the booklet 'Māori women: Steps to enterprise', produced by Te Ohu Whakatupu, was launched on Suffrage Day. The booklet was originally published in 1989 as a resource kit, to assist wāhine Māori to apply for investment or loans for their businesses. The updated version was published as a booklet, and expanded the remit to give practical advice around all the stages of establishing a new business, though still focusing on applying for investment.

- 'New appointed manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu', *Te Māori news*, March 1995, p. 11.

A very brief article on the appointment of Ria Earp as the new manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu, which describes her qualifications and background, and her priorities for the direction of the unit during her appointment. She intended to employ more analysts to look at policy impacts on wāhine Māori, particularly matrimonial property and health issues, and domestic violence policy; to improve education and employment opportunities for Māori girls and women; and to expressly promote Te Reo during *Te Tau o Te Reo Māori*.

- 'New manager aims to make an impact on issues affecting Māori women', *Kōkiri Paetae*, No. 6, January 1997, p. 4.

The article interviews the newly-appointed manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu, Paula Snowden. It briefly discusses her vision of the role, but primarily looks at her biography and personal details to demonstrate her strong support for Te Reo and the autonomy of wāhine Māori, particularly her desire to see more Māori women in government leadership roles.

- 'Nominations Service looking for recruits', *Kia Hiwa Ra*, No.31 (June 1995), p. 28.

The article details a call for Māori women to put their names on the Nominations Service database, a part of the Ministry of Women's Affairs that provides other government agencies with names of women suitable for appointment to statutory boards and committees.

- 'Proceedings of Te Hua o te Whānau', *Whānau Health and Development Conference 16 April 1999*, Ministry of Health, Wellington.

This paper covers the proceedings of a conference on Health and Development. The conference included contributions by Māori women, who reported 'challenges' dealing with agencies. Te Ohu Whakatupu also gave a presentation at the conference.

Online access:
http://www.moh.govt.nz/NoteBook/nbbooks.nsf/0/D8DCE9970277E8364C25689C0071F7A6/$file/Proceddings%20of%20Te%20Hua%20o%20te%20Whānau.pdf

- 'Rūnanga Kuia: Kuia urge a strong and committed effort by both Māori and government', *Kahungunu*, No. 4 (May 1993), pp. 10-11.
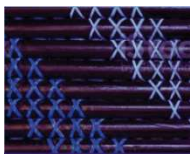
The article describes the Rūnanga Kuia forum convened by Te Ohu Whakatupu to acknowledge the contributions of kuia to Māori development. It includes the implications of the series of submissions drafted at the hui.

- 'Rūnanga Kuia', *Kia Ora*, Vol.1, No. 5, June/July 1993, pp. 6, 15.

The paper presents the main issues, points and submissions made by the conference organised by Te Ohu Whakatupu. It covers welfare, education, business and health, and mentions speakers Doug Kidd and Jenny Shipley.

Online access:
http://www.moh.govt.nz/NoteBook/nbbooks.nsf/0/A00FF1C758F401B9CC256AC600091A88/$file/hauora%20wāhine%20Māori.pdf

- Tahi, Brenda, 'Biculturalism: The model of Te Ohu Whakatupu', in *Justice and Identity: Antipodean Practices*, University of Waikato/Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1995, pp. 61–77.

An essay written by a Manager of Te Ohu Whakatupu, published in a collection of New Zealand essays. Tahi wrote the essay to explain the policy aims of Te Ohu Whakatupu and the importance of their implementation as good business practice, rather than just a theoretical policy idea. It criticises the insufficient attempts by the public service to apply real bicultural practices up to that point, and points to the success of Te Ohu Whakatupu as a model for government agencies to implement a bicultural structure. It first looked at historical attitudes to biculturalism from both Māori and Pākehā, and briefly at the establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Te Ohu Whakatupu. The essay then outlined the success of Te Ohu Whakatupu in terms of its work for Māori women, and how to achieve those successes. It particularly emphasised the importance of consultation and engagement with Māori in the community, and for the agency to remain the voice of Māori women in terms of policy advice. It also looks at the role of the Treaty and Treaty-based arguments, and how it should become the framework for all policy analysis in the Ministry (and public service in general).

- 'Women's week a major success', *Kia Hiwa Ra*, No. 16, January/February 1994, p. 20.

A very small article on the outcomes of Te Wa o te Wāhine Māori, Māori Women's Week. Te Ohu Whakatupu coordinated a programme of events and activities throughout the country to celebrate the week. The primary outcome from the events (for Te Ohu Whakatupu) was finding that Māori women wanted to become more involved in economic issues, business and investment. Many of the events organised provided the opportunity for Māori women to gain advice on careers in these areas, and on tax and small business development. Other activities included hui, sport, music and art events.
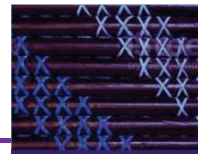
The Ministry in the 2000s

- Davis, Lisa, 'Promoting Māori Women's Economic Independence Scoping Paper', unpublished, 2008.

A policy paper commissioned by the Ministry to inform its policy work. The paper looks into developing a project to promote economic independence for wāhine Māori through improving economic opportunities and choice, and thereby ensuring and increasing incomes. The paper outlines the key issues and drivers of the economic gap, and why solutions need to be different for wāhine Māori, recommending an 'intervention strategy'. It identifies work that might be undertaken for such a project and recommends further research, evidence and literature that could inform the project.

- Hyman, Prue, 'Consultations, Submissions, the Ministry Of Women's Affairs et al.', *WSA Newsletter* Vol. 23, No. 3 (2003), pp. 11-12. [NL]

This journal article is on the current work of the Ministry from the perspective of the Women's Studies Association (WSA). The efforts of the WSA to make submissions on government policy issues have dropped off since 2000, but Hyman has written a brief submission on the new Action Plan. She mentions her own history working for the Ministry to give context to her criticisms. She primarily focuses on why she looks at the new Action plan with cynicism, and how a broader sense of 'disquiet' about the Ministry has sprung up, at least in Wellington. Hyman discusses the loss of "experienced" feminist staff with rapid turnover, and management (HR) problems, including a lack of appreciation of policy skills. She sees a problem with the Minister being seen as the only 'client', not women themselves (despite the founding legislation of the Ministry). She is also disappointed by the lack of quality of policy writing, and the dilution of feminist perspectives because of the nature of its existence as a ministry. The ministry focuses too much on progress that has been made, rather than the problems to solve/gap to fill. Submissions from outside are just cosmetic

consultation, in her experience, with decisions having already been made. However the new Action Plan had the opposite problem, where it seemed to be asking women's groups to do the work of the Ministry. It does not take account of the Ministry's own proper gender analysis framework. Hyman goes on to discuss the points she made in her submission to the Ministry on the Action Plan, about equal pay and sharing 'caring' work. She specifically supports a UBI, and ends by emphasising the need for real results from the Action Plan.

- 'Inequalities between Māori and Non Māori', *Te Karere Māori News*, Vol. 201, No.25 (October 2001), p. 2.

A very brief article announcing the release of the Ministry report 'Māori women: Mapping Inequalities and Pointing Ways Forward', and its key findings. It states that the report identifies inequalities that exist between gender and race in six areas: education, employment, income health, housing and criminal justice, and looks into strategies for the Government to address them. The article also summarises the Ministers speech at the launch, remarking on the report's conclusions about the need for greater co-operation between agencies to address the issues. It quotes her remarks on the report's potential use by iwi and hapū as well as government, and its data revealing the commonalities and differences between different groups, broken down by gender and race. The Minister also announced a new push for consultation with wāhine Māori to develop a Woman's Strategy.

- Kahu, Ella and Morgan, Mandy, 'A critical discourse analysis of New Zealand government policy: Women as Mothers and Workers', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 30, No.2 (2007), pp. 134-146.
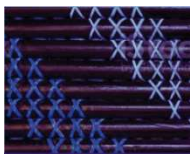
This article critically analyses a Ministry of Women's Affairs policy document, the *Action Plan for New Zealand Women*. It employs the analysis in order to explore the way women's identities as mothers and workers are socially constructed. The article firstly looks at how the *Action Plan* privileges certain feminist discourses over others in its vision for the future. The article states that policy has influence over women's lives by promoting certain discourses over others; the policy in the *Action Plan* supports feminist discourses advocating for women's participation in the public sphere. The article argues that in these discourses paid work is privileged over caregiving, and that the *Action Plan* in turn minimises the value of motherhood as compared to the public 'duty' of paid work. It explores the idea that this judgement is grounded on capitalist goals of increased productivity and economic growth. The article suggests in effect that the Plan is driven primarily by an economic agenda rather than the needs of women.

- Teghtsoonian, K., 'Disparate Fates in Challenging Times: Women's Policy Agencies and Neoliberalism in Aotearoa/New Zealand and British Columbia', *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 38, No. 2, (2005), pp. 307-333.

This article develops an explanation for the different approaches to existing women's policy agencies adopted by governments of the right elected to office in Aotearoa/New Zealand (in 1990) and in the province of British Columbia (in 2001). It explores the interaction between these institutional variables and the particular way in which a discourse of 'special interests' has been expressed within the party of the right in each case.

- Thom, A., 'It's only fair', *Mana*, No. 47 (August/September 2002), p. 41.

A short article that discusses the Ministry's project to encourage pay equity, as the writer helped to launch the project discussion document called 'Next Steps Towards Pay Equity'. The article looks at the statistical evidence on pay inequities between different but similar types of jobs, traditionally aligned with one gender or the other, and it adds the ethnic/race disparity between Māori and Pākehā into the discussion. It criticises the lack of attention given this issue in the past, and the reluctance to bring up racism and cultural displacement as factors in the disparity, even in the Ministry's pay equity document.

The Ministry in 2011–2020

- 'Making an impact', *Public Sector*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (July 2010), pp. 16-17.

The article speaks to the Chief Executive of the Ministry of Women's Affairs, Shenagh Gleisner, as she prepares to step down from the role. It talks about her reaction to critics who say there is no need for a Ministry of Women's Affairs, the main issues impacting New Zealand women and the achievements of the organisation under her leadership.

Online access: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/politics-and-gender/article/analyzing-institutional-persistence-the-case-of-the-ministry-of-womens-affairs-in-aotearoanew-zealand/4770173D48B825EF0F054E3927B47622

- Northcott, R., 'A woman of influence', *Public Sector,* Vol. 39, No. 4 (2016), pp. 12-13.

This article interviews Dr Jo Cribb, a Chief Executive of the Ministry for Women for four years, just before she left the post for consultancy work. The interviewer questioned Cribb about her past achievements in her academic and professional background in the public sector, particularly as one of the youngest people ever appointed a leader of a public sector. She spoke of her struggles as well as the support and opportunities she received to achieve her success. Cribb described the new 'business model' she initiated during her tenure, as a new way of working for the Ministry, with greater emphasis on influencing 'clients' to make policy changes. She listed her achievements in the office, such as encouraging more women into trades to assist the Christchurch rebuild, and putting prevention at the heart of the Government's policies on violence against women, as well as improving state sector board representation. Cribb also defended the role and necessity of the Ministry, and talked about the need for traditional gender roles to be reassessed to enable further progress. She strongly believes in encouraging and supporting the new generation of young women.

Online access: https://issuu.com/ipanz/docs/psj_39_4_final
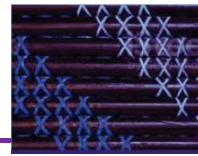
Manuscript Sources: Alexander Turnbull Library

- MS-Papers-11269-22 – The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/1-7/19

A folder of Ministry of Women's Affairs' papers primarily made up of newspaper articles about, and telexed press accounts sent back from, an international women's conference held at Nairobi to mark the end of the UN International Women's Decade. Some of the delegates were from the Ministry, including Mary O'Regan, and therefore several telexed reports mention the Ministry, its staff and work. One telex is specifically about the New Zealand delegation speech by Minister Ann Hercus, and discusses the response to Māori greetings and waiata from the delegation. The folder also includes reports on the conference: one by Helen Clark, who attended as one of New Zealand delegation, along with associated news articles on the conference; another by Sonja Davies which refers to a delegate's speech on Māori women's issues at the conference. Other reports on the conference are by the International Council of Women representative and the Vice President of the National Council of Women.

- MS-Papers-11269-23 - The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/20-7/45

A small folder of papers all on the establishment of the 13 member Advisory Group to assist Minister Ann Hercus in establishing the Ministry in 1984. A newspaper article on the set up of the advisory group includes a photo of the 13 women in the group. Other papers include press statements and draft job descriptions. It also contains papers on the priorities of Ministry, reports, meeting minutes and correspondence by the Advisory group.

- MS-Papers-11269-24 - The establishment of Women's Affairs 7/46-7/57

A small folder containing multiple papers on the establishment of Te Ohu Whakatupu. The most important paper is the August 1984 'Submissions to the Ministry from a Working Group of Māori women of Tāmaki-Makaurau', which led to the establishment of Te Ohu Whakatupu. Another important paper looks at how the establishment would be undertaken, be structured and be accountable, and its priorities – including that it would adopt Māori procedures, and would prioritise innovations to encourage economic 'self-management' for Māori women, and projects based on hapū, iwi and whānau, to improve mental, physical and spiritual health. Other papers also deal with the establishment of Te Ohu Whakatupu, including one on the adoption of that name after feedback from an advisory group submission. Papers from the Advisory Group are primarily about the establishment of the Ministry, including an introductory budget paper, proposed structure paper, proposed control functions, staffing, guidelines for action (such as policy focus) and community networking.

- MS-Papers-11269-08 - Information and background papers relevant to Women's Affairs 3/1-3/16 1970s-1980s [Rowan, Jennifer: Papers relating to women's issues 1974-1985]
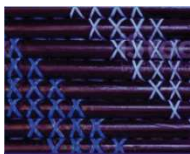
A folder of papers from the Advisory Committee on Woman's Affairs (ACWA) belonging to a (future) Ministry staff member from between 1981 and 1984, but none of them are related to the establishment of the Ministry. It contains various folders on International Women's Decade, including a small folder on a review of the decade with a questionnaire for women's groups; papers on a programme of events to celebrate the last year of the decade; papers from the Canterbury Regional Women's Decade Committee; and a report on achievements made during the Decade by the International Council of Women from 1985. The folder also contains employment reports, including a Human Rights Commission report on discrimination complaints by women in banking from 1984, and education reports and materials, with guidelines for equal treatment, as well as a 'Selected Indicators on the Situation of Women 1985' report. The most relevant document is a progress report on an ACWA project to compile a 'herstory' resource on New Zealand women.

- MS-Papers-11269-09 - Information and background papers relevant to Women's Affairs 3/17-3/20 1981-1984 [Rowan, Jennifer: Papers relating to women's issues 1974-1985]

Another folder of the Advisory Committee on Woman's Affairs (ACWA) papers from between 1981 and 1984, including a Treasury Circular and Education report, but they do not relate to the establishment of the Ministry. A press release on the Committee on Women and Education reports on a decision by the Minister of Education to disband the special women's education positions – the Education Officer, Women, and the entire National Advisory Committee on Women and Education for budgetary reasons. A smaller folder contains papers on the ratification of the UN Convention of Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women. It includes a Human Rights Commission 'review paper' on the Convention from August 1984, which clarifies details of the convention, to combat a widespread misinformation campaign against ratification.

- MS-Papers-11269-38 – Series 11 Brief for incoming Minister of Women's Affairs (1984-1985) (MS-Group-2038) [Rowan, Jennifer: Papers relating to women's issues 1974-1985]

A folder containing Ann Hercus' brief (as an incoming Minister) from the advisory committee of Women's Affairs, including several newspaper clippings, but primarily briefing on the committee itself, and its work with groups such as WAg, and WAF.

- 2003-265-6/08 Ministry of Women's Affairs 1983-2002 [MS-Group-0894. Women's Electoral Lobby: Records 1973-2003]

Several papers from the Ministry in this folder show events the Ministry were putting on, including seminars and parties, and one on the Project Fund grants the Ministry distributed. It contains June 1988 and December 1987-January 1988 copies of Pānui, and a newspaper article on the set up of Te Ohu Whakatupu. A group of documents on the Women's Forums include guidelines for facilitators. The majority of the file is made up of submissions to the Government on the establishment of the Ministry, both supportive (including from the PSA and MWWL) as well as from individuals and some women's groups opposed to it.

Manuscript Sources: Archives New Zealand

- R1922376, ABIJ W3969/5, 150, Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1986-88.

Nine separate documents (correspondence) back and forth about research funding.

- R1282502, AAUM W4043/131, ENV 9/12, Pt 1, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984-86.

A large collection of mostly newspaper articles and letters about the Ministry from its first creation, along with several other types of documents. Of the many newspaper article clippings, three refer to the establishment of the 'Māori Women's Secretariat', later named as Te Ohu Whakatupu. An article from 1986 describes an attempt to force the Government to dissolve the entire ministry.

- R15990318, ABKH W4105/45, WA-ADM, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1986.

A very large assortment of documents relating to women in agriculture which is almost entirely correspondence of the group WAg and its magazine. The Ministry started to fund the latter in 1986, and some of the magazine's correspondence was addressed to its editors c/o the Ministry. Many of these letters and documents are irrelevant to the operations of the Ministry. However one Ministry letter encloses notes from a 'Rural Women's Gathering' workshop, including requests for more support from the Ministry. Ministry seems to have co-sponsored the gathering and the workshop, including a session specifically on the Ministry. The file also contains a Cabinet circular directing the creation of a new Social Equity (Cabinet) 'Sector' Committee, including the Minister as a member of the Committee.

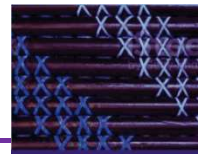- R9271588, AADT 573/4/aj, [116], Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1985.

A single report written by the Ministry on women's under-representation in sport, as a submission to the Sport's Development Inquiry Committee on the need for it to take actions to support women's needs in sports administration.

- R9271893, AADT 579/3/co, Ministry of Women's Affairs - Mary O'Regan, 1985.

The file solely deals with women in sport. A memo contains Ministry 'comments' on a later report from the Ministry of Recreation and Sport called Sport on the Move. The file also includes a copy of the earlier submission to the Inquiry Committee.

- R21605292, ABKH 6798 W4537/1/2, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1986.

A very large box containing six very large (hard) A1 Ministry posters, promoting the work of the Ministry and highlighting the need for it with statistics on the quality of life of New Zealand women - two in Te Reo, two in English (translations of each other), two bi-lingual. It highlights the needs of (and Ministry's work for) Māori women specifically, as well as women generally.

- R10900216, ABVJ 6994 W5435/40, G22, Government - Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1989-1997.

The file contains four letters. The first is a letter by the Minister (Jenny Shipley) reassuring 'supporters' of the survival of the Ministry, and reaffirming the Government's support, after the second (1990) review of the Ministry put this in doubt. It endorses and outlines the value of the Ministry's policy advice to the Minister on many various woman's issues. It also specifically outlines the work of Te Ohu Whakatupu on several different work-streams/programmes, emphasising the work-stream on Māori women in business. The other three letters all relate to the Ministry's response to the portrayal of women in the media, specifically pornography, and its work in that area.

- R16664788, ABQU 632 W4452/1918, 366-2-2, Women's Health - Correspondence - Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1988-92.

The file wholly deals with the Ministry's policy work regarding Health. A paper on Health Boards from 1985 near the start contains a paragraph referring to Māori woman's health as a policy priority in developing guidelines for the new health boards. Another letter refers to a health awareness campaign (and clinic) held at a marae, and a draft Health report of 1992 includes paragraphs on Māori women. The Annual report for the Ministry 89/90 is included in the file. The file contains further copies of the Minister's letter contained in the R10900216 file.

- R3836675, AAFH 785 W5485/75, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 1/A, Efficiency and Economy – Administration of Functions – [General] – Machinery of Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984.
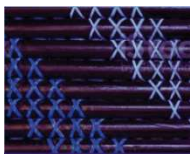
A fairly large file with an assortment of papers regarding the establishment of the Ministry, including bureaucratic memos, news articles, and an interview with Minister Hercus. The memos are mostly investigative into the potential structure, organisation and staffing details of the future Ministry, including consultative discussion notes with Prue Hyman. One news article describes the Advisory group of 13 women set up to help establish the Ministry, including Mira Szászy and Judith Aitken. Some memos near the end of file are from before the date of the file, 1981-82.

- R3836674, AAFH 785 W5485/75, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 1, Efficiency and Economy – Administration of Functions – [General] – Machinery of Government – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1984.

The file resumes from the end of the previous file. It includes documents outlining specific pre-election Labour policy promises regarding women, specifically the promise to open a Ministry, which would encourage affirmative action, deal with the Appointment File and promote research, legislation and education. A paper by Judith Aitken from July 1984 looks at the proposed purpose of the Ministry, along with other proposals, and a long transcript of an interview with Minister Hercus. Several memos provide advice from different agencies and Ministries to the Minister on how to establish the Ministry.

- R3836678, AAFH 785 W5485/76, 20/2/0/38/92, Pt 2, Efficiency and Economy Admin [Administration] of Functions] – [Ministry of Women's Affairs], 1984.

A huge file that again resumes from the end of the previous file, including copies of many of the same memos as in previous files. But it contains news articles, one on the public pressure from Māori women to create Te Ohu Whakatupu as part of the Ministry. A submission from the Māori Women's Working Party (of 23 November 1984) asks the Ministry to adopt their policy regarding appointments. Papers are included about Secretariat appointments and the establishment of Te Ohu

Whakatupu. Near the end of the file is a memo showing Mary O'Regan's desire to cancel the staffing decisions made before her appointment – including because of the lack of Māori positions.

- R3836983, AAFH 785 W5485/137, 20/2/62, Pt 1, Efficiency and Economy – Administration [Administration] of Functions – [Ministry Of] Women's Affairs (Corporate Planning), 1985-88.

The very first document is the first Cabinet circular setting up the Ministry. Several papers deal with the appointment of liaison officers for the Ministry from different Agencies, as the Ministry requested Agencies appoint their own liaison officer roles. Annual reports contain sections on Māori women, and the Women's Appointment File. Notes are included summarising an introductory Ministry seminar for the liaison staff, along with the minutes of the seminar, and it also contains notes about Treaty issues, the work of Te Ohu Whakatupu and iwi considerations. A letter from the WSA to the PM expresses anxiety about the Government's policy changes regarding the Ministry. Job descriptions for Ministry staff are accompanied by a memo from the State Services Commissioner about these roles and the way they want to change them. The record also contains a few papers on the first 1987 review of the Ministry; multiple administrative documents; copies of the Ministry's *Pānui* newsletters; and brochures on the Ministry and its 'Project Fund'.

- R1004545, AAFH 785 W4499/73, 20/21/62, Pt V1, Efficiency and Economy – Administration of Functions – Budget Cycle/Departmental Resource Management – Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1985.

A file almost entirely made up of the SSC's official draft budgets, but contains a few papers specifically about the Ministry's first draft budget. It also contains a letter outlining that assessment of the Ministry's first budget was essentially delayed until the Minister was appointed, and a few other memos.

- R1004696, AAFH 785 W4499/92, 22/4/62, V1, State Services Commission - Powers and Authority/Delegation/Departmental - Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1985-86.
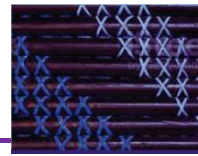
A fairly large file of documents which primarily made up of delegation job description papers. Most papers are the SSC and Parliamentary Service 'schedules' for hiring staff/delegations, but some are the relevant Ministry schedules.

- R1004696, AAFH 785 W4499/92, 22/4/62, V1, State Services Commission - Powers and Authority/Delegation/Departmental - Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1985-86.

A fairly large file resuming the delegation job description papers from the end of the previous file. Most papers are just the SSC and Parliamentary Service 'schedules' for hiring staff/delegations, including the relevant Ministry schedules.

- R1004697, AAFH 785 W4499/92, 22/4/62, V2, State Services Commission - Powers and Authority/Delegation/Departmental - Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1987.

A very small file of just a few documents about the job positions and their delegation powers in the Ministry. One is a job description for the director of policy and programme development. It specifies a sympathy for the aims of the department, non-sexist and non-racist views.

- R22156383, ABJZ 869 W4644/139, 36/8/5, Pt 1, Community Development Services - Women - Ministry Of Women's Affairs – General, 1985.

A small administrative file on primarily Māori issues. The first document is a very interesting report on what New Zealand women want from the Ministry, with a specific section on Te Ohu Whakatupu. It includes documents on the Ministry's nominations for Queens Honours and copy of June 1986 *Pānui*, but also memos on the need for marae etiquette knowledge, land court law, equal employment opportunities, minutes of Māori Affairs Dept. meetings, a transcript of an interview on the Māori Affairs loan scandal, a programme from a Ministry Rūnanga Kuia and documents on Māori nominations for the Appointment File.

- R20434001, AALR 873 W5427/1492, 62/63, Pt 1, Ministry of Women's Affairs - General expenditure - 1985/86 supps [supplementary estimates] and 3-year forecasts 1986/87 - 1988/89, 1984-86.

A very large file containing all these budget papers but also relevant memos and cabinet memos from the first establishment of the Ministry. Important papers include a memo on a proposal for the Ministry to be established in association with the Treasury, a news article on racist incidents leading to the call for an independent Ministry, and the very last papers are specifically about covering the expenses of Te Ohu Whakatupu. It also contains a memo on the Ministry leading a delegation to an international women's conference in Nairobi.

- R20434002, AALR 873 W5427/1492, 62/63, Pt 2, Ministry of Women's Affairs - General expenditure, 1986-88.
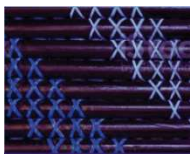
A small file of mostly financial papers. It includes documents from the Ministry for Women's Affairs project fund, as well as a proposal to establish a Trust Account. It contains a lot of material about the Karamea forest and Commission for the Environment papers, Ministry estimate papers, some Ministry staffing/employment change proposals, and cost forecasts. However it also includes the 1988 review, which contain comments on Te Ohu Whakatupu, as well as a *Pānui* from March 1987.

- R20434003, AALR 873 W5427/1493, 62/63, Pt 3, Ministry of Women's Affairs - General expenditure, 1987-90.

A large file of primarily financial papers, but includes some other administrative papers. The most important are the papers of a staffing review as part of the Ministry's response to the first SSC review, as well as the official memo in response to the SSC review. These include a list of proposed new positions, to take advantage of the new higher ceiling of 43 positions recommended by the SSC in its review, among other recommendations such as greater funding and policy control. Further important papers include a discussion paper on unpaid work, brochures for a seminar on unpaid work, an assessment of Ministry policy outputs and memos on new output expectations.

- R20434004, AALR 873 W5427/1493, 62/63, Pt 4, Ministry of Women's Affairs - General expenditure, 1990-91.

- A very large file containing a Ministry report on Māori business but primarily made up financial papers, particularly for the 'Trust'. It does however contain some papers on the Ministry's work, particularly the suffrage year celebrations.

- R1612235, PAAF 6491 W4157 Box/item 1/b, Postscript - First letter on Ministry of Women's Affairs letterhead, from Mary O'Regan to Gail Collingwood, 1985.

A very small file of just three documents, including the very first letter ever written with the Ministry for Women's Affairs letterhead, and another letter to the Archives New Zealand donating them the first letter.

- R4194677, AAFH 6790 W5510/77, ACD-16-MWA, Pt 1, Administrative And Commercial Division - Resource Allocation Budget Cycle - Ministry Of Women's Affairs (MWA), 1988.

A very small file that contains Ministry financial documents from various agencies, including three year forecast tables, a memo notification that the Ministry is undergoing the review, and Te Ohu Whakatupu's need for more staff. It contains many draft estimate worksheets for the 1988/89 year (stages one, two and three) with a stage one cover letter on its plans for the year, and further final estimates. Other bureaucratic memos include those on its estimates, a memo on the possibility of the request for greater staffing numbers being approved, and another memo from the Commission on what it would support regarding staffing numbers.

- R4194679, AAFH 6790 W5510/77, ACD-16-MWA-1, Pt 1, Administrative And Commercial Division - Resource Allocation Budget Cycle - Ministry Of Women's Affairs (MWA) - 1990-1991, 1989-90.

A very small file of documents from various agencies (such as Treasury and SSC) and the Cabinet, approving the Ministry's output budget statement proposals for 1990/91 – including a request for additional funds. It also contains multiple tables and budget worksheets (for expenditure, appropriations) and various output statements and tables, as well as Treasury recommendation worksheets for the budget.

- R4194678, AAFH 6790 W5510/77, ACD-16-MWA, Pt 2, Administrative And Commercial Division - Resource Allocation Budget Cycle - Ministry Of Women's Affairs (MWA), 1988-89.
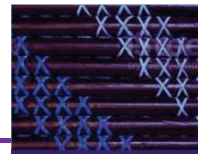
A very small file that includes Ministry financial documents from various agencies (three year forecast tables for Vote: Woman's Affairs from State Services). It also contains some bureaucratic memos, including Ministry responses to a Departmental Review Questionnaire on Ministry outputs, and a memo recommending that the Ministry does not need a budget review for that year.

- R4194680, AAFH 6790 W5510/77, ACD-16-MWA-2, Pt 1, Administrative And Commercial Division - Resource Allocation Budget Cycle - Ministry Of Women's Affairs (MWA) – 1991-1992, 1990.

A very small file of various fiscal projections in the form of budget round worksheets, and statements for 1990-91 and 1991-92. It contains a paper that discusses giving advice to Ministry on whether they could make savings, and a Cabinet paper approving the release of a report on the Review of Women in Combat.

- R4195692, AAFH 6790 W5510/231, OC-62, Pt 1, Occupational Classification - Department/Organisation: Ministry Of Women's Affairs, 1987-89.

A tiny file with a few papers by the PSA attempting to establish occupational classes for staff in Ministries, including the Ministry, and other correspondence.

- R4196502, AAFH 6790 W5510/322, SOC-3-1-MWA, Pt 1, Social Services Division - Māori Policy - Responsiveness In The State Sector - Ministry Of Women's Affairs (MWA), 1988-90.

A large file including a paper on early role of Te Ohu Whakatupu and how it was seen/treated by the rest of the Ministry The paper discusses its 'partnership perspective', its 'gaps', or aspects it has to improve, and includes various 'annexes' (appendices), the second on affirmative action, the third on the staff recruitment procedures, the last on biculturalism. The file also contains a document produced by the SSC, but 'on behalf of' the Ministry; 'Results of the 1988 Public Service Census of Ethnicity and Disability' by Janice Burns (Census Coordinator); and 'Evaluation of Departmental Responsiveness as at Oct. 1989' on its responsiveness to Māori issues.

- R4197767, AAFH 6790 W5510/533, SS-7-1-MWA, Pt 1, Structures And Systems - Finance, Revenue And Expenditure - Resource Allocation Budget Cycle - Ministry Of Women's Affairs (MWA), 1991-92.

A small file made up primarily of draft budget papers.

- R4197768, AAFH 6790 W5510/533, SS-7-1-MWA, Pt 2, Structures And Systems - Finance, Revenue And Expenditure - Resource Allocation Budget Cycle - Ministry Of Women's Affairs (MWA), 1991-92.

A tiny file solely containing financial papers.

- R6502042, ABKH 7356, W4788, 1/, OUT 7/3/2, Suffrage - Trust Administration - Trust contract for services with Ministry of Women's Affairs, c.1991-c.1994.

A file of papers on the agreement between the Ministry and the 1993 suffrage centennial trust, to support them with services and staff, including budgetary assessments. The file is primarily filled out with multiple drafts and copies of the same papers, but does also contain a separate policy output document.

- R6502059, ABKH 7356, W4788, 3/, OUT 7/4/4, Suffrage - Centennial Services Unit Administration - Activity and quarterly reports to Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1991-1994.

A large file primarily made up of Human Resources records from management on the tasks and services carried out by individual staff members. It also includes monthly reports of the activities of the centennial services unit, which the Ministry had absorbed.

- R22446622, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/22, Pt 1, Departmental Establishments - Ministry of Women's Affairs – Typists, 1985-87.
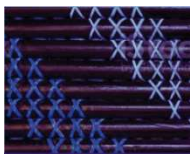
A medium sized file containing a directory, with a letter and folder cover showing the context of the directory.

- R22446206, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 1, Departmental Establishments - Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985.

A large file primarily about the State Services Amendment bill.

- R22446207, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 2, Departmental Establishments - Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985.

A large file covering the establishment of the Ministry.

- R2246208, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/0, Pt 3, Departmental Establishments - Ministry of Women's Affairs – General, 1985-88.

A small file primarily consisting of job descriptions, and some general MWA explanatory memos and letters, including an appointment protocol for Te Ohu Whakatupu, and a sample Appointment File letter to Government Departments. It also contains Human Resources [job] interview papers on candidates. It contains additional memos around acquiring additional staff for the ministry, including the Treasury paper supporting it, and a paper summarising the issues involved, specifically bringing up the wāhine Māori issue. Also a letter to the SSC from a group in support of Te Ohu Whakatupu, as well as newspaper articles, and a June 1986 copy of *Pānui*.

- R22446623, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/20, Pt 1, Departmental Establishments - Ministry of Women's Affairs - Clerical/Executive, 1985-88.

A very small file containing mostly job descriptions for all the jobs at the Ministry. Also a paper on the re-structure of staffing positions, a letter to the SSC on reasons for needing more staff, and a couple of papers on recruitment and appointment protocol for Te Ohu Whakatupu.

- R22446622, AAFH 785 W3654/425, 24/2/62/22, Pt 1, Departmental Establishments - Ministry of Women's Affairs – Typists, 1985-87.

A small file primarily made up of job descriptions and other staff documents for the typist positions.

- R17319697, AATJ 7452 W5519/1104, LIA/1/W1, Pt 2, Liaison - Government Departments and Agencies - Ministry Of Women's Affairs, 1987-91.

A small file containing Ministry publications, and many papers on the Ministry's work, particularly events it was organising, and one on the suffrage work. It contains several copies of *Pānui* from 1986 and 1987; the September 1987 issue contains a representation of Te Ohu Whakatupu by Robyn Kahukiwa. Several memos correspond back and forth with the Ministry of Education.
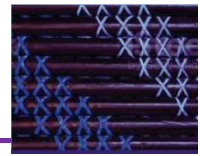
- R7254331, ABEP 7750 W4262/4240, 50/2 GW – MW, Pt 1, Curriculum Development Division (CDD) - Subjects and Developments - Girls and Women - Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1987.

Not a large file, but it includes a Department of Education document recognising the potential of assistance from Ministry funds, and a September 1986 copy of *Pānui*, as well as a review of Te Ohu draft report on the curriculum.
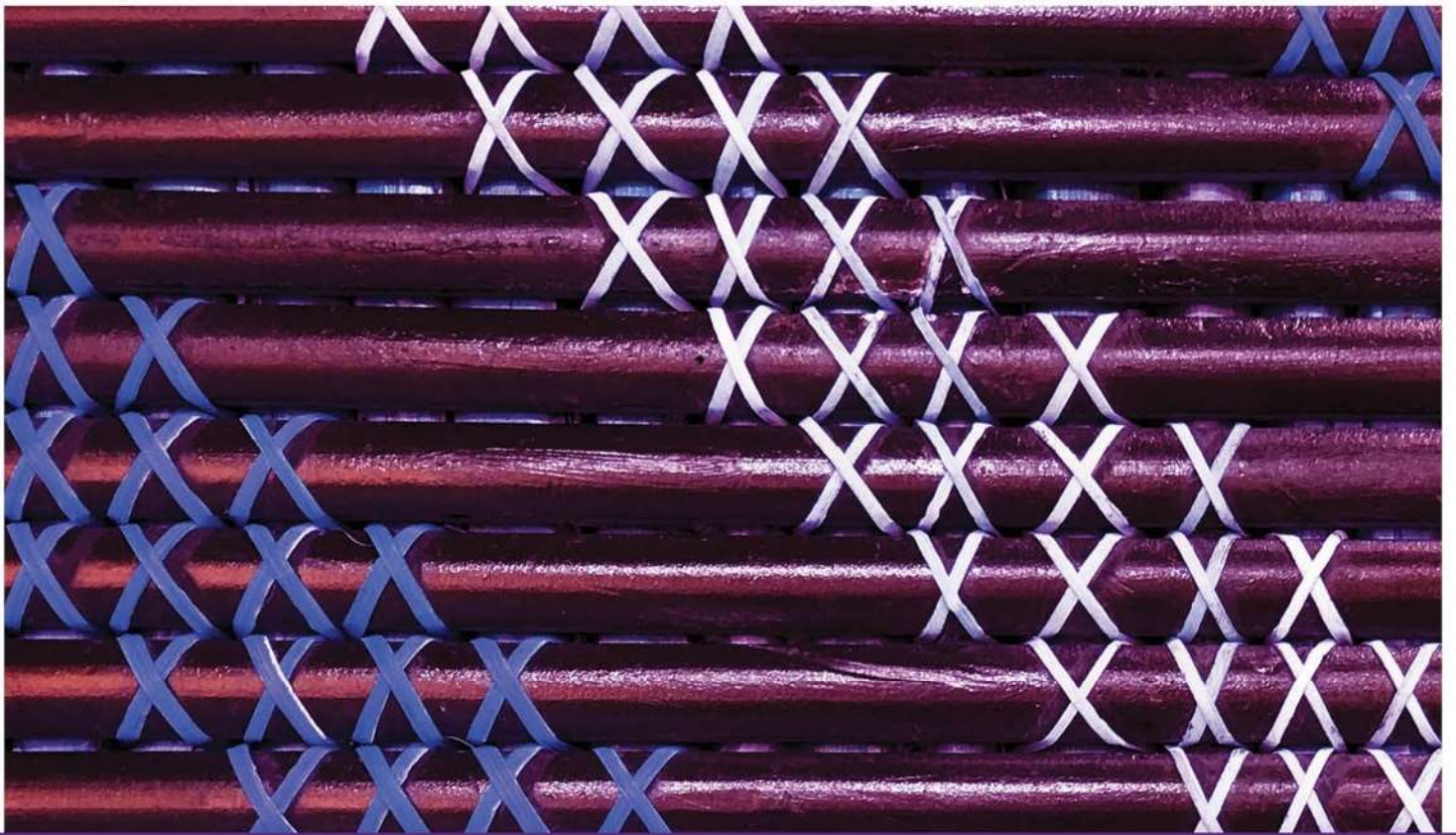
Cabinet Papers

- Cabinet Paper CM 84 45

Cabinet Minute that directed the establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs. It describes the functions the Ministry was directed to fulfil, specifying that the Ministry's purpose was to recommend Board nominations, as well as to promote equality of opportunity for women in legislation, and general policy work. The Minute also (stated that Cabinet) 'agreed on' two reviews of the need for the Ministry during the next five years (including 1990), and that the Ministry was to have a staff ceiling of 20 positions.

Online

- Richard Shaw, 'Public service - Reform, 1912 to 1962', *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, available at http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/photograph/33023/ministry-of-womens-affairs-1986 (accessed 10 June 2020).
- Documents from the Record of Inquiry for the Waitangi Tribunal's Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry, available at https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/WT/

**Manatū
Wāhine**

**Ministry
for Women**