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***Say our beautiful names:  
A Māori indigene's autoethnography  
of women-self-mother***

A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor in Philosophy

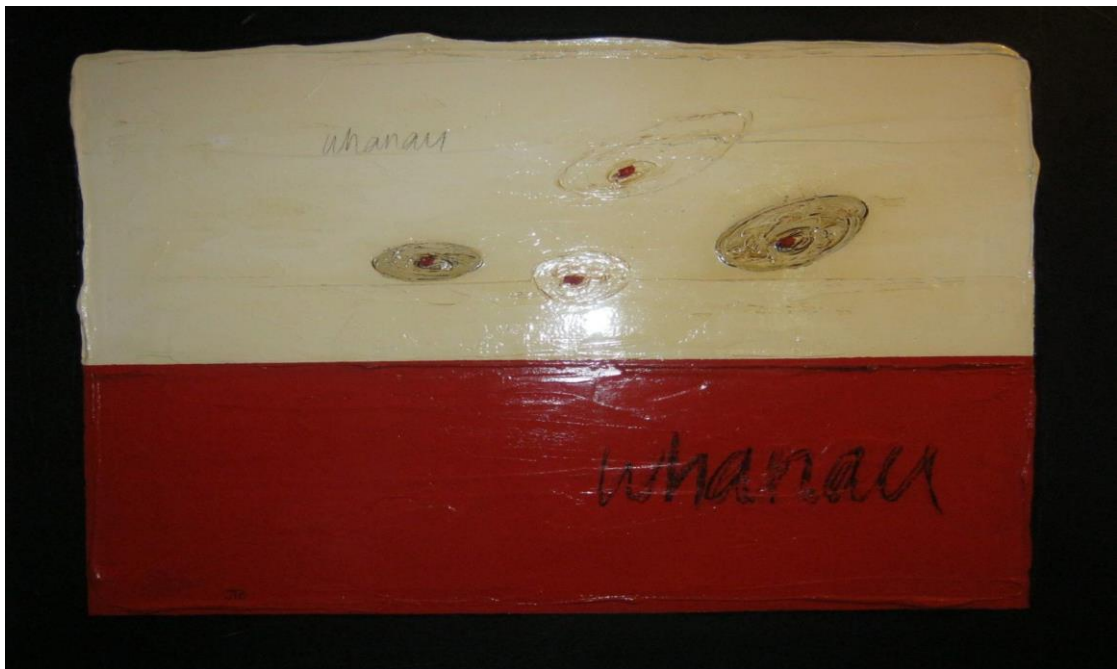
of Māori and Pacific Health

at the University of Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand, 2013

Reena Veralyne Kainamu



***“whanau” nā Julie Tipene O’Toole, no Ngāti Awa, Tainui, Te Rarawa  
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# Abstract

This thesis commenced as a study of cultural identity and connectedness and the associations with women's and mothers' mental health and wellbeing. I had gathered **whānau** stories of my and our experiences of being women, mothers **and family**. Among the **whānau** narratives were gaps about who we were as a humble people, disconnected from our past, reflecting an historical silence. Indigenous autoethnography emerged as an academic methodology to broker the gaps and silences in understanding the collective of us **whānau** women through the generations and across a colonised landscape.

Autoethnography is a performance methodology and I triangulated this with the narratives of women participants, twenty in all and, grounded the research processes with a **kaupapa Māori** approach. **Kaupapa Māori** signals the intersections with whiteness and hegemony and at these points of convergence are cultural signposts, calling to us to heed ancestral values and the indigenous spirit of where we came from in illuminating the way ahead. The women's narratives tendered complexities and layers, fresh and uncluttered stories of transitions and transformations through hardships, leadership, tenacity and courage.

The main research findings evidenced a group of us, women and **whānau**, locked in transgenerational trauma, abuse and disadvantage; in the place of cultural values and cultural knowledge lurked multiple forms of violence and subjugation. Even when women emerged from the margins, for the next generation, the margins were familiar places. When women were honoured by their families, they grew in self-assurance, assumed leadership in **whānau** and steered their families towards meaningful and full existences.

Although the research implications are not prescriptive, the research gives deeper understandings of the multiplicities of women's and mothers' lived experiences and, the need for health and social initiatives to develop innovative partnerships with **whānau**. Women are drawn to systems and processes that honour them, calling out their status as integral members of society and creation itself; women are creation.



# Acknowledgements

You bring your nose to touch my nose and we stay in this position, silent...then an infinitesimal sound rolls off the back of my throat ummmmm, and we laugh, I see you too, greetings. **Ka whakawhetai au ki ēnei tangata, whānau, rōpū hoki; ngā mihi mīharo kē, kia:** Dr. Nicola North for championing me and, for the wonderful stories; Dr. Virginia **Tamanui**, Sjimmy Fransen and their free-spirited **Tamanui**-Fransen **whānau**, for loving me and mine through the duration, for the **tika**, and, the beauty of many truths; old friends **Maikara Ropata**, Julie **Tipene O’Toole**, Kathryn Le Grove, Pip Byrt, Val Guest & Honey Victoria **Amohau**; new friends made along the way, thank you for the companionship; **Whatuira whānau**, for sharing the joys of your sons; for the **whānau** who attended **Te Rahuitanga Te Kōhanga Reo** in **Otara** at the same time as ourselves and who shared their homes, their children and their stories in the quest to revitalise our language, our practices and values - warriors all, men and women, children too; **Te Ao Māramatanga** (NZCMHNs) **Māori** Caucus for the collegiality; the Health Research Council for growing **Māori** academic capability; the Health Systems Department at the University of Auckland, for time, space & place; colleagues-Psychiatrists, Psychologists and Nurses, **he wāhine mā mo ‘Te Tote o te Kōrero’**, for the multiple layers of your soul stories; my **whānau**, cousins, for connecting when I reached out; the men and wonderful fathers of our collective children – there are many of you; my beautiful, beautiful aunties, women of grace and humour – I am so glad you kept me; Dr. Terryann Clark – for showing us nurses the way...just do it; my wonderful brothers for holding onto the threads of our lives, when I call out, you answer and even when I don’t, you still do; my sister Janet **Taiatini** for the gifts of self, every bit matters; **Ngā Atua**, for **Whakapapa**, **Papatūānuku** and **Wāhine** the tripartite of women-being - **Toi tū te kupu, te mana, te whenua**. **Nā te aroha**, always and forever - **Ani Alana Kainamu**, **Kiri-Maree Kainamu Wheeler**, **Marama Robin Kainamu Wheeler**, **Ururoa Manu Stuart Kainamu Wheeler**, **Melodie Reena Scott & Abel Hau Taiatini** – we exist in a story about **whānau** – remember, re-tell and re-create; *carpe diem*, **ka pūmau te ora**.

**Ultimately, I acknowledge with love my parents Te Arani Hayes (nee Kainamu) and Ian McKenzie...because of you both, kei konei au.**





# Dedication...

Say our beautiful names:

**Ripeka Arepata Kainamu**

**Te Ururoa Haare Kainamu**

**Te Arani Hayes**

**Te Waihemonga Eramiha**

**Makareta Ururoa Tino**

**Ririamoe Ururoa Patton**

**Julie Junker**

**Charlotte Pou-Harris**

**Mate Kainamu**

**Pita Kainamu**

**Anamaraea Kainamu**

**Te Maanihera Kainamu**

**Puke Kainamu**

**Eric Kainamu**

**Moki Kainamu**

**Riria Rogers**

**Ian McKenzie**

**He wāhine o Te Tote O Te Kōrero**



# Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>Dedication</b> .....	<b>ix</b>
<b>List of Figures</b> .....	<b>xv</b>
<b>List of Tables</b> .....	<b>xvii</b>
<b>List of Boxes</b> .....	<b>xvii</b>
<b>List of Plates</b> .....	<b>xix</b>
<b>List of Maps</b> .....	<b>xix</b>
<b>Glossary of Terms</b> .....	<b>xxi</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
His-storying of women’s status .....	4
Research purpose and aims .....	7
Indigenous Autoethnography .....	9
Kuia wisdoms.....	12
Thesis structure .....	13
<b>PART 1: HARAKEKE AND HYDRANGEAS</b> .....	<b>17</b>
<b><i>Marker Story 1 – Mama’s Day</i></b> .....	<b>19</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1: AUTOETHNOGRAPHY of whānAU</b> .....	<b>25</b>
Sext-ing, writing with the body .....	27
Uku Puku, women’s art .....	31
Storying Christianity in Autoethnography.....	33
The remains of silence .....	35
Transmission of Mauri noho .....	38
Pedagogy of Aroha .....	42
Summary Chapter 1.....	44
<b>CHAPTER 2: TE HUARAHĪ - METHODS</b> .....	<b>47</b>
Ethical Issues .....	47
Appreciating and responding to sensitivity.....	47
Privacy, consent and confidentiality in autoethnography .....	50
Recruitment process .....	51
Collecting data through interview.....	52
Data analysis.....	53

Tikanga Rangahau.....	54
A Kaupapa Māori approach.....	54
Tenets of whakawhanaungatanga .....	56
He koha tēnā nāku ki a koe .....	56
Kuia advisory group.....	57
Talking the walk, research dissemination .....	57
Summary Chapter 2.....	59
<b>PART TWO: WHAKAPAPA KŌRERO .....</b>	<b>61</b>
<b><i>Marker Story 2 -The Cake Tin</i>.....</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>CHAPTER 3: WAHINE-KI-TE-WAHINE .....</b>	<b>67</b>
Ngā kōrero ahiahi a Hinewhā .....	68
Tau Te Rangimarie.....	71
Wāhine Toa.....	74
Hine-Ti-Tama .....	76
Mama Pūhou .....	79
Summary Chapter 3.....	81
<b>CHAPTER 4: TE TOTE O TE KŌRERO .....</b>	<b>83</b>
Coming back to ourselves.....	84
He Tapu Te Tinana (sacred body) .....	87
Ko au te mokopuna, ko te mokopuna ko au .....	88
Whāngai.....	92
Whenua-ki-te-whenua .....	94
Damaged Discourses and Disconnection .....	95
Whakapapa, desire and dishonor.....	96
Untenable relationships and whānau support.....	98
Burdened women .....	99
Sexual abuse of children and young people.....	102
Mental illness .....	103
Mixed cultures, mixed values, seeking dad.....	104
Silence to Voice .....	105
Discovering connection/Self to whānau .....	105
Embodied emotion.....	109
Wānanga as liberation.....	109
Ko Au Te Pito .....	111
Summary Chapter 4.....	113
<b>PART THREE: MANA ATUA.....</b>	<b>115</b>

<b>Marker Story 3 – Centred</b> .....	<b>117</b>
<b>CHAPTER 5: AT THE BEGINNING WAS HINE</b> .....	<b>119</b>
A mountain of knowledge .....	121
Hine-ngaro / First thought .....	123
The Ubiquitous Papatūānuku.....	126
Hine-nui-te-Pō / The Grandmother of them all .....	129
Io / Supreme god.....	139
Te Kete-Tua-Uri .....	143
Te Kete-Aro-Nui.....	143
Te Kete-Ao-Tua-Atea.....	143
Summary of Chapter 5 .....	145
<b>CHAPTER 6: HE KURA TE TANGATA</b> .....	<b>147</b>
The first settlers .....	148
Migrating communities .....	149
Early remains without names.....	150
Ordered and sustainable society.....	151
Wahine / Woman-being.....	153
Sacredness.....	154
Partnerships .....	155
Te Whare Tangata / Generating children.....	159
Summary Chapter 6.....	162
<b>PART FOUR: WAKA WĀHINE</b> .....	<b>163</b>
<b>Marker Story 4 – Manawa</b> .....	<b>165</b>
<b>CHAPTER 7: REMEMBERING US</b> .....	<b>169</b>
Tangata pukumahi.....	170
Brief encounters.....	174
Imagined cannibalism .....	176
Ranginui of Ngāti Kahu .....	176
The imperialistic gaze.....	178
Other arrives .....	179
Christianity and civilising.....	181
Disease and death .....	181
Educating men into patriarchy.....	183
A new economy.....	184
Land transactions, pre-Treaty .....	185
He Whakaputanga / The Declaration of Independence .....	187
Te Tiriti o Waitangi / The Treaty of Waitangi.....	188
Summary Chapter 7.....	190

<b>CHAPTER EIGHT: THE COLONISATION OF woMEEn .....</b>	<b>193</b>
He maungarongo nā te wahine .....	194
Women for barter and collateral .....	194
Utu Pihikete, a gendered legacy of colonisation.....	195
Bacteria as a weapon.....	197
Parihaka, cultural trauma of women.....	198
Disease implications on maternities .....	200
Syphilis and insanity .....	201
Half-caste children.....	202
Christianising native women .....	203
Disconnecting an ancestral link.....	206
Private family things, the SS225.....	208
The new rohe-Otara .....	211
Childhood abuse and getting beyond .....	213
Love and men .....	214
Māori woman, unwrapped.....	216
Summary Chapter 8.....	220
<b>PART FIVE: HINE-NGARO .....</b>	<b>221</b>
<b><i>Marker Story 5 – Belonging</i> .....</b>	<b>223</b>
<b>CHAPTER 9:TE AU KĀNAPANAPA .....</b>	<b>227</b>
He Tapu Te Tinana .....	229
Damaged Discourses and Disconnections.....	231
Silence to Voice .....	234
Ko Au Te Pito .....	236
Summary.....	238
<b>AFTERWORD .....</b>	<b>241</b>
Ko te mea nui, ko te aroha: tikanga-a-whānau, August 2013.....	241
Healing a rift, December 2013.....	242
O’ahu in the Hawai’i Islands, December 2013 .....	242
A Nanny speaks, January 2013 .....	243
Tiri in Woman Far Walking .....	245
<b>Appendices .....</b>	<b>247</b>
Appendix I: Participant Information Sheet.....	249
Appendix II: Consent Form .....	253
Appendix III: Ethics Approval.....	255
Appendix IV: Advertisement .....	257
<b>References.....</b>	<b>259</b>

# List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Tōku Kuia, nā Ururoa Kainamu Wheeler 1995 (aged 4 years) .....	17
Figure 3.1: Tamanui-Te-Rā, nā Kiri-Maree Kainamu Wheeler 1994 (aged 7) .....	61
Figure 3.2: Whaea o te motu nā Reena Kainamu.....	71
Figure 3.3: Ko 'Au' (It is 'I') nā Reena Kainamu.....	74
Figure 3.4: Hine-Tī-Tama nā Reena Kainamu .....	76
Figure 3.5: Māhanga (Twins) nā Reena Kainamu .....	79
Figure 5.1: Knowledge Stones on my tongue nā Reena Kainamu.....	115
Figure 5.2: Ko te wehenga a Papatūānuku raua ko Ranginui, nā Ani Kainamu 2005 .....	128
Figure 5.3: Hine-Ahu-One nā Reena Kainamu.....	134
Figure 5.4: Papatūānuku, nā Marama Kainamu Wheeler aged 4 & ½ yrs, 1994 (drawing copied onto material and quilted), (Kainamu, 2001, pp.24-27).....	136
Figure 5.5: Te Ara Tipu nā Ani Kainamu (2005).....	142
Figure 8.2: S.S. 225; INFORMATION TO VERIFY AGE .....	210
Figure 9:1: Whetu Mārama, nā Ani Kainamu 2007 .....	221





# List of Tables

Table 3.1: Tau Te Rangimarie; Early childhood locality and caregiver and family circumstances .....	72
Table 3.2. Wāhine Toa; Early childhood locality and family circumstances .....	75
Table 3.3: Hine-Tī-Tama; Early childhood locality and family circumstances .....	77
Table 4.1: Current social status across the four rōpū of mothers in 2010.....	85
Table 4.2: Hine-Tī-Tama; Womens' childhood disruptions , later adversity and current circumstances .....	86
Table 4.3: Associations between childhood abuse event and caregiver relationship .....	87
Table 7.1: Epidemics and Illness in Northland (Smyth, 1983, pp.38-40).....	182

# List of Boxes

Box 1.1: Tātai o Ripeka Arepata Kihi Maihi, no Ngāti Whakaaeke, Ngāpuhi ki Kaikohe .....	20
Box 1.2: Whakapapa o Hine-Uku-Rangi.....	32
Box 5.1: The Epoch of Thought.....	124
Box 5.2: The Epoch of Night .....	125
Box 5.3: Waiata, Te Pō (abridged version) .....	126
Box 5.4: The Epoch of Te Ao Mārama .....	127
Box 5.5: Legendary .....	130
Box 5.6: Nā te Ao .....	144
Box 5.7: Te Whare Tapu O Ngāpuhi .....	145
Box 6.1: Chant For Pēpi Wahine .....	160
Box 6.2: Ko Te Tūā Mo Te Wahine.....	160
Box 7.1 Tātai of Ururoa no Ngātiururoa, Ngāti Kahu ki Whangaroa .....	171



# List of Plates

Plate 1.1: Memorial Plate of Mama’s Day ..... 27

# List of Maps

Map 7.1: North Auckland (Rodwell, 1950) ..... 173



# Glossary of Terms

<b>Ahi kā</b>	-keepers of the 'home' fires
<b>Ākongā</b>	-learner
<b>Anō</b>	-again
<b>Ariki</b>	-first born in a family with status/leader
<b>Aroha</b>	-affectionate regard, love
<b>Atua</b>	-god/supernatural being
<b>Au</b>	-I/self/me
<b>Awa</b>	-river
<b>Āwhiowhio</b>	-whirlpool/spiralling up and out
<b>HĀ</b>	-breath
<b>Haerenga</b>	-travel/journey
<b>Haka</b>	-active performance (dance)
<b>Hākari</b>	-ceremonial feast/entertainment
<b>Hāngi</b>	-earth oven
<b>Hapū</b>	-pregnant/section of a large group
<b>Hapūtanga</b>	-pregnancy
<b>Harakeke</b>	-native flax
<b>Haurangi</b>	-drunken/deluded/mad
<b>Hiahia</b>	-wish/desire
<b>Hīkoi</b>	-step (journey)
<b>Hine</b>	-girl/daughter
<b>Hoe</b>	-paddle
<b>Hōhonu</b>	-deep (in this instance referring to knowledge)
<b>Hui</b>	-meet, come together
<b>Huri</b>	-turn around/revolve
<b>Iwi</b>	-bone/people/nation
<b>Kaihoe</b>	-paddler

<b>Kaikaranga</b>	-person who greets, welcomes, calls out
<b>Kaikōrero</b>	-speaker
<b>Kaimahi</b>	-worker
<b>Kaitiaki</b>	-guardian
<b>Kapa haka</b>	-performance
<b>Karakia</b>	-prayer/incantation
<b>Kaumātua</b>	-adult/old man or woman
<b>Kaupapa Māori</b>	-research method, approach or perspective grounded in Māori values
<b>Kawa</b>	-specific protocols
<b>Kei konā</b>	-that place/there
<b>Kei konei</b>	-this place/here
<b>Kete</b>	-basket
<b>Koha</b>	-donation/gift
<b>Ko te pito</b>	-the centre of the core (figuratively)
<b>Kōhanga reo</b>	-language nest
<b>Kōrero</b>	-discussion/conversation/story
<b>Koro</b>	-older man
<b>Kupu</b>	-word/message/talk
<b>Kura kaupapa</b>	-school grounded on Māori principles
<b>Kura tuarua</b>	-school grounded on Māori and Pākehā principles
<b>Kuia</b>	-adult or older woman
<b>Kura tangata</b>	-precious person
<b>Kūmara</b>	-sweet potato
<b>Māhanga</b>	-twins
<b>Mamae/tanga</b>	-pain/painfulness
<b>Mana</b>	-authority
<b>Manāki/manākitanga</b>	-care/caring
<b>Manawa</b>	-heart/emotion/bowel (re feelings)
<b>Mara kai</b>	-food garden

<b>Marae</b>	-sacred space
<b>Marama</b>	-moon/month
<b>Mārama</b>	-clarity,enlightenment
<b>Mātamua</b>	-first/elder
<b>Matauranga</b>	-education
<b>Mate</b>	-dead/sick/unwell
<b>Mātou</b>	-us or we
<b>Matua</b>	-parent or more specifically the father
<b>Maunga</b>	-mountain
<b>Mauri</b>	-life principle/essential energy/core of cultural esteem
<b>Mauri noho</b>	-compromised esteem or well being
<b>Moana</b>	-sea
<b>Moko</b>	-tattoo
<b>Mokopuna/moko</b>	-grandchild/child of nephew or niece etc/descendant
<b>Mōrehu</b>	-survivor/remnant
<b>Nā</b>	-by (author)
<b>Nāku</b>	-mine/belonging to me
<b>Nāu</b>	-yours/thine
<b>Nau mai</b>	-enter, come
<b>Ngā</b>	-plural of the (or te)
<b>Ngā tāonga tuku iho</b>	-ancestral wisdoms
<b>Ngahere</b>	-bush/forest
<b>Ngākau</b>	-seat of affections/heart/centre
<b>Ngaru</b>	-wave
<b>Ngāwari</b>	-soft/kind/easy
<b>Noa</b>	-ordinary
<b>Noa iho</b>	-only one
<b>Noho marae</b>	-short stay on marae (usually to do with learning)
<b>Ono</b>	- number six
<b>Ora/oranga</b>	-wellbeing



<b>Papakainga/kainga</b>	-homeland/home
<b>Pākehā</b>	-person of European descent
<b>Pakiwaitara</b>	-story/fiction
<b>Papatūānuku</b>	-Rock-foundation-beyond-expanse/earth mother
<b>Paru</b>	-unclean
<b>Pēpi</b>	-baby, youngest
<b>Pihikete</b>	-biscuit
<b>Pito</b>	-navel/extremity
<b>Poi</b>	-twirling ball-type object accompanied by a song
<b>Pono</b>	-truth
<b>Pōtiki</b>	-youngest child/infant
<b>Pou</b>	-post or pole/teacher or expert (figuratively)
<b>Pōuri</b>	-dark/sad
<b>Pounamu</b>	-greenstone (precious)
<b>Pouwhenua</b>	-a weapon/a tohunga/a landmark (contemporary)
<b>Pōwhiri</b>	-to welcome
<b>Puke</b>	-hill
<b>Puku</b>	-stomach or entrails/appetite or desire
<b>Pūriri</b>	-a native tree species
<b>Rākau</b>	-tree or a weapon
<b>Rangatahi</b>	-be quick/young person (contemporary)
<b>Rangatira</b>	-chief/master or mistress/well born
<b>Rangatiratanga</b>	-evidence of breeding/chieftainship
<b>Ranginui</b>	-sky-great
<b>Rima</b>	-number five
<b>Ringawera</b>	-hot hands/the cook
<b>Rīwai</b>	-potato
<b>Rohe</b>	-locality/boundary
<b>Rua</b>	-number two/pit (storage as in kūmara)
<b>Rōpū</b>	-company of persons

<b>Rūaumoko</b>	-atua or demon of volcanos
<b>Taha Māori</b>	-Māori aspects
<b>Tahi</b>	-number one
<b>Te Tai Tokerau</b>	-the sea on the northern side/refers to the northern peoples
<b>Tāku</b>	-my
<b>Tamaiti</b>	-child
<b>Tāma-ki-makau-rau</b>	-name for the Auckland region
<b>Tamana</b>	-advance payments (era of Native Land Courts)
<b>Tamariki</b>	-children
<b>Tane/tāne</b>	-man/men
<b>Tangata whai-ora</b>	-person seeking health (contemporary term)
<b>Tangihanga</b>	-period of grieving for person who has passed
<b>Tapu</b>	-sacred/extraordinary
<b>Tātai</b>	-line of descent/genealogy
<b>Tūtūā</b>	-commoner
<b>Tātou</b>	-all of us
<b>Tauira</b>	-teacher or skilled person/student under learned person
<b>Taumau</b>	- betrothed
<b>Taura</b>	-rope
<b>Te Ao Māori</b>	-Māori society
<b>Te reo me ōna tikanga</b>	-language and associated cultural practices
<b>Teina</b>	-younger sibling
<b>Tētahi</b>	- a/one (out of several)
<b>Tihi</b>	-summit/top
<b>Tika/tika tonu</b>	-right/definitely right
<b>Tikanga</b>	-practice or activity
<b>Tinana</b>	-physicality/body
<b>Tino rangatiratanga</b>	-self determination
<b>Tohi</b>	-ceremony over baby involving removal of navel-string
<b>Tohunga</b>	-specialist/expert

<b>Toi</b>	-source/origins
<b>Tōku/ōku</b>	-mine/plural
<b>Tomo</b>	-cavern, often burial places
<b>Toru</b>	-number three
<b>Tote</b>	-salt
<b>Tuakana</b>	-older sister to a sister or older brother to a brother
<b>Tuku</b>	-(conditional) gift (pertaining to land usage)
<b>Tupuna/tipuna</b>	-ancestor ( <b>tūpuna/tīpuna</b> pl)
<b>Tūrangawaewae</b>	-place of belonging
<b>Ūkaipō</b>	-nurturance and care (usually associated with the land)
<b>Uku</b>	-clay
<b>Uri</b>	-descendant
<b>Urupā</b>	-burial place
<b>Utu pihikete</b>	-payment of sexual services with biscuits or produce
<b>Wahine/wāhine</b>	-woman/women
<b>Waka</b>	-canoe/vessel
<b>Waiata</b>	-song
<b>Wairua</b>	-spiritual
<b>Wānanga</b>	-pedagogy of learning
<b>Wehi</b>	-be afraid/terrible force
<b>Wha</b>	-number four
<b>Whakaaro</b>	-thought
<b>Whakahihi</b>	-competent/proud
<b>Whakairo</b>	-carve
<b>Whakamā</b>	-shy or reserved or shame
<b>Whakapapa</b>	-ancestral lines and connections
<b>Whānau</b>	-be born/family group
<b>Whanaunga</b>	-kin
<b>Whanaungatanga</b>	-relationship
<b>Whanautanga</b>	-family strength

<b>Whānau pani</b>	-bereaved family
<b>Whānau piripiri</b>	-close family
<b>Whāngai</b>	-foster/nurture
<b>Whakatauki/whakatauākī</b>	-metaphor/authored metaphor
<b>Whakawhanaungatanga</b>	-develop relationship
<b>Whare</b>	-house
<b>Whare tupuna</b>	-ancestral house
<b>Whenua/wenua</b>	-placenta/land
<b>Whariki</b>	-mat/to weave
<b>Whetū</b>	-star
<b>Whiti</b>	-poem



# INTRODUCTION

## NOT A MĀORI HUI II

*If I don't stand up  
and speak  
te reo  
and assert my presence  
as a Māori woman  
I fear I will cease  
to exist  
in my mind  
as well as yours*

*Marewa Glover (2001, p.23)*

We exist as **whānau** when we hear stories about ourselves (Ho, 1999). Our early lives are our first worlds as young women. We hear and speak about ourselves 'within' families; transmitting values through our talk and with our bodies (Binney & Chaplain, 1986). We are grounded by the relationships within **whānau**, which will shape the rest of our women lives. We women are our sisters, mothers, aunties, grandmothers, brothers, fathers, uncles and grandfathers. We are family.

The impetus for this research grew from my career in nursing within the fields of: maternal mental health; child and adolescent mental health and; **kaupapa Māori** mental health nursing. My passion for mental health nursing emerged from a foundation of **whānau**, a **Māori-Pākehā** family living in the midst of dysfunction, family violence and paternal alcohol abuse in suburban Auckland, New Zealand.

This was my 'second childhood' in **Otara**, Auckland, a new suburb developed for the working classes in the 1960s. My family were poor, surrounded by predominantly **Māori** families, who had migrated away from rural areas, and **Pākehā** families in similar economic and social situations as ourselves. My **Māori** mother was a social person, a community person who gave of her time to assist neighbours, friends, **whānau** and to coach our school sports teams. She was also a sportswoman, playing representative hockey and, in a life before children, she was a successful equestrian rider.

Poverty would have been bearable if not for the abuses. Poverty and abuse and neglect are not necessarily said in the same breath. I saw poverty without abuse, people were happy. Our childhood lives featured violence and, my personal life included childhood sexual abuse and neglect. Growing up, I resented the burdens of family life and unhappiness, and wanted my mother to “fix” things for us all. For the child me, I saw the responsibility of protection as lying with my mother, my body came from hers, she was the connection to **whānau** and to the rest of the world.

Then there were the social circumstances of that time which were larger than all of us. We grew up with stigma attached to being **Māori** and half-caste, dark and fair skinned in appearance. **Māori** of mixed heritage were ‘passing’ as a single ethnicity of **Māori** such was their pride (University of Auckland, 1960). I could not ‘pass’ as a single ethnicity of **Māori** or **Pākehā**, my facial features were a mixture of both; I am what I am. I recall younger years as a child when my mother would introduce me to others by saying “*this is the Pākehā one*”. She was stating the obvious before it was said to her. Since then I have birthed her **mokopuna** ‘dark and fair skinned in appearance’ and, they excite their grandmother more than I ever did. This is a different generation and these are different times. My mother and I attended a **tangihanga** last year back home in **Kaikohe**. I met a **kaumatua**, a contemporary of my mother. He looked at us both and turned towards to me to say in a matter-of-fact-tone “*you have a Pākehā father*”. We then discussed **whakapapa**.

Poverty, stigmatisation and marginalisation in society is not without consequence and **Māori** women’s health and well being has been shown to be at risk. Mental disorder among **Māori** attending general practitioners were higher than among non-**Māori** and; **Māori** women were twice as likely as non-**Māori** women to have a diagnosable mental disorder (MaGPIe Research Group, 2005). Rates of anxiety, depression and substance disorders were all higher for **Māori** attending general practitioners (ibid). An unhappy partnership, single parenting, being under twenty years of age at the birth of the first child, mothering young children, a history of psychiatric hospitalisation and, an ethnicity **Māori** were identified as risk factors for postnatal depression (Webster, 1994). The **Māori** Women’s Welfare League (MWWL) survey of women collected important health data from three broad groups: young women (single, urban & mothers); middle years (lone mothers & partnered) and; mature women (**whaea o te marae & whaea o waho**) (**kuia** involved

with **marae** & those not) (Murchie, 1984). *“Depression [was] the most common chronic illness of young women”* and *“chronic depression”* featured in the health concerns in the middle years of women (Murchie, 1984, p.47).

By 1992, half of **whānau** had a sole parent, normally the mother, on a low income (Mikaere, 2011). A later report identified unemployed women were likely to be sole parents living in rental accommodation (Cunningham, Stevenson, Fitzgerald & Rolls, 2006). Women who were partnered had better rates of perceived health compared to unpartnered women (Murchie, 1984). **Māori whānau** experienced high rates of domestic violence and, women and children were over represented at family refuge facilities, up to 42 percent in 2002 (Family Prevention Group, 2002) and nearly 50 percent (Marie, Fergusson & Boden, 2008). A gene, monoamine oxidase (MAO) known as the “Warrior Gene” was mis-assigned to the propensity of **Māori** towards violence and aggression as in domestic violence and convictions for violent crime; **Māori** and some *“indigenous people... find themselves accused of violence by their mainstream colonisers”* (Hook, 2009, p.9). Common factors of indigenous peoples are historical dispossession of their lands (ibid). Transgenerational or intergenerational impoverishment and deprivation have their origins in historical cultural trauma and abuse and *“somewhere in there might lie the real reasons for indigenous violence”* (Hook, 2009, p.9). The inclination for violence and domination has systematically been displayed by the colonisers in the subjugation of indigene (ibid).

Childhood sexual abuse among **Māori** women was twice that of non-**Māori** women (Fanslow, Robinson, Crengle & Perese, 2007). A study, *“Cultural identity and pregnancy/parenthood by age 20”*, revealed 5.8 percent of women from a group identifying as sole **Māori** and 9.7 percent from a group of **Māori**/other identity, were exposed to childhood contact sexual abuse (Marie, Fergusson & Boden, 2011). A study among mental health clients whose files documented childhood sexual and physical abuse, confirmed associations between childhood abuse to later severe forms of adult mental illness symptomatology (Read, Agar, Argyle & Aderhold, 2003). In this study, hallucinations were more likely to be experienced by clients with backgrounds of physical abuse (two and a half times more), sexual abuse (three times more) and for those who had experienced both physical and sexual abuse the figure was almost four times more compared to other clients whose childhood experiences did not include abuse (Read et al., 2003). Of the 190 mental health clients, 21 were of **Māori** ethnicity.



In the total count method (claiming more than one ethnic group) of ethnicity statistics, **Māori** represented nearly 15 per cent of the population of New Zealand in 2006 (Callister & Bromell, 2011). In the method count of a single identity, **Māori** comprised 10 per cent of the population in 2006 (ibid).

Rates of mental disorder among **rangatahi**, youth, were higher for those with both **Māori** and other identity compared with sole identity **Māori** (Marie, Fergusson & Boden, 2008). Sole identity was a protective factor in reduced rates of mental disorder among **Māori**. However, it has also been argued that having “*good mental health leads one to more strongly identify as being sole Māori*” (Marie et al., 2008, p.298).

The importance of the ancestral home place to their cultural identity as **Māori** was revealed in a study of six women educators (Jahnke, 2002). **Tūrangawaewae, iwi, marae, urupa, awa** and **maunga** signified ‘belonging’ to cultural sites. Indigenous cultural identity was tethered with traditional notions of land, language and ancestral knowledge (Hokowhitu, 2011). This is valuable knowledge considering the mass movement away from ancestral areas. Cultural identity on a metaphysical level then collapses into “*space (adult recollections) and time (recollections told in the present)*” (Jahnke, 2002, p.502). Recollections were cultural storytelling in the transmitting of **whānau** knowing and experiences, thereby connecting **whānau** to history (Ho, 1999). Place and belonging merges “*the past and present, it charts a repetitive circular journey...*” in moving from place to place, only to end up at the beginning; home (hooks, 2009, p.3). There is a sense of the non-static and of change. The strong sense of belonging to place and people, grounds the person for the journey ahead.

### **His-storying of women’s status**

The stories of indigenous **Māori** women were omitted from the written records of New Zealand’s colonial history and even from the oral histories centuries prior to European contact (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Lambert, 2006). The oral storytelling of women did not translate over into the written language, their stories did not endure through the first century of colonisation and Christianity (Kohu, 1997; Lambert, 2006). The arrival of the missionaries in the first decades of the nineteenth century were to ‘civilise’ (Walker, 2004). Missionaries focused their attention on the enslaved **Māori**, converting them to

Christianity and patriarchy (Ritchie, 1993). Ex-slaves became teachers of the bible as well as educators of European ways, quickly moving amongst **Māori** communities, in sharing the scripture and the new agricultural methods taught to them by the missionaries (Scott, 1975).

Women were left out of the records of **Māori** storying in the nineteenth century, influenced by ethnocentric men's perspectives; the marginalisation of women in literature commenced. This 'invisibility cloak' purported **Māori** women as unworthy of literary glory, as men reassigned themselves to central positions in myths and storytelling. **Pākehā** captured the stories of **rangatira** men like **Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke** (Curnow, 1985) whose knowledge was influenced by Christianity. **Te Rangikaheke** converted to Christianity in 1835 in **Rotorua** (ibid) and he became a reknown historian. According to the origin account of **Te Rangikaheke**:

***“Ki taa te Paakehaa, ki taana tikanga, naa te Atua anake te tangata me, Rangī, me Papa, mea katoa i hanga” (Curnow, 1985, p.125).***

This statement translates to 'according to the **Pākehā**, from God alone [came] man, **Rangī** and **Papa**, all other things'. Infrequently, a tenuous literary thread was evidence of women's ancestors, gods or elements like **Hine-Nui-Te-Pō**, the chief and 'great mother night, the grandparent of the rest' (Taylor, 1974, p.16) (refer CHAPTER 5). Euro-centrism tossed a blanket, heavy with patriarchy covering women's centrality in **Māori** cosmogeny. Women gods or **atua** were recreated as passive. The first one hundred years of European contact would see the diminishment of **Māori** women's social roles and the domesticating of women.

The discourses of a colonial legacy continue into contemporary society, marginalising **Māori** in "indigenous societies as much as within colonising society" (Smith, 1999, p.46). Dominant culture has viewed indigenous peoples as 'different', 'inferior' and therefore 'other' (Johnston & Pihama, 1994). According to some, these negative perspectives were internalised in the psyches of generations of **Māori** men, women and children perpetuating cultural inferiority as normal (**Awatere**, 1984; Palmer, 2002). Native, women and writer were triple jeopardies in the hegemonic world of anthropology (Minh-ha, 1989). To this I add 'mother'.

The intersections of gender, race and class have served to disadvantage **Māori** women in particular, discarded to the borderlands of society. As an experiment try this, think about mainstream society: politicians; media; journalism and television; tertiary education health programmes and; the representations of indigenous **Māori** mothers...wait for the representations to appear...

*'young mothers'*

*'single mothers'*

*'mothers-on-benefits'*

*'mothers whose children are hungry'*

*'mothers whose children enter the justice system'*

*'mothers who have too many children'*

*'mothers who shouldn't be mothers'*

*'mothers those whose children fail educationally'*

*'mothers whose babies are murdered'*

*'mothers who get beaten'*

*'teenage mothers'.*

Contemporary representations of dominant society's perceptions of **Māori** mothers were many faceted descriptions of deficit.

In my **whānau**, it is my grandfather, **Te Ururoa Haare Kainamu**, whom we talk about and become sentimental over. His name came from a **rangatira tupuna** from his maternal side, a name carried through the generations and, over to his and his wife's combined **uri**. I carry grandfather's surname, as do my children. Our grandmother, **Ripeka Arepata Kihi Maihi**, has remained in the background for reasons which revealed themselves as this autoethnographic research evolved. **Whānau** keep secrets, they maintain silences giving invisibility to their 'hurts', and in doing so, family stories are static, incongruent and incomplete. There was a paradox in my **whānau**, it was on my grandmother's **whenua**, not my grandfather's that the family lived upon and, as a **whānau** we **whakapapa** to. She cared for children and **whāngai** and, managed a four generational household. Her day-to-day business revolved around home, husband and **whānau**. She died prematurely from multiple associated illnesses leaving behind **tamariki**, including **mokopuna**, myself, at home. Mothers occupied crucial positions in **whānau** giving nurturance, transmitting

knowledge, cultural and social leadership, and as valuable participants in community, supporting other **Māori** women and mothers (Sinclair, 1992). **Māori** women were central to **whānau ora**. As the every-day family responsibilities changed and reduced over time, mothers continued onto more public and social activities and identities (ibid). Women pulled the threads of **whānau** knowledge through time to here and now. Women were the source of life:

***Whānau->Whakapapa->Wāhine->Whenua->Whaea->Whānau ->Te Pito***

***Birth <-Women's storytelling <-Mothers <-Family <-Descent lines <-Land***

### **Research purpose and aims**

I wanted to understand the associations between cultural esteem and mental health and wellbeing of **Māori** mothers. I wanted to understand women's roles in families and society, and, the influences on mothers raising children. Earlier, Marie et al., (2008) spoke of the association between good mental health and sole identity **Māori**. The reverse could also be true, a strong **Māori** identity leads to mental wellbeing.

The purpose of this doctoral research is the extrapolation of the multiple truths of indigenous **Māori** women as mothers, because clearly, **Māori** women are not homogenous, and their experiences have many realities within the larger landscape that is **Te Ao Māori** and society in general. Significant numbers of **Māori** mothers and their children and families, are restricted to unfulfilling and difficult lives on pathways built from the recycled matter of previous generations. Cultural trauma and loss arose out of the collision with colonisation, perpetuated in contemporary times in a plethora of disadvantage, distress, hopelessness and desperation for indigenous peoples (Levine & Kline, 2007; Brave Heart, 2003; Serna, 2006; Whitbec, Adams, Hoyt & Chen, 2004). Intergenerational mental illness and multiple abuses are experiences for many indigenous **Māori** women and **whānau** (see CHAPTER 4).

The aims of this research were three-pronged in: revealing the associations between cultural identity and **Māori** women's mental wellbeing; seeking the links between women's childhoods and later mental health, and; in identifying the influences of women's childhoods to their later experiences of being mothers.

The primary methodology of this research was autoethnography, storytelling in a biographical account of 'I' as researcher in investigating the culture of myself; woman, mother and nurse. **Māori** indigene autoethnography has its origins in non-European culture with a shared history of colonialism (Tomaselli, Dyall & Francis, 2008). Autoethnography, **Māori** autoethnography, indigene or indigenous autoethnography are terms used interchangeably for the purposes of this research.

My story is a common enough story of indigenous, native, First Nations and, Aboriginal women (Smith, 1999). Similar to our first woman academic and early autoethnographer, Maggie **Papakura**:

***“...so intimately bound up with her people was she, that she could not write their history without unconsciously writing her own” (Makereti, 1986, p.20),***

I could not write about women and mothers without including myself in the research. So, why tell this common story? Thirty-five years ago, my mother had said *“someone will write my story”*, a story of a humble woman who had endured huge adversity in her life, thus far. At that time, in 1978, we had had a disageement concerning my stepfather. My mother had applied to the Social Welfare Department to become a foster mother in caring for 'wards of the state', vulnerable children. I objected based on my stepfather's past abuses of me as a child and young person. Later, I went so far as to telephone the aforementioned government department to express my deep concerns of my stepfather's unsuitability to 'parent' other's children.

Incredibly, thirty five years have passed and that *'one day'* my mother spoke about in having her story written, arrived. It was never my intention to write my mother's story, however in writing my own I could 'not, not write' aspects of her life (Tomaselli et al., 2008). I recalled in the 1980s my mother had changed her signature to include her original birth name **Te Arani**. Her **tupuna** name did not translate to the English name she had been called during most of her working and adult life. In legal documents she was referred to by this English name and mail addressed to her reflected this. The giving or taking of English names was a trend following World War Two, to 'anglize' **Māori** names in encouraging cultural assimilation towards a **Pākehā** suburban identity (Kainamu, 2008). *“Say our beautiful names”*, the title of this story on **wāhine Māori** is about the wonderful birth names of my mother and her sisters who reclaimed their **tupuna** names as older women

and **kuia**. **Tūpuna** names illuminate ancestral links; remembering these is pulling the threads of the past forward; we are never alone, ever.

My mental wellbeing as a woman was associated to how I was raised by my mother, my aunties and their mother and father; we had collective wellbeing.

My experiences and insights as a **Māori** woman underpinned the research questions in revealing women's mental health and wellbeing. Specific groups within **Māori** society were disadvantaged and, marginalised by European settlement in this country. However, as a race and ethnicity, we, men and women, were all colonised.

### **Indigenous Autoethnography**

This is a **Māori** indigene's autoethnography against a backdrop of colonisation and hegemony. The processes of both sought to dominate indigenous **Māori** cultural knowledge and ontology of which the native language was core to the transmission of cultural values and practices. "*Ko te reo te Mauri o te mana Māori*", language is the wellspring of culture (**Kainamu**, 2008) therefore, like Leonie **Pihama**, I chose to highlight **Te Reo Māori** language throughout this thesis in celebrating its usage and relevance in the 21st Century (**Pihama**, 2001). Each **Te Reo Māori** word in this academic format is 'bold typed' in privileging a **Māori** cultural identity. Normally, the glossary of terms sits at the back of a thesis however, in this instance the **Te Reo Māori** glossary was placed in the front of the Table of Contents for easier reader access.

I experimented aligning the text to both left and right margins which gave the appearance of solid 'blocks' of writing, regulated and academic. It did not suit my autoethnography writing style. I settled for text aligned to the left, this matched the 'flow' of my thinking. I likened this to poetry or prose in the 'stop, drop and roll' of thoughts and words into literary space; autoethnography writing is a dynamic performance of storying and movement.

I struggled in the early stages of commencing this research. Conventional academic research or 'writing' interrupted and disrupted my indigenous **Māori** way of knowing and being. Academic discourses privilege 'whiteness' in the control of moral, cultural and social space (**Brown, Clark, Gilling & Waitere**, 2008). Writing within 'whiteness', the indigenous voice is viewed as 'other' and exotic. The maintenance of an academic position

in the spaces of whiteness involved a constant attentiveness to visibility in explaining, defending and rationalising indigenous presence. In the 'struggle' to be seen and heard, the discourse is one of resistance and survival. There is some indignity in resisting whiteness, as the struggle could be said to define cultural identity (**Hokowhitu**, 2011), however, these struggles are not to be ignored.

Autoethnography is a methodology in bringing the inside to the outside in linking the personal space with the wider socio-political environments; autoethnography does "*not stand alone in the world*" (Jones, 2005, p. 763). Indigenous autoethnography privileges my cultural self. I am the '**AU**', I or me, in '**whānAU**'/family; indigenous autoethnography "*does not speak alone*", we are a collective (Jones, 2005, p. 764). In this thesis indigenous autoethnography methodology is triangulated with the narratives of the women research participants (see PART TWO: **WHAKAPAPA KŌRERO**) and with a **kaupapa Māori** approach (see Chapter 2: **Te Huarahi**: Methods). "*Triangulation of meaning*" in research is engaging with the mind, body and soul or **hine-ngaro**, **tinana** and **wairua**, in using three points to strengthen the whole; "*viewing reality in an outside, inside, and transpartial way is now part of a postquantum physics movement, and a segue into the beauty and practicality of indigeneity*" (Aluli-Meyer, 2006, p.263). In this indigene triangulation or trilogy, I liken the mind or **hine-ngaro** to autoethnography methodology, a thinking-feeling-mental platform from whence I launch the personal or self in connecting with the social and political worlds. The womens' narratives (see PART TWO: **WHAKAPAPA KŌRERO**) are their 'lived experiences' and I liken these to the aspect of body or **tinana**. Physicality, experiencing the world through their bodies, are held in the storying of the women research participants. **Tinana** and **hine-ngaro**, the womens' narratives and indigene autoethnography methodology, rest upon **kaupapa Māori**. **Kaupapa Māori** is the spiritual, soul or **wairua** aspect of this triangulation; it is the heart of this research on **Māori** women and mothers. **Wairua** is of the utmost importance to us indigenous **Māori**. We are a **wairua** people. **Hine-ngaro**, **tinana** and **wairua** are facets of wholebeing of the self and life. Autoethnography methodology, the womens' narratives and **kaupapa Māori** are interconnected aspects of wholeness in triangulating and strengthening this research on womens' mental wellbeing.

**Ko au te pito**, I am the centre and at this centre is dynamic, vibrant culture and living knowledge as **wahine Māori**. I, self, is never alone, I exist in others and they in me.

Autoethnography is the self in relation to other, as that is how we come to know self, through other and others. We, women and **whānau**, exist in each other's eyes and in each other's core:

Self...other,

Mine...yours,

**Nāku...nau,**

**WhānAU.**

Cultural reflexivity is to *"bend back on self and look more deeply at self-other interactions"* (Ellis & Bochner, 2000, p.740). In writing of researcher selves, we sometimes implicate **whānau** members and close others. Care must be taken to protect other's identity, privacy and confidentiality and consent to use the stories and situations of others is vital to autoethnography research (Tolich, 2010). I am my **whānau** and they are me; 'I' write with 'them', not 'on them'. In autoethnography, the distance between the writer and reader, topic and context folds down as the writer self-situates to the centre of the research. Held in the tightened spaces are texts in *"charged moments of clarity, connection, and change"* (Jones in Tomaselli et al., 2008, p.360). Autoethnography writing employs evocative storying, revealing researchers' sensitivities, openness and vulnerable selves (Ellis, 1999). Transformative and politicalisation are aims of autoethnography, in taking larger cultural issues into the personal-writer-self and, guiding the reader's eyes, finger to word, line by line, drawing the text off the page to the optic centre of self in encountering awareness. The reader then shifts from a position of observer, to engage with the researcher in the midst of a story. Autoethnography, written, spoken or acted is a *"performance that asks how our personal accounts count"* (Jones, 2005, p.764; Snyder-Young, 2011). Performance is emotive use of voice, words, language and body.

Consensus between the writer and reader, or writer and researched, is not the objective; the aim is identifying the space between where sits difference or conflict or awe or tension. The reader is captured by the knowledge of another and the jacket of detached observation, or objectification, loosens. It is here where epiphany manifests and connection occurs. At this summit of clarity and awareness, superficiality or non-knowing diminishes, clearing the space for rapport and, if only in thought, a starting point emerges from which the writer and reader may move ahead. If this sounds cathartic or



therapeutic...then it is. Self-indulgent for the researcher? No. Perhaps introspective in reaching the 'soul' of culture, self, where truths sit in purest form in the **hine-ngaro** or mind-heart. More than a story, the personal in research must exude hope and more so in the presence of harshness and desperation (Friere, 1970). Hope is liberating; liberation is transformative.

Indigenous autoethnography writing integrates me, the collective 'I' of women and **whānAU**, throughout the texts, in the main body, in pictures, **uku**, art, poetry, prose and **waiata**; but never, ever, in the margins. With the turning of every page, layer upon layer of multi-dimensional cultural 'I', the collective 'I', inhales and exhales in telling our stories.

### **Kuia wisdoms**

Older women exist in all **whānau** and communities as **kuia** and elders. **Kuia** are women long passed the child bearing years, though often still actively involved in rearing **mokopuna**, and they participate in traditional duties involving ceremonial aspects of **powhiri**, **hui** and **tangihanga** (Barlow, 2005, p.59; Sinclair, 1992). **Kuia** have public roles as leaders and enjoy a social persona with authority in the domains of kin and local community (Sinclair, 1992). Particular older women have been trained for leadership and; others actively participate in supporting women in leadership. **Kuia** have a history of relationships within kin and kin-type communities, they have been 'serving their people' in the areas of **matauranga**, **hauora** and **oranga** and, **rangatiratanga**, education, health and wellbeing and, leadership.

I formed an advisory group of **kuia** from my own aunts, the nannies of my children. In their '**kaumātua**' years, the **kuia** are active participants in the wider **whānau** and community. They shared with me, rich, multi-layered stories, perspectives and wisdoms based on wide ranging experiences across the life spectrum as **mokopuna**, **tamahine**, **tuahine**, **whanaunga**, mothers, wives and, of course, **kuia**. They have diverse social backgrounds having accumulated acumen in business, education and community. Some are **ahi kā**; they are the gateway through which we re-enter our home places, our **whare tupuna** and **marae**. They welcome us home and farewell our dead at **tangihanga**. Developed from the aunts or nannies storying, were the marker stories (discussed in the next section under Thesis Structure).

In this thesis are hidden stories, stories which appear 'boxed'. These are genuine stories, highly sensitive and emotive; they "*disrupt*" and shock (Jones, 2005, p.763). The tellers of these stories are from within my larger **whānau** and kinship community. Some boxed stories are my own. I have not named the storytellers due to the sensitivity of their stories. Within **whānau** we had suspicions of their stories which they confirmed, sharing for the very first time in this thesis. They gave permission for the researcher to include their stories in this thesis and also to use their identities. However, in discussions with the examiners at the oral presentation and the women themselves, I felt it prudent to protect their confidentiality and vulnerability (Tolich, 2010). One of my informants wanted her authorship known "*I am not worried this is my truth and the first time I have shared this story*" (personal communication via telephone conversation 26/11/2013). These storytellers have triumphed over personal trials and hardship, not unlike the challenges in the narratives of the research participants in the **WHAKAPAPA KŌRERO** (see PART TWO). In common with me, the research participants, the advisory group and the **kuia** storytellers share truths and inconsistencies, dreams and disappointments, realities and resignations, laughter and tears, and, strengths and weaknesses. Ideologies aside, the **kuia** are women who have lived across a time of tremendous change on the socio-political landscape: new-borns in the years of the Second World War; part of the mass rural-urban migration to the newness of suburban living, and; in the globalisation and the diaspora of **Māori** across Australia and beyond. Amongst them sits diversity and contradictions, a macro-environment of society. Their knowing resonates with cogency, integrity and truthfulness. This thesis presents a personal journey of being a **wahine** and mother, a journey intertwined with the stories of others like me, and others whose stories were different; a journey of sense-making culminating in 'women-being'.

### **Thesis structure**

This thesis is made up of five Parts. Each Part (except the final Part) comprises two chapters. Parts 1, 2 and 5 commence with picture stories, Part 3 commences with an **uku** sculpture and Part 4 with text about my homeplace in Northland and two of the nannies. This story is in green font to highlight its purpose representing a new Part. Following each Part is a *Marker Story*. Remembering 'from' the past is indicative of 'markers' in the

position of an object or person or the direction in which a thing or person is taking in denoting momentous cultural movement or shift. It is taking memories of the before and unpacking its relevance to this time, now. The *Marker Stories* in this thesis set the tone and context for the chapters to follow (**Tamanui**, 2012).

The INTRODUCTION outlines the methodology and research approach. PART ONE: **HARAKEKE AND HYDRANGEAS** introduces the research topic, **Māori** mothers and mental wellbeing commencing with *Marker Story 1 – Mama’s Day*, a story about **kuia**, the older women in our **whānau**. This is remembering the past, gathering ourselves to share another’s re-creation of memories associated with a loving, quiet **kuia**, my grandmother, the mother of my mothers. Location is everything and this research sits among my **whānau**. CHAPTER 1: AUTOETHNOGRAPHY OF **whānAU** introduces the major themes for this thesis; women-being, historical cultural trauma and abuse, transgenerational or intergenerational trauma and abuse and the health and wellbeing of women and **whānau**. Culture and health are intertwined concepts woven tightly within historical, social, cultural and, political landscapes. CHAPTER 2: **TE HUARAHI** details the processes of Ethics and **Tikanga** in researching as a **Māori** writer among my own **whānau** and **Māori** communities. PART 2: **WHAKAPAPA KŌRERO** privileges the narratives of twenty women participants, mothers of different ages and backgrounds who shared their experiences of growing up, becoming mothers themselves and their journeys of **whānau**. CHAPTER 3: **WĀHINE-KI-TE-WĀHINE** introduces the four **rōpū**, groups, which emerged from the twenty mothers and the characteristics and circumstances of each **rōpū**. CHAPTER 4: **TE TOTE O TE KŌRERO** presents the ‘**tote**’ or the ‘salt’ of women’s talk. What is the ‘taste’ of the **kai** or **kōrero**? What do the women want us to know? Major themes arising from the women’s narratives were; **Tapu Te Tinana, Damaged Discourses and Disconnection; Silence to Voice** and, **Ko Au Te Pito**.

PART THREE: **MANA ATUA** introduces cosmogony in the creation of the **Māori** universe. CHAPTER 5: A MOUNTAIN OF KNOWLEDGE, delves into the **Māori** origin stories and sources the beginnings of women’s knowing. The story begins in my home lands of Northland, with my **maunga, Pūtahi**. Colonial histories have influenced the creation storying of ourselves, however, as we repeat the words of how we came to be as **Māori** women, we must ask, does this resonate with ‘who’ and ‘how’ we are as women? Is this our knowing? CHAPTER 6: **HE KURA TE TANGATA** is the sacredness of each person, man

and woman. Pre-history and early contact communities functioned on the cooperation between the genders and between **tupuna** and **mokopuna**. **Whanautanga**, the solidarity of family, was vital to existence. Rituals and ceremonies around birth, celebrated the growth of families. Between birth and life, were the collective cultures of **whānau** and **hapū**.

PART FOUR: **WAKA WĀHINE** addresses the coming of 'other' to New Zealand and the influences over two centuries. CHAPTER 7: REMEMBERING US speaks to the incredible skills of **Māori** to remember and transmit their collective knowledge and memories into the future. **Māori** expected the arrival of 'other' and when they came, the Europeans focused on **Māori** men in business transactions and education. Land alienation was on the horizon and **Te Ao Māori** would falter. CHAPTER 8: THE COLONISATION OF woMEn presents the gendered legacy of being 'other-ed' on me, and **Māori** women. Specific activities and discourses diminished the social status of women. We were not meant to become like 'other', but 'less' than 'other'. Patriarchy, Christianity and Europeanisation of **Māori** maternities further dislodged the foundation of **whānau**, displacing women and mothers.

PART FIVE: **HINE-NGARO** sums up these many stories culminating in women-self-mother. In CHAPTER 9: **TE AU KĀNANAPA** I returned to the **WHAKAPAPA KŌRERO** of the women's narratives seeking illuminations within the mother's stories to inform the research implications. Under the themes **Tapu Te Tinana, Damaged Discourses and Disconnection; Silence to Voice** and, **Ko Au Te Pito** are the implications for interventions, policies and programmes to uplift the social status of some groups of **Māori** women and mothers and thereby improving the mental wellbeing of **whānau** and communities. A section titled **AFTERWORD** concludes this thesis in speaking to the ordinariness of **whānau** in the meaningfulness of **tikanga** grounded in **aroha**, in mending a family rift between father and daughter, a **whānau** journey to a far away ancestral homeplace and, a Nanny contemplates her, and 'our' life. This thesis journey of autoethnography ends here, whilst the real performance of living and being is never ending.

Feel with all of the senses, the visceral, the tactile, the spiritual and the intellectual. Read with all of your body. **Ka pūmau te ora!**



# PART 1: HARAKEKE AND HYDRANGEAS

*Figure 1.1: Tōku Kuia, nā Ururoa Kainamu Wheeler 1995 (aged 4 years)*





# ***Marker Story 1 – Mama’s Day***

February 25th 2012 (Journal entry). Nanny **Wai**, commenced the day with purpose as it was a special day on her calendar of routine. Her husband of many decades noted the difference in his wife’s demeanor and enquired as to the reason, asking her where she was going. Replying softly with conviction she let him know she was going into town to purchase flowers to place at her mother’s headstone. Aware of the significance of this day to his wife he challenged her anyway, as he is wont to do, about the others who too had passed: her father died aged 80 years old; her eldest brother was dead at 44 years old; three brothers died in their fifties, and; a brother and sister, deceased in childhood. All had died from diseases and illnesses. Her husband’s thought was *why not flowers for them all*. Less harsh than it sounded, she responded with “*No! Just for my mother*”. Mama died fifty years ago and is survived by these five daughters, in order of birth; **Makareta Ururoa Tino, Ririamoe Ururoa Patton, Te Arani Hayes, Huria Ururoa Junker and Te Waihemonga Eramiha. Te Waihemonga**, aged in her late sixties, is the youngest surviving member of her generation. Nanny **Wai** put on her shoes to leave the house. Her husband rose up from the couch saying he would be her driver and much later he said to his wife, as a kind of apology, that he was pleased he had taken her to the **urupā** on this day, on ‘*Mama’s day*’.

Figure 1.1 **Tōku Kuia** is my son’s drawing of his **kuia**, his nanny. The purpose in positioning this picture at the beginning of this doctoral thesis is the recognition of the centrality of **kuia**, and elder members of family, in the lives of **mokopuna**. Elders command considerable influence within their family groups, passing their knowledge onto future generations (do Rozario, 1998). Among **Māori whānau**, the ‘unit’ of **tupuna-mokopuna**, grandparent-grandchild, adult-young descendant, is a primary relationship. Recently, my eldest child and I debated conflicted parent-child or mother-daughter relationships. In the birth of **mokopuna** is the birth of hope for **tupuna**, grandparents, to celebrate and, enjoy grandchildren in ways that were not present when parenting their own children. In the attachments of **tupuna-mokopuna** are renewed affections from grandparents; there is healing across the generations. The **kuia** in my son’s drawing is my mother, **Te Arani Hayes**, known as Nanny **Kuia**. She and her siblings are also identified as nannies in this thesis due



to the relationships with my children and all of our collective **mokopuna**. The children know my mother and my aunts as Nanny **Makere**, Nanny **Wai**, Nanny **Riria**, Nanny **Kuia (Te Arani)** and Nanny Julie (**Huria**). Nanny Julie resides in Switzerland with her husband and family and visits New Zealand regularly. As well, there are other Nannies who shall remain unnamed; their storying has been unforgettable, unsettling and insightful. They have been valuable sources of **whānau** history, **whakapapa** and social commentators of their times.

Understanding the core of woman self is understanding the primary relational ties within and across **whānau**. For women, significant gender relationships are mothers and daughters, grandmothers and grand-daughters and, aunts and nieces. Mama’s Day is an important day for Nanny **Wai** in visiting the graveside of her mother, Mama, my grandmother. These two were my first ‘mothers’ until I returned to live with my mother when I was about six years old in what I call my second childhood. This thesis begins with the **tātai** of my grandmother **Ripeka Arepata Kihi Maihi**, known by her children and **mokopuna** simply as Mama:

**Box 1.1: Tātai o Ripeka Arepata Kihi Maihi, no Ngāti Whakaaeke, Ngāpuhi ki Kaikohe**

*Whakaahu Te Arani Pou-Arepata Kihi Maihi*

I

*Ripeka Arepata Kihi Maihi (1916-1962) – Te Ururoa Haare Kainamu (1903-1983)*

*Wāhine | Tāne*

*Mate (1932-1976)*

*Pita (1934-1942)*

*(1936) Makareta Ururoa Tino*

*(1938-1940) Anamaraea*

*(1939) Ririamoe Ururoa Patton*

*(1941) Te Arani Hayes*

*(1942) Huria Ururoa Junker*

*(1943) Te Waihemonga Eramiha*

*Maanihera (1945-1999)*

*Puke (1947-2001)*

*Eric (1949-2007)*

*(kotiro o Te Arani, 1958) Reena Kainamu*

Family birth order is important. Traditionally, elder children carried responsibilities of cultural knowledge and **whakapapa**, as well as duties within the home in caring for younger members. Parents groomed **matamua**, the eldest, from a young age to be in charge, to have authority. **Matamua** were close to parents and grandparents and, they had experiences that were different than younger members of family. **Tuakana** and **teina**, older and younger relations, were important to the functioning of families. Our **whānau whakapapa** is in the possession of the surviving **matamua** Nanny **Makere**. When I want to know something about **whakapapa**, **whānau** tradition or **tikanga**, it is her counsel I seek. Reciprocity exists in knowledge-learner relationships where we share stories, we complete stories and we start new stories about our families and our histories. Nanny **Makere** holds the hand-written **Pukapuka Whakapapa** of my grandfather's **tātai** and possesses the **whakapapa** knowledge of Mama's **tātai**. The **Pukapuka Whakapapa** was given to Nanny **Kuia**, my mother, by another relative and **Nanny Kuia** passed this on to her **tuakana**, Nanny **Makere**. As a **teina**, a younger sister, my mother knew the **Pukapuka Whakapapa** was for her older sister to hold. The first to arrive in families, older brothers and sisters have stories before the others were born; they remember family stories and within these are the histories of **whānau** lives. People seek Nanny **Makere**. She has lived experiences of changing times. She has **whānau** and **hapū** knowledges and mostly, she has wisdom.

I am the first born child of **Māori** and **Pākehā** parents whose relationship struggled to endure past my birth. **Māori** and **Pākehā** romantic relationships were a novelty in rural New Zealand in the 1950s. In my mid-twenties I met my **Pākehā** father at a family event. He was a cousin to the husband of Nanny **Riria**, an older sister of my mother. A studio wedding photo of Nanny **Riria (Ririamoe)** and her groom, William Patton, included a young Nanny **Wai (Te Waihemonga)** as the bridesmaid alongside the best man, a young Ian McKenzie (my father). Nanny **Wai** and Nanny **Riria** were my closest aunts, my mothers, and as a child I spent considerable time with them and, still do as an adult woman.

I met my **Pākehā** father at the holiday home of Nanny **Riria**, recognising him from the bridal party photograph. I had anticipated much more; he was white-skinned, lean and small. I too, surprised him, in that I was articulate and intelligent, not how he expected the child of his forgotten affair with a **Māori** woman might turn out; he told me this though not in these exact words. We commenced an awkward getting-to-get-to-know-one-another, in,

girl-finally-meets-absent-father and, this was the tone of our on-off-relationship for the next twenty-seven years, until things came to an abrupt end in 2010. Ian had joined me for a meal at home and the conversation turned to politics and, then onto discrimination and racism. After-dinner opinions quipped around the table and with his finger pointed angrily at me, and, a face flushed with indignation, my father said “*you people*”. I stopped hearing his words after ‘you people’ and, shortly afterwards he stormed out of my house. The next day I spoke with him over the telephone, however his anger was still raw and, he would not reconcile his differences with me.

I reflected on my mother’s circumstances and status in the 1950s. She would not have had the maturity to manage the tensions of cross-cultural intimate partnerships especially, following the confirmation of pregnancy. At seventeen years of age she would not have had the skills to deal with the stigma associated to ‘unwed’ pregnancy. She did not have financial security or an education. By not marrying my mother and in not supporting her in any way, my **Pākehā** father’s irresponsibility would result in disadvantage, discrimination and stigma for my mother. Ultimately, he did not care nor did he consider he had a duty to provide for the daughter conceived in youthful passion.

Ian, my father, had told me of the discrimination experienced by **Māori** in the town of **Kaikohe** during the 1950s. He recalled attending a dentist’s surgery and told to go elsewhere to a dentist who served ‘**Māori** people’. He felt the rejection was associated to his connection with a local **Māori** woman, my mother. So strong was the stigma of having a **Māori** partner and a child outside of marriage, that my **Pākehā** father did not inform his parents or his family that he had fathered a child. **Te Arani**, my mother, brought her newborn back to her parents to raise whilst she returned to the city in search of employment.

In 1957, my mother finished school in Form 5 with no formal qualification. She was aged 16 years old and a year later I was born. Stored in a cake tin (*see Marker Story 2-The Cake Tin*) were her and her siblings school reports. These were some of the teacher’s comments on my mother’s report:

<p><b>Not up to school certificate standard; Must pay more attention to details of spelling, grammar, [and] expression, and; Te Arani has found fifth form work difficult, but has worked steadily. 1957 Northland College 5A Report</b></p>
--

At the time, my mother's school subjects were, English, Latin, French, Mathematics, Chemistry, Mathematics and Physical Education. Her first language was **Te Reo Māori**. Throughout our lives her dreams for her children were to have much more than she ever had. Her 'incomplete' formal education did not prevent her from engaging in society on our behalf. She was a fearless woman.

Back to the **tātai** of my grandmother. I have placed myself at the end to signify my early years living on **papakainga** with grandparents, aunties and uncles, this was my early childhood. Nanny **Wai** continues to live on her mother's **whenua** in **Kaikohe** and her **tuakana**, older sister, Nanny **Kuia**, lives in the township.

As I write this segment of the thesis, I am aware that in three week's time we head back to **Kaikohe** to mark the 51st anniversary of Mama's death. Why is this so important to me? In my memory is an image of a three year old me, sitting atop a pile of volcanic rocks beside my grandmother's as-yet-to-be-filled-in grave. Memories of the past are recreations of significant events contextualised by what came later as peoples lives unfolded. In my imagination, I am watching my aunties, my mother and my uncles, as they spread their fingers to let the dry dirt fall on the coffin below. Their ages at that time were 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 26 and 29 years old; they have a lifetime ahead of them in which to raise their own children without the presence, the guidance and the assurance of their mother, Mama. Their father, my grand-father, Nanny **Haki**, **Te Ururoa** (Jack) **Haare Kainamu**, will remarry and have other responsibilities. I am now fifty four years old and thankful my children have had many nannies to love and be loved in return. Last year, Nanny **Wai** and Nanny **Kuia** visited their mother's grave. This year, we the **whānau** will join them in a few weeks time, and hopefully in the years following, to celebrate the **whakapapa** of Mama and to recall all those on her **tātai** who are no longer with us in the physical world. We remember her, them and us; this is **whānau**.



# CHAPTER 1:

## AUTOETHNOGRAPHY of whānAU

*If I am not for myself, who will be for me?  
And when I am for myself, what am I?  
And if not now, when?*

*Rabbi Hillel*

February 23<sup>rd</sup> 2014 and Mama's Day dawned. In the early morning, Nanny **Kuia** and I left **Kaikohe** and drove northeast towards the volcanic rims of our **puke** or **maunga Pūtahi** and our lake **Omapere**. Along the roadside were hydrangeas in an array of pastel greens, blues and purple colours at different stages of bloom, from buds to fullness. In the centres of the myriad of small flowers were tiny dots of dew, reflecting the petal's colour.

Hydrangeas reminded me of my childhood on my grandmother's **whenua**. Nanny **Wai** says there were only two small hydrangea bushes at the 'old home' where we lived. My memory holds a strong sense of hydrangeas associated with my grandmother. On this morning, I picked bunches of hydrangea flowers on long stalks and we returned to **Kaikohe**. I thanked **ngā atua** for the gift of **harakeke** (general name for New Zealand flax) and I wrapped strips of these around the many bouquets of hydrangea. On this day, **harakeke** and hydrangea symbolised my cultural duality, indigene or natural and exotic, **Māori** and **Pākehā**. In the **whakapapa** of **harakeke** is the story of **Māori** creation, we, us, derived from a common source. Plants and people, mountains and seas originated from a common heart, **hine-ngaro**, mind-heart, the 'thought' or **whakaaro** at the beginning of our **Māori** world (See CHAPTER 5). From thought came the knowledge to story the creation of our universe. The **whakapapa** of the hydrangea is about another people's migration to these lands. The hydrangea was nurtured on voyages across several oceans to this place, and, now, it flourishes along the back roads in the sun and shaded edges of **Omapere**.

We, the **whānau**, arrived at the **marae** to prepare the **whare kai** for the **hākari**. The trestle tables, covered with white linen, both sides laden with crockery and cutlery. In the table's centre were placed three bouquets of hydrangea, splashes of gentle colour against the linen. Memorial plates were made as a memento of *Mama's Day* (see Plate 1.1). At the

**urupā**, we removed the remaining hydrangeas from the buckets and wandered over to **Mama's** graveside. **Nanny Kuia** and **Nanny Wai** placed flowers on their mother's grave and, the **mokopuna** followed with their flowers. The **whānau** women looked lovely, and, from the **mokopuna** to their grandmothers, they wore dresses signifying the importance of this day. The great-grandmothers, **Nanny Kuia** and **Nanny Wai**, wore summer trousers and blouses. Our men were here, way outnumbered by the women, and some families had travelled from afar because today was a special day on our 'collective' **whānau** calendar of routine.

We are the **whānau** of **Mama** comprising of: **Kainamu**; **Hayes**; **Eramiha**; **Maihi**; **Pou**; **Tino**; **Patton** and; **Junker**. The **mokopuna** started our **waiata** and **Nanny Wai** said our **karakia**. We were excited and thankful to be together on this day of remembrance. Flowers from **Mama's** grave were placed on each of the graves of her sons, her husband my beloved grandfather and, other direct relatives. This is our **urupā** and it comprises the people of our **whānau** and **hapū**. A **kaumatua** arrived later and he said he followed the trail of hydrangeas to arrive at **Mama's** graveside, the woman who had taken him in as a **whāngai** nearly sixty years ago.

This is **whānau**, this is culture and carried in culture are ancestral values and concepts of **Whanaungatanga**, **Mana**, **Tapu**, **Noa**, **Aroha**, **Manāki** and **Whakapapa**. In a simple ceremony of love we gathered to remember our **tupuna**, **Mama** and, in doing so, we celebrated us as a **whānau**. **Whānau** is culture, **whānau** is identity, women are **whānau**.

**Plate 1.1: Memorial Plate of Mama's Day**



PART ONE builds on the INTRODUCTION in the further extrapolation of the **ngākau** or heart of this thesis; woman's epistemology. "Are you somebody?" were words challenging women's integrity or **mana** in worlds of patriarchy and dominant culture in seeking responses to 'who' and 'how' is woman (O'Faolain, 1996). We, women, are the essence of life and aspects of our being generate people, create **whānau** culture and develop community and society. We are life it-self and it is this 'self' which is on the line, literally, in this thesis. CHAPTER 1: AUTOETHNOGRAPHY OF **whānAU** reveals the collective 'I', to you the reader. It is making 'self' explicit, and since this is a **Māori** autoethnography then self or 'I' is the '**AU**' in '**whānAU**'. Self was never 'alone', starting life in the **puku** of mother therefore 'I' or self is the collective of women. 'Self' is a constant calibration of inside-outside-inside-out, **ko au-whānAU-mātou-tātou**, me-family-us-all of us. CHAPTER 2 presents the 'how' of this thesis in following ethical threads in the collecting of mother's narratives of their lives leading to women's knowing and being.

### **Sext-ing, writing with the body**

Autoethnography is recollection, a research methodology in bringing past significant events forward and, from these, unpacking knowing and meaning and, its relevance in the



present. Remembering is a constant for indigenous peoples. As well as putting back aspects of ourselves that have been fractured or broken down, it is revering genealogy, the cultural links and interconnectedness of 'us' within the universe. Indigenous autoethnography brings together "*place, history and genealogy*" (Meyer, 2004, p142):

I am from **Kaikohe**.

I am my mother.

I am my **whānAU**.

I am my grandmother.

I am my **tūpuna**.

I am connected.

I have a responsibility.

Storying the past involves reshaping:

***"Making stories from one's lived history is a process by which ordinarily we revise the past retroactively, and when we do we are engaged in processes of language and describing that modify the past. What we see as true today may not have been true at the time the actions we are describing were performed. Thus we need to resist the temptation to attribute intentions and meanings to events that they did not have at the time they were experienced" (Bochner in Trahar, 2009).***

Minutiae of epiphanies or 'exactness' in remembering are not the aims of autoethnography, rather, it is locating 'self', 'auto-', in the centre of significant cultural, 'ethno-', environments. Writing, '-graphy' of the past in the 'bringing-it-forward' is scholarly activity. It is writing a powerful personal narrative (Nash, 2004) and connecting one's story to larger social and political environments. One cannot recall exact occurrences (Kidd, 2008) and the focus is on identifying the essence of transformation in transcending from a place of unconscious knowing or 'innocence' to awareness and self-determination. Transformation and transcendence are spiritual events and the '**hiko**i' or journeying from past to present and back to past is illuminated with emotion and **wairua**, the threads of human connectivity. The constant of **wairua** is embodied in the collective day-to-day of

**whānAU**, me in family; it is this value that binds each person to the other and is transmitted to the next generation. Values are a constant against a dynamic social context.

‘Being There’ (the past) to the ‘Being Here’ (the present) (Spry, 2001) entails both performance and literary agency in transporting meaning back and forth across time:

*“This issue, negotiating the passage from where one has been through “out there” to what one says “back here”, is not psychological in character. It is literary. It arises for anyone who adopts what one may call, in a serious pun, the I-witnessing approach to the construction of cultural descriptions...(It) is to pose for yourself a distinctive sort of text-building problem: rendering your account credible through rendering your person so...To become a convincing “I-witness,” one must, so it seems, first become a convincing “I”(Geertz in Spry, 2001, p.173).*

Storying is who I am as a **Māori** woman and mother. Before mother and prior to woman was ‘I’, and yet, ‘I’ emerged from women and mothers, **whānau** and **tūpuna**. ‘I’ represents women and women represent ‘I’. All of me, all of the time is not the sum total of **Māori** women. **Māori** women are not a ‘finite’ group, nor am I finite. Our beginnings, birth, and endings, death, are the same however, the lives and living between belong to me and, this ‘self’ contributes to the collective ‘I’ as women, and women to me.

Pushed into ‘civilisation’, ‘I’ as native and woman, was invisible and became ‘other’ to Europeans. This ignominy is trauma and abuse, and repeats itself in indigenous circumstances for women. Truths ravel and unravel in the womb. The gossamer-like placental membrane is the affirmation of **whakapapa** and woman’s connectedness to the **whenua**; in ravelling or unravelling its truth or not. **Whakapapa** is the primacy of women to life itself. Pregnancy and birthing is all about genealogy, **whakapapa**, the unending circle of life as discussed earlier in the INTRODUCTION. As women we celebrate our roles as reproductive agents and as nurturers among **whānAU** and **hapū**. In becoming ‘mothers’ we seek to reveal ourselves further. This body, my woman’s body, is for storytelling, writing, for ‘linguaging’ the many women’s knowing and women’s being, women’s thoughts and women’s’ myths.

I story with all of me (Minh-ha, 1989) captured in my woman’s skin: the thick creases of flattened brow; reflected in the lens of insightfulness; the rounded face and full lips; seen in the angles of the body; the protuberance of breasts; the thickness of hips; the corpus of blood and fluid flowing within, around and without of my body; the projected **puku** full of

life (time and time again); the sexual organs of my gender and ; thickened thighs and broad feet. Woman's storying is 'sext-ing' words and meanings, in the gender and culture of women:

***"I believe we carry our values in our bodies, we carry our culture in our bodies" (Pitsrulak in Meyer, 2004).***

Sext-ing, writing woman is not neutral or objective or distance. It does not suffer the abstraction of the dominant discourse of 'his-story', man's writing. Sext-ing is passionate, intellectual and political, full-body writing from the womb, blood-coursing-through-my-body-narratives holding 'her-stories' of remembrances and activities of knowing and being women. I, as woman, have multiple ways of representing and expressing women-being that is theoretical, spiritual, physical and sexual; layers upon layers of women-being.

Traditionally, in the era of the written word, power was attached to women's sexual organs in the capacity of **tapu** and **noa**, to make or break, generate or protect the access to or the usage of a person or a place (Freud, 1938; **Te Awekotuku**, 1990). 'Power' is a hegemonic word; a word of dominance, an uncomfortable fit to describe sexual essence of one area of woman's being which holds tremendous influence and relevance to traditional **Māori** society. Attributing 'power' to sexuality breaks-up woman's body, dissecting the vagina and segmenting it from the spinal cord which links all bodily systems to the brain, intellect and thought. 'Power' attributed to sexuality, or any other entity, separates whole being in dismembering woman from aspects of herself. Woman is pushed into a losing battle as it is primarily men and non-indigenous who have the franchise on power. This is the Master's game (Minh-ha, 1989) where power is one-sided and there is no illusion of sharing.

The vagina and the womb are generating organs for creating and reproduction. These are agencies of **whakapapa** and activities of joy not disconnected from mind-heart, **hine-ngaro**. The womb is whole; it is full always, with potential, with the past and with the presence of women and life. Sight connects to thought connects to breath connects to emotion connects to sensation connects to the womb; connecting **wāhine** to the land. The epistemological cultural foundations of both women and land are inextricably intertwined (refer CHAPTER 5):

*“Protection of the land was for economic and emotional reasons; economic because of the great difficulty of finding other regions with prolific food products and of clearing the forest lands for cropping; emotional because, in their established territory, various landforms, forests, rivers, etc. became hallowed by deeds and memories, and sacred because of the dead buried there. Thus the land became “the mother that never dies” since it nourished the generations that were to follow, and it was a symbolic of permanence in an impermanent existence, because “men die but the land remains...” (Hohepa, 1964, p.30).*

Women create life and according to the storying of **Hine-Nui-Te-Pō** women created death, therefore women were the beginning and, the end, and all in between; women were the **puna** or well from which sprung life (**Kahukiwa** & Grace, 1995; Mila, 2005; Walker, 2004) (see CHAPTER 5). Indigenous autoethnography is writing from the body of soulful, sensual, sexual and intellectual woman self; writing in ‘whole being’ is well-being.

### **Uku Puku, women’s art**

The mythical **Māori** origins of the first woman who was given many names in the storytelling of separate **iwi** and for the purposes of this story she is called **Hine-Ahu-One**, woman-earth-sand, has her genesis from “**Kura-waka (red medium)**” (White, 1887, p.162) the generating genital area of **Papatūānuku** (refer PART 3). In White, **iwi “Nga-i-tahu...Nga-i-porou...Uri-wera”** link the water, sand and soil in the making of woman as derived from “**Hawa-i-ki**” (1887, p.155-159), the spiritual homeland of the Polynesian ancestors of **Māori**. I learnt to sculpt art forms from **uku** whilst attending four week long **wānanga** with **Atawhangia Te Pa Harakeke** in 2008. The next year I commenced the ethics application for this research. At a **wānanga** held at **Te Puea Marae** in Auckland 2008, I held clay, **uku**, and created my first piece representing the face of a lover I had parted from earlier in the year. I shall talk about relationships with men in CHAPTER 8. Back to sculpting **uku**. I dug a hole in my backyard creating a primitive oven in which I lit a fire to harden the **uku** face of my ex-lover in having a bitter-sweet token of love lost (refer CHAPTER 8), and in discovering this artistic creativity. I repeated firing **uku** sculptures in my backyard until the wood from the exotic tree I had felled the year before, was burnt to cinders.

For this research, in generating **uku** pieces I focused on the stories of women’s beginnings in the **Māori** creation narrative. **Uku** sculpting ‘grounded’ me, in a process of

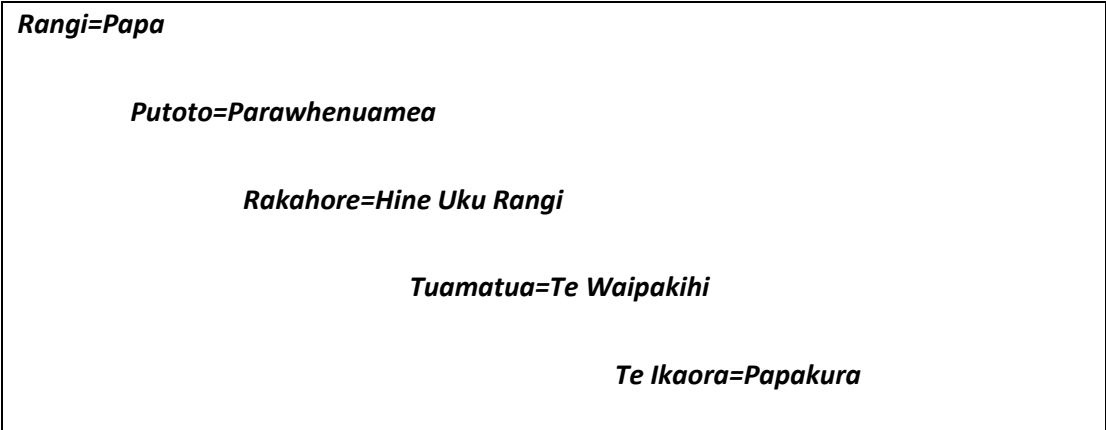
understanding how our **tupuna** came to articulate cosmogony and women and men’s worldviews. On the advice of my primary supervisor I approached the Graduate Centre at the University of Auckland to include these **uku** sculptures in this doctoral thesis. Women’s art depicts women’s epistemologies and women’s ontologies:

*“Where women have substantial control over the production and/or distribution of their group’s resources their chances of exerting their will regarding their own life options and major group decisions are apt to be considerable. When women lack this control their power and options are usually more restricted” (Klein, 1980, p.3).*

Women’s art, the visual, the performance and literature are evidence of **Māori** women’s worlds, women’s understandings and knowledge. **Hine-Uku-Rangi**, the progenitor of many varieties of stone, pebble, sand and **pounamu** or greenstone, is **uku** or clay. The **whakapapa** of all animate and inanimate matter in **Te Ao Mārama** is traced back to **Papa-tūā-nuku** and **Rangi-nui** (Curnow, 1985; Taylor, 1855; **Whatahoro**, 1913; White, 1887) and **Hine-Uku-Rangi** too, descends from this primal source (Personal communication Colleen **Waata-Urlich no Te Popoto, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Whatua**, May 26<sup>th</sup> 2012, **Tāmaki Makaurau**).

**Whakapapa** holds primacy in **Te Ao Māori** in that everything derived from a common progenitor and this is important knowledge in understanding the interconnectedness of ourselves as women, not only to **whānau** and **tūpuna**, but also to the natural environment. In the **Māori** origin story, the first woman was created from **uku** and, **uku** derived from **Hine-Uku-Rangi**:

**Box 1.2: Whakapapa o Hine-Uku-Rangi**



*Parawhenuamea: represents pure water, Rakahore: represents rocks, Hine Uku Rangī: represents clay, Tuamatua: parent of stones, pebbles and sand.*

*From Hine Uku Rangī and her partner Rakahore also come:*

*Tuamata: stone, pebbles and sand*

*Papakura: another progenitor of stone*

*Tauira Karapa: a form of greenstone*

*Hine Tauira: a type of flint*

*Hine Tua Hoanga: personified form of all sandstone for rasps and grinding stones*

*As shared by Colleen Waata-Urlich, May 26th 2012 Tāmaki Makaurau*

The first woman, **Hine-Ahu-One**, woman-earth-sand, is also known as **Hine-Ha-One**, woman-breath-sand, and **Hine-Hau-One**, woman-wind-sand. In sculpting clay I commenced a parallel process alongside the research in the deconstruction of creation stories and locating indigenous **Māori** women's knowing. Through researching the literature, in the listening and reading of the **WHAKAPAPA KŌRERO** (PART TWO) mothers' narratives, throughout the crafting of this thesis and the weaving of prose and poetry, in the **kōrero** held with the **kuia**, nannies, supervisors, **whānau**, **wāhine**, **uku** artists and colleagues...unfolded **uku** stories around the **Māori** creation story and **Māori** women's being. From my hands I sculpted women forms from **uku** and somehow the world made much better sense than it ever did before. My understandings, knowing and knowledge were multi-layered involving wholeness:

*“Ka kite te kanohi, ka rongō te taringa, mātau ana ki te ngākau,  
the eyes see, the ears hear, the mind-heart understands”  
(Salmond, 1995, p.214).*

**Tūpuna** theorized intellectually sophisticated cosmogony stories. Each element in the natural environment, inclusive of people, derived from a common progenitor, “a grain of sand contains all land and sea” (Minh-ha, 1989, p.5). This is the potency of indigenous cosmogony in the interconnectedness of the natural systems of the universe of which women and men were vital components.

### **Storying Christianity in Autoethnography**

My eldest daughter remarks on her writer-mother's 'academic' view of the place of Christianity in the colonisation of native peoples. I tell her I share my knowing with a

generation of activists who challenged Christianity and Eurocentric perspectives in viewing **Māori** as other and inferior (Smith, 1999). Christianity disempowered native converts:

*“What the missionaries wanted was for Māori to be like them and to accept not only their religion but also their civilisation, guidance and leadership” (Mead, 1997, p.103).*

In becoming Christians, **Māori** were expected to forsake their pasts, their traditions, their social and political status in the acceptance of equality as promised in the Treaty of **Waitangi** 1840. Through the Christianising ethics of the missionaries, colonisation in New Zealand was realised, as stated by Williams to the Europeans gathered at **Te Tii Marae**, **Waitangi** for the signing of the Treaty of **Waitangi** in 1840:

*“People should recollect that were it not for the missionaries they would not be here this day, nor be in possession of a foot of land in New Zealand” (Colenso in Mead, 2004, p, 103).*

**Māori** were attracted to the to the idea of equality with Europeans as proposed by the Treaty, however they would discover this was an illusion in the discourse of domination and power. The disconnection from our cultural past and traditions were the beginnings of ‘whiteness’. The alienation from **whenua** and therefore displacement of **Te Ao Māori** commenced with the introduction of Christianity.

**Māori** women particularly were silenced by patriarchy and became other to ‘his’ of **Māori** men and non-**Māori** (**Awatere**, 1984; Johnson & **Pihama**, 1995; **Mikaere**, 2011). Women’s bodies were literally and figuratively dissected, viewed and written about as sexual commodities and then commercialised, dis-eased and their maternities medicalised (Palmer, 2002; St. Jean Baptise, 1986; Wilson, 1985) (refer CHAPTER 7). **Māori** girls and women were barter in business transactions between **Māori** men and **Pākehā** traders (Walker, 2004; Wilson, 1985). One hundred years on, **Awatere** (1984), asserted a trend among **Māori** men, particularly men in leadership roles, in selecting **Pākehā** women as reproductive partners. **Māori** men turned away from **Māori** women. As shared by a male colleague, this could be viewed as a practice of **Māori** men dissociating themselves culturally from **Māori** women and **Te Ao Māori** (Personal communication **Tio Sewell** September 22<sup>nd</sup> 2012 **Māori** Caucus **wānanga Kirikiriroa**). By ignoring **Māori** women as prospective reproductive partners, men leaders abdicated **whānau** responsibility in the

pursuit of individual family wellbeing. Offspring of mixed ethnic partnerships, that is having a **Pākehā** mother, were advantaged in having better access to Eurocentric society compared to **tamariki** with both a **Māori** father and **Māori** mother, where access to **Te Ao Pākehā** was reduced.

In pre-European **Māori** society women, inclusive of mothers, were as capable as men (Eldon Best in **Rewi**, 2011) in all aspects of **Te Ao Māori**. The change in gender roles came with increasing European and Christian influences on **Māori** society, rationalised in **kōrero** that men were physically stronger than women, and, women required 'protection' even on the **marae**, the place for intellectual 'sparring'. **Rewi** questions "*whether aged men well beyond their years of combat would have been worthy adversaries in these instances or was there an age or point of maturation when eventually they ceased to be the vanguard on the marae?*" (**Rewi**, 2011, p. 63). Restriction of women in today's climate on **marae** cannot continue to be justified by men's physical or intellectual superiority.

I write from a place of critical consciousness, with several dimensions, multiple layers and many truths (Friere, 1970). Women, **wāhine**, are crucial participants in the worlds I occupy. In autoethnography performance, I am many layers; a writer, a mother, an artist, a sister, a nurse, a lover and, a **kuia**. I am located in the **Pākehā** father that did not raise me, in the siblings from him and their children. I am in my uncles, my son, and my nephews and in my brothers. In my world I am everywhere and in all of us.

## **The remains of silence**

### **Brother**

*Time has dulled  
the sharp knife of pain  
of adolescent shame  
knowing my friends  
walked past our home  
to school and back  
and sighted the mat  
covering the front door  
where once were four frosted panes  
of fragile glass that  
shielded from the street  
the hallway beatings  
the silent sadness of abused*



*and neglected child souls,  
walls, heavy witness  
to pay night drunkenness  
and daily sleaziness.*

*I seek some sweetness from that time  
and recall Nanny staying  
sweeping away years of cobwebs  
saying, girl go have some fun  
I will do the work  
I will do the cooking.*

*Drinking Fanta fireside in winter  
television not yet common  
the surrealism of happiness  
being a family and enjoying  
mum's Sunday roast.*

*These slow motion moments  
of freedom from fright  
were for decades stashed away  
in my beating fast heart  
memories retrieved of  
the times we had come through.*

*To remember is to be alive my brother  
is this the same for you?*

**Reena V.Kainamu, 2006**

I wrote this poem with my brother uppermost in my mind. We were the children from our mother's previous romantic and intimate relationships, and, step-children to her husband. The parental abuses and neglect on us children were flipsides of the same coin; mine was gendered and his was brutal. I mailed this poem to my brother in wanting him to know that I understood his journey. Frequently we, brother and sister, turned against each other and were scapegoats. These were forms of abuse and control arising out of domestic upheaval and violence and relationship conflict. Love cannot exist in anger. I wanted my brother to know I no longer had anger in any of its subversive forms.

The poem above was my first performance of autoethnography at the **Te Ao Māramatanga Māori** Caucus Bi-Annual National Mental Health Nurses **Wānanga** in 2012. The conference theme **He Tataikura Huamanu: He Tataikura Nanā**, the clinical and cultural gems of mental health nurses, provided a platform on which to contribute to

indigenous **Māori** mental health nursing research with indigenous autoethnography, a relatively innovative research methodology in New Zealand and, in mental health nursing (Kidd, 2008). Registered nurses form the bulk of the professional healthcare workforce across the globe, reflective of their communities.

In this performance of autoethnography I highlighted mindfulness when engaging with research participants or **tangata whaiora** or nurses with backgrounds of abuse and trauma (Foster et al., 2005). Listen to the sound of their individual stories. Hear the hesitancy, the incoherence in incomplete stories of pasts steeped in pain. In wanting to subjugate 'hurtful' memories, the past becomes fragmented.

I had gauged it was "unconventional and risky to speak about personal issues, when psychiatry, like medicine, has historically spoken from a detached and often critical observational stance" (Foster et al., 2005, p.7). Colleagues who were open about a parent with a serious mental illness experienced stigma from other nurses, which had not been present before (ibid). I had concerns in revealing revelations of childhood abuse. Would this detract from my integrity as a clinician? What professional boundaries would I breach? I, too, (again like Foster), am reminded of mental health consumers and how valuable their contributions are to the mental health field (Foster et al., 2005). Stigma was attached to mental illness and mental health professionals have a role in its perpetuation (ibid).

The sexual abuse of children involves domination, and domination reflects mental and emotional abuse. Childhood abuse has sequelae in later adulthood (Read et al., 2003), frequently identified in the field of peri-natal psychiatry in my practise as a maternal mental health nurse. All too frequently, **tangata whaiora** report on early childhood experiences of abuse, including sexual and physical abuse. Amongst indigenous **Māori** women, childhood sexual abuse is prevalent, a commonality among indigenous populations around the world (Fanslowe et al., 2007).

Poetry is auto-ethnographic performance in 'voicing' text of domestic violence in one of its most poignant forms; childhood abuses, neglect and sexual abuse. I was breaking familial silence, shifting shame 'off' my body in acknowledging a 'damaged' past. In the ending of silence, albeit an initial whisper, then a thought to an anguished shout, is the beginning in reconnecting back to coherent self. Interrelated layers of self were tools of a psychiatric

nurse and “*self is seen as continually connected to social world, and constantly in flux*” (Foster et al., 2005, p. 44). Self in association to other is non-static and dynamic. I raise consciousness of nurse-self in relationships with **tangata whaiora**, men, women and children who have lived experience of childhood violence, abuse and neglect (Read et al., 2003). I was the alienated sister of siblings who could not understand nor assist. I was the daughter caught in a dialectal trap of seeking affection and conflict from her mother. Abuse may be the experience of a single child however it has an insidious influence on relationships across and between siblings and all **whānau** relationships.

### **Transmission of Mauri noho**

#### ***Back before***

***Afterwards, fragmented, she returned to paper’n’pencil,  
pressing self into the page...crushing child-like letters  
on the line, frightened she would slip off the margins  
into oblivion.***

***In sext-ing she re-created herself,  
larger, cleverer, the whole never the same  
vulnerable for a lifetime, as her mother before her  
and before her...***

***forever re-writing woman-self,  
back before  
then.***

**Reena V.Kainamu, 2012.**

Historical cultural trauma and abuse and transgenerational trauma, abuse and impoverishment has been the focus of indigenous health researchers (Atkinson, 2002; Brave Heart, 2003; Levine & Kline, 2007; Serna, 2006; Whitbec et al., 2004). An originating trauma like the European introduced diseases into New Zealand in the 1800s resulted in epidemic sickness and huge losses of life. **Māori** operated a complex religious system of **tapu** and **noa** and this system could not provide immunity or cures to European diseases (King 2003; Walker, 2004). Cultural members turned towards Christianity for answers to epidemic diseases (King, 2003). In further cultural trauma the government brought in the **Tohunga** Suppression Act 1907, outlawing traditional healers and religious leaders (Palmer, 2002; Walker 2004). Teachers in the late 1800s and early 1900s were pseudo

health professionals during the times of epidemic disease and, actively dissuaded communities from consulting with **Tohunga** who were spiritual leaders and healers:

***“Yesterday I spent most of the day with sick people and have been twice to see them today. I think we are slowly undermining the Tohunga’s influence and the people are taking much more kindly to the Pākehā remedies, but it is uphill work with them, and they do not take much trust. Still we get on together, so that is much to be thankful for” (Simon & Smith, 2001, p.235).***

In providing alternative interventions for biological diseases, the government and its teaching workforce, undermined and subjugated traditional leadership and, knowledge. The cumulative affect has been intergenerational trauma, poor health and distress:

***“Historical trauma (HT) is cumulative emotional and psychological wounding over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences; the historical trauma response (HRT) is the constellation of features in reaction to this trauma. The HRT often includes depression, self-destructive behaviour, suicidal thoughts and gestures, anxiety, low self-esteem, anger, and difficulty recognising and expressing emotions...” (Brave Heart, 2003, p.7).***

Distal cultural trauma may be the originator of intergenerational transmission of trauma, and this is accentuated in proximate factors of ongoing poverty and discrimination experienced by indigenous communities (Brave Heart, 2003). Indigenous peoples are burdened by diseases, die prematurely and live with poorer health status compared to other peoples living in the same country:

***“In addition, Indigenous peoples may also share what Evans-Campbell described as historical or colonial trauma, experienced as a consequence of the systematic colonising practices of those who settled in their lands. Historical trauma is a response to the losses of land, cultural and language, social disruption, socio-economic disenfranchisement, and the assimilation of Indigenous groups into the dominant culture” (Gone with the Wind, McKinney & Rapata-Hanning 2011, p.60).***

“People have to get over blaming history for their problems,” said my home decorator as he related a story of violence from his youth. A friend of his intervened in the routine ‘bashing’ of the friend’s mother by the friend’s father: “there were lots of Jake **Hekes** where we came from” (Personal communication Steve de Malmanche October 2<sup>nd</sup> 2012 **Takanini**, Auckland). In the New Zealand movie “Once Were Warriors”, Jake was the

domineering drunken father of a suburban **whānau** dislocated from collective cultural roots. The name Jake **Heke** became synonymous with violent angry **Māori** men. In the movie, the public were confronted with behaviours known to **Māori** communities; alcohol behaviours; gang cultures and; transgenerational family violence. Cruelty on one's own **whakapapa** line was a form of self-hate and self-loathing impacting on **Maōri** men and women; men drowning in 'drink' or alcohol behaviours fuelled intimate and family violence where women and children were the victims. A kinswoman shared stories of violence towarded her and perpetuated by her:

*Her daughter rang her on Mother's Day to say "Mum I really love you, I do". She talked about her violence towards her children. **He aha ai?** Why? "No resources, no **whānau**, no food, no money, too many babies, getting beaten myself [by her husband]. I had dreams and I couldn't give them to my children, they wanted things and I hit them to shut them up". She shared stories of her childhood beatings at the hands of her father, then later as an adult being beaten by her husband and then beating her own children...on and on...the stress and violence passed from generation to generation. Her daughter's declaration of love was a statement in understanding, in acknowledging the circumstances in which mother, daughter and the daughter's children had lived through (Journal entry May 2012).*

The Social Security Act 1938 provided benefits of fixed amounts for the young, the aged, the widowed, invalids and orphans. Children under 16 years of age and school children up to their eighteenth year were entitled to a benefit of 15/- (shillings) per week paid to the mother (**Hohepa**, 1964). My kinswoman's story speaks of fragmented **whānau**, poverty, helplessness and intergenerational violence. Her adult daughter's admission of affection humbled her. She understood the pain she had brought to her children as she, too, had experienced this as a child, and in saying this she was not "excusing" the cycle of violence she had continued. Violence begets violence. She had regrets.

Patriarchy developed in the homes of kin and younger brothers were raised to be indifferent to their older sisters (**Hohepa**, 1964). Domestic errands and childcare duties were passed onto daughters from an early age by mothers needing assistance in the home place (Metge, 1964). Mothers, hostile or non-nurturing or themselves submissive, 'off-loaded' the stresses of childcare or troubled intimate relationships onto elder children, most often daughters (see CHAPTER 4).

Women depend upon **whānau** and social networks, yet dishonesty alongside insecurity is woven into women's relationships with each other. Abuse interferes with the truth;

shame and insecurities block out 'reality'. Women lie to protect husbands and partners who 'bash' them and their children. And women 'bash', physically and emotionally, children to silence them in keeping the secrets of brokenness (see CHAPTER 4). Women distrust each other with the truths of living hurtful and empty lives, their values as women reduced to servitude.

It is not mothering we women rebel against, it is feeling this is all there is to our lives. Sexual reproduction, domesticity and being 'owned' by men in complying to a single societal way of being, in that the role of women and mothers is to take care of children and men. Women's esteem is linked to pleasing another and others, not ourselves. Among my **whānau** and networks were women requiring assistance and care. My mother was one of these, battered and abused she did not ask her family for help, she did not tell the others and, they did not 'see' her struggles; battered, she battled on.

We turned our backs on our own in severing the links between families, accepting that what goes on in households is the business of that particular family. **Whānau** had been multi-generational living among kin communities and, were now reduced to small units comprised of parents and children. We didn't ask the question, look beyond the blackened eye or the bruised faces of abused women and, nor did we investigate the unnatural quiet or the excessive behaviours of distressed children.

We 'chose' not to 'see'. We complied with an unspoken code of silence in recognising men beat women and, women abuse daughters and sons in perpetuating shame and distress; this was the intergenerational transmission of **mauri noho** (Awatere, 1995; Pohatu, 2011). We made invisible some of our own and therefore ourselves. For women living fearfully, the rejection and the judgement for the non-protection of themselves and children and, for not having the adoration of husbands, partners and **whānau**, is too agonizing to admit. Women hide the distasteful truths of lives of desperation. Women continue hating themselves, living helplessness and telling fragmented truths in whispers. Children, particularly girls, were reared to accept abuses and to be silent. And when a girl child displays success or expresses confidence, then this was viewed as boastfulness, **whakahihi**, and the cloak of pride, competence or dreams was whipped off leaving the child bare, exposed to life without the protection of **whānau**.

**Whakamā** and inferiority complexes in women were fuelled by feelings of inadequacy in not being valued or protected by **Māori** men, fathers and brothers (**Awatere**, 1984; **Awatere**, 1995; Metge, 1989). Success was for men and men subdued women to take care of the 'household' whilst they continued to colour the world in male hues of dominance in a society that wants men in public roles and, women in private places of domesticity. Groups of **Māori** men and women raise their children this way.

Women's self-loathing fulfils this aim in anchoring women to limiting circumstances. Self-hate attracts likeness, more of the same, failure, destitution and debasement of women. Getting out or ahead for women is frequently an individual pursuit at threat of estrangement from partners, men, and alienation from **whānau**. Being unsupported or alienated by family is humiliation, and humiliation binds destructive relationships.

## **Pedagogy of Aroha**

### **Health spend**

***We went shopping today (my first power budget)  
In spending the health millions  
100 nurse practitioners for us, 10 for you in  
Managing the disproportion, the over and under- representation of me.  
A thousand me-nurses are needed to make ten nurse practitioners  
But we don't do science well (I am told) so miss the start and/or the finish  
At the store opening our dollar buys less to feed the numbers around the table  
And the shelves don't stock knowledge to feed the soul.***

***This one-stop-shop-for-the-nations-health is exclusive  
'Empty basket' or 'hungry always' seem like culture-bound syndromes  
When really, it's social dis-ease  
It will take more than money  
To fill this kete***

**Reena V.Kainamu October 5<sup>th</sup>, 2012**

Higher tertiary institutions are unfamiliar ground for indigenous people (**Nikora**, Levy, Henry & **Whangapirita**, 2002; Wilson, McKinney & **Rapata**-Hanning, 2011), and, indigenous **Māori** women participate in health tertiary programmes as older students and as mothers and grandmothers (MWWL, 2002). I entered into my first higher tertiary mental health programme (post-graduate) at 40 years old, a mature student, five years past the median age of undergraduate nursing students (MMWL, 2002; Wilson et al., 2011). This

postgraduate study followed on from a **Māori** health studies programme with an indigenous **Māori** Private Training Establishment (PTE). The **Māori** and **Pākehā** lecturers embedded their teaching with **Māori** pedagogy and the following year I returned to nursing in **kaupapa Māori** mental health.

Over the years I combined tertiary studies (Diploma of Mental Health, Masters of Nursing, Postgraduate Certificate in Health Science & a Certificate of Tertiary Teaching) with **kaupapa Māori** programmes (Certificate in **Te Reo Māori** immersion, Dynamics of **Whakawhanaungatanga & Atawhainga Te Pā Harakeke**). This was necessary in obtaining both clinical and cultural health knowledge that would be relevant in my practice as a **Māori** mental health nurse.

**Te Huarahi Whakatū** with its **awhiowhio** model of dual competencies (clinical and cultural) for **Māori** mental health nurses matured under the national **Māori** mental health workforce development of **Te Rau Matatini** (Maxwell, 2004). **Te Huarahi Whakatū** for **Māori** mental health nurses emerged from the aspirations of **Māori** nurses to have professional development grounded in **Te Reo Māori me ōna tikanga**, integrating cultural and clinical nursing competences. **Māori** mental health nurses desired recognition for cultural practice that meets the healthcare needs of **Māori whānau** and communities.

A pedagogy of hope (hooks, 2003) centres on the cornerstones of **Māori** cultural values : **tika**, that which is right; **aroha**, that which is love/respect and; **pono**, that which is truth. Colonised indigenous populations around the world, have extreme health needs therefore:

***“Given the growing diversity of communities globally, it is imperative that the nursing workforce matches the population served” (Wilson et al., 2011, p. 59).***

Extraordinary and multiple measures are required to counteract the health needs of the indigenous **Māori** population, with an indigenous **Māori** nursing workforce. Currently, **Māori** nurses comprise seven per cent the nursing workforce and, **Māori** comprise fifteen per cent of the New Zealand population (in the total count method) (Callister & Bromwell, 2011). **Māori** nurses are under-represented in the New Zealand nursing workforce (Kainamu, 2013; Wilson et al., 2011). Undergraduate nursing programs in New Zealand reflected dominant Eurocentric philosophies. Multi-aggressions, racism and passive aggression were the experiences of many indigenous students of minority groups in tertiary learning environments (Nikora et al., 2002). In the tertiary environments, **Māori**



students were accused of 'privilege' in being the beneficiaries of targeted funding, when the reality was that only small numbers of indigenous **Māori** students were accessing the smaller numbers of scholarships (Wilson et al., 2011).

'Privilege' is a despised word because of its connotations to 'visibility' as the dominant culture. 'Whiteness' is privilege in not having to explain one's origins, in not having to explain one's world, in not having to acknowledge being colonised and in not having to defend one's use of the dominant language. Whiteness in education and academic environments existed, in multiple layers of racism, discrimination, power and hegemony.

Indigenous tertiary health programmes founded on indigenous worldviews will meet the learning styles and needs of **tauirā Māori**. Indigenous **Māori** learning styles embrace **noho marae, wānanga, waiata, haka, whakairo, uku, pakiwaitara, whakatauāki** and **whiti**. And the content? A 'Pedagogy of **Aroha**' grounds learning and teaching in cultural knowledge, rooted in truths and hope. Discourses of **tika, pono** and **aroha** recognise the systems that stigmatise, marginalise, confine, restrict, suppress and, oppress cultural knowledge. Naming the barriers to learning and success, and the origins of failure, are crucial strategies to shifting blame away from individuals and, onto systems from whence these barriers originate.

Self-awareness is empowering. Revealing truths is enlightenment. A Pedagogy of **Aroha** is hope in generating discourses of freedom and, of esteeming for self, people and community. Belonging and connection, **tūrangawaewae** and **whakawhanaungatanga**, were tenets of **oranga**, wellbeing. Having 'freedoms' to learn generates a dynamic tertiary teaching environment for indigenous **Māori** women and multiple possibilities of cultural co-existence's as communities (hooks, 1989).

## **Summary Chapter 1**

We commenced with the story of my grandmother in generating a new tradition in our collective wellbeing as women, mothers and **whānau**; celebrating the memory of this **kuia** to her daughters Te **Waihemonga** and Te **Arani**. Our women's bodies inform our presence in this world. We are sexual, intellectual, emotional and spiritual beings, women and mothers. Women's stories reflected our connectedness with the **whenua** of which we shared epistemological origins. Women were created from **uku** and **uku** derived from

**Papatūānuku.** In this research, the story of women's origins were woven in the creating of **uku** sculptures. The colonial processes which carved up the geography of our lands also sliced our women's bodies and, we were reduced to sexual beings in European discourses and thereby exposed to abuse. This was historical cultural trauma in the diminishment of women's social status and, eventually our men would turn away from our women. Tension, dischord and contradiction crouch between the pages of this indigene writing; you will sit with discomfort. Autoethnography offers 'I' and 'eye-witness' accounts of remembered trauma and abuse.

CHAPTER 2 **TE HURAHĪ** builds on the outlaying of autoethnography performance and introduces the research methods employed in the extrapolation of mental health and wellbeing of women and mothers. Researching 'in' and 'on' **Māori** communities requires specific protocols and understandings. Relationships in **Te Ao Māori** are founded on reciprocity and this is the same for research relationships. **Whakawhanaungatanga** fostering relationships, and, **kaupapa**, relevance, form the tenets of **Māori** health research.



# CHAPTER 2:

## TE HUARAHI - METHODS

*Ānō me he whare pūngawerewere*  
*As though it were a spider web*

Having set out the parameters of this research in the previous chapter, I now explain the research procedures employed for the collection of ‘others’ stories. The storyteller is the **tohunga**, knowledgeable one, of their own **whakaaro** or thought and, like the **whakatauki** above; the teller constructs her own fine web (Mead & Grove, 2004).

CHAPTER TWO has a two primary aims. The first aim identifies the **Ethical Issues** and how these were addressed during the preparatory stages of this research in the confidentiality and wellbeing of the research participants. The narrative interviews prompted story telling from the research participants, the outcomes of which are presented in PART THREE **WHAKAPAPA KŌRERO**. The second aim presents **Tikanga Rangahau**, research practices and responsibilities for research communities working alongside **Māori** communities. ‘Growing’ the body of knowledge around women and mothers mental health and wellbeing, must be accomplished in ways that honour indigenous women’s voices.

### **Ethical Issues**

Remembering troubled childhoods and pasts combined with current difficulties, can evoke strong emotions for mothers as they make sense of their lives through sharing. Epiphanies and awakenings may emerge in the shifting from thought to ‘voice’ in taking the internal ‘self’ and through sharing, making ‘her’ visible.

### ***Appreciating and responding to sensitivity***

Whilst the period of fecundity and motherhood is hugely enjoyable for most women and children, for significant numbers of **whānau**, it is a time of hardship. That some of the participants would reveal troubled childhoods followed by later difficulties, were not unexpected and, these concerns were expressed in the Participant Information Sheet (see Appendix I PIS). Issues around distress of both the research participant and the researcher and how these concerns would be managed by the researcher-interviewer were identified.

The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee enquired further as to the management of distress for both the participants and the researcher-interviewer. The PIS addressed the potential for distress during interviewing and the Consent Form (see Appendix II Consent Form) outlined a stress management plan. The following Ethical Issues were anticipated as arising during the interviewing of participants:

- Some participant may experience discomfort or distress as they recount unpleasant events related to their childhood and mothering,
- Some participants may disclose histories of childhood abuse that continue to cause concern in their adult lives, and,
- Some participants may disclose current care and protection issues in their own **whānau**/family.

The following approaches would be used in the management of distress:

- Firstly, in all cases when such disclosures are made, but the participant is not showing signs of distress, the researcher would acknowledge the courage of the women in sharing their stories and the importance of seeking assistance for issues, for example the 0800 611 116 Health line funded by the Ministry of Health, accessible by cell phone or landline operating 24 hours and 365 days by registered nurses. The Health line's registered nurses assess a person's condition and health needs and the best care of action and the time in which to take action. Also, registered nurses can provide general health information and the location of services. Other sources of support for participants may come from close confidantes or **whānau**, consulting with the GP, or approaching a community agency for information and assistance,
- Secondly, should a participant become distressed the interview would be terminated immediately. Women will be encouraged to seek assistance as above. The interview will be re-scheduled only if women wish this to happen. Should issues of care and protection of children become apparent these will be responded to as stated in the PIS with the plan discussed in the Consent Form,
- Finally, an advisory group comprising of **kuia** (**Māori** women elders) would advise the researcher on matters concerning cultural safety. As well, the supervisory group

comprised of **Māori** mental health professionals and all the supervisors had health backgrounds. The supervisors were a vital source of constant support and guidance.

Listening to participants recount difficult and troubled lives may be distressing for the researcher-interviewer therefore a management plan was formulated:

- The researcher would raise concerns she may have with the advisory group and if appropriate her academic supervisors, without revealing participant identities, in order to seek advice as to what, if any, further advice, support or action is advisable,
- Further to this, the researcher would debrief with the same groups to support her in managing the emotional load in being party, through listening, to experiences recounted by participants,
- Should issues of family violence, abuse and trauma arise the researcher would discuss with the research participants available options in seeking resolutions from unsafe and traumatising events. ACC registered counsellors offer services to families who have experienced sexual abuse. GPs are a referral source and agencies that offer trauma counselling are alternative interventions. Women's refuges are places of safety for women and children from family violence. Alcohol and Drug abuse agencies operate in many communities and take self-referrals only. Many of the aforementioned agencies are **Māori** specific should this be a preference for **whānau** members,
- The researcher would identify community activities that support **whānau ora** and the cultural values of these that found synergy with **whānau ora**.

A Memorandum to the Graduate Centre responded to queries from the Human Participants Ethics Committee regarding the above ethical issues of research participants. On the basis of the afore-mentioned identified ethical issues and responses to these and the latter Memorandum, the University of Auckland Human Participant Ethics Committee approved the ethics research application (see Appendix III Ethics Approval).

Women participants became emotional recalling memories of times in their lives when they were helpless to protect themselves (refer CHAPTER 4). These were childhood events of trauma, abuse and neglect, which had sequelae later in life impacting on their mental

wellbeing. The PIS stated that the research may evoke strong emotions around unhappy recollections of the past. The women showed courage in agreeing to participate with this research; each had a story to tell of sadness and/or triumph. The women with troubled pasts were or had had involvement with formal interventions inclusive of; parenting programmes; counselling services and; therapy with psychologists. Although this had not always been the case for some women, they were now connected to others. Women made sense of their earlier lives through **kōrero** with other women.

### ***Privacy, consent and confidentiality in autoethnography***

Some of the women's storytelling resonated with my own experiences of childhood sexual abuse, domestic violence and emotional neglect. They, we, shared converging pathways and this was the power of autoethnography in linking the self to the larger social and political landscape. The previous section focused on the ethics of interviewing research participants and in this section I will discuss briefly the ethical issues associated with performing autoethnography. Performing autoethnography implicates intimate family others, parents, partners, ex-partners and their families and children from these relationships, through association with the writer/researcher. Tolich is emphatic on confidentiality, privacy and consent, when and if possible, must be explicit (2010). I have endeavoured to protect the identities of **whānau** associates however to place a blanket of anonymity across all my relatives inclusive of my children, would have decreased the integrity of some aspects of this research. Instead, I limited mention of my children's names to their artwork in this thesis. I put some literary distance between my stories and my children, though they are aware of the past trauma and abuse in the life of their mother. I have attempted to describe my relationships with my ex-partners in a dispassionate manner in acknowledging their ongoing relationships with our children and myself.

The advisory group comprised of my aunties (refer INTRODUCTION, CHAPTER 1 and later in this section) referred to generally as the Nannies and sometimes as **kuia**. The Nannies and I, we, share strong relationships and for this thesis I sought their counsel and wisdom to ground me; this research relationship was but a reflection of our ongoing kin connectedness. They, other kinswomen and **kuia** external to my family shared aspects of their lives with me, in storyform. I spoke to each of them about sharing their stories in this thesis and they were pleased their words and experiences would be heard. I have removed

as best I could, any signs that may identify the storyteller in the stories of breathtaking vulnerability. The **kuia** and Nannies consented to their 'authored' stories (see INTRODUCTION: Kuia Wisdoms) and in the end, we, them and I, agreed to their privacy and confidentiality.

**Kōrero**, sharing talk is healing in drawing women together, generating connectedness in understanding experiences specific and diverse that influence women's mental wellbeing. Listening to the truths of the Nannies and they to me, consolidated further our kinship affinity; their insights located them in a post-World War society undergoing cultural upheaval in shifting away from rural roots towards the industrial economy of urban centers. Their spirituality and wholeness had been linked to the intimacy of **whenua** and **whānau** and this would change for good and bad, in the new suburban society. Sculpting **uku**, clay figures, during the year of interviewing women, became times of contemplation for me (see CHAPTER 1). Art is its own '**whare**' of knowledge in making-sense of life; creativity has a therapeutic process.

### ***Recruitment process***

The criteria for research participants were **Māori** mothers and the women responded to an advertisement sent through the researcher's networks (see Appendix IV Advertisement). The research participants self-identified as **Māori** mothers. The initial nine mothers were recruited through the researchers health networks over the email system. The second group of nine participants were recruited through the advertisement placed in a local newspaper and, the final two participants were recruited once again, through the email network. The vast majority of women were connected to **Māori** networks in knowledge acquisition, education, health, social services and **marae**.

The majority of the younger participants texted the mobile number given in the advertisement. Following a phone conversation the PIS was sent to the women. Upon their agreement to participate with the research, the Consent Form was sent either via the email system or to their home addresses. The researcher spoke again to the women at this stage and an interview date was set at a venue convenient to the women. At the interview, the women had the opportunity to ask further questions before signing the Consent Forms and commencing the narrative interviews. Interviews were commenced and completed with **karakia** by either the researcher-interviewer or by the participant.



### ***Collecting data through interview***

Twenty **Māori** women born across 1947 to 1990, shared narratives of growing up in **Māori whānau** and the influences on becoming mothers, through participating in individual semi-structured interviews. The women's narratives were explored for the links to mental health and wellbeing and, its opposite in mental illness and misfortune. The mothers self-identified as **Māori** and their narratives reflected their cultural perspectives. The women were not challenged about their identities, nor were they expected to justify 'how' they were as **Māori**; they just were:

***...she wanted to say to them others  
who are you to question me  
there is more to it  
than the colour of our skin  
there's our spirituality  
and the culture we live in  
and there's our whakapapa  
that links us to ōku mātua, ōku tupuna  
tōku awa, tōku maunga, tōku waka,  
te whenua  
me Rangī and Papa***

***Marewa Glover (2001, p.18)***

Indigenous women's narratives were life-stories and testimonies of mothers living across several worlds. These were stories of 'claiming', 'revitalisation', 'protecting', 'creating', 'negotiating', 'naming', 'networking', 'restoring', 'gendering', 'representing', 'coming back to ourselves', 'connecting', 'celebrating survival', 'resilience', 'independence', 'liberation', '**whanautanga**' and 'self-determination' (Smith, 1999). Each woman's story commenced with celebratory self-recognition of being a mother. Their stories encompassed aspects of tragedy, joy, trauma, remembrance, resistance, healing and for most, triumph in arriving at a time in their lives where they had strived to be. Some were in the midst of a journey of healing and self-discovery.

Interviews were conducted at places selected by the participants. The venues varied from their homes to cafés, a library, an airport, a park and a suburban **marae**. Interview times ranged from thirty six minutes to one and a half hours; generally interviews were around one hour long.

### **Data analysis**

*“The heart of our social and personal being lies in the immediate contact with other humans “* (Perakyla, 2005. p. 874). Interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim. The audio tape failed to capture four interviews and within days of discovering these, I wrote from memory segments I could recall from the interviews. As well, I referred to the notes I made during the interviews and included these in the written ‘remembering’ of the participant’s **kōrero**. I made attempts to contact participants following the discovery of the failed recordings. Women did not respond to emails or texts to re-engage with me. A journal of my thoughts, insights, epiphanies, confidences and apprehensions recorded the doctoral journey.

Face to face interviews for the purposes of research offer two things; topics arising from the issues discussed and secondly, naturally occurring materials (Perakyla, 2008).

Conversational analysis is an important empirical method investigating social interaction with people as in naturally occurring material (ibid). I read about statements as objects and subjects and of Foucault’s terms of archaeology and genealogy in historical discourse analysis (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2008). These methods for data analysis resonated partially with this research.

**Whakapapa**, genealogy and **whānau** were ‘methods’ used to distinguish themes from the women’s narratives. **Whakapapa** and **whānau** are gender methodologies, specific for women’s discourses as it is women who generate people and people who create histories. **Whakapapa**, refers to the origins of knowing, the connections and interconnections to the past and to the present, of people, and events. **Whakapapa** is historical, rooted in place; it has happened, **kei kona**, over there. **Te Wā**, time gives ‘dimensions’ to **whakapapa** in becoming woven across space and realms, as in the three world creation of **Te Korekore**, **Te Pō** and **Te Ao Mārama** (refer CHAPTER 5). **Whānau**, meaning family and to birth, is vigorous in giving ‘birth’ to subjectivity in the here and now of the interview process. Subjectivity is associated to activity and process, the unfolding or becoming of being. It describes the now, **kei konei**, here in this place in the emergence of understanding and awareness of truths. When we ‘share’ with each other as in **kanohi-ki-te-kanohi**, face to face, **whakapapa** and **whānau**, are intertwining concepts in these spaces of interaction.

In interviews, I listened to women's narratives, I 'saw' them speak to me through their bodies, like: hearing the emotional pain of one woman's story as she put on her dark glasses to cover the tears; another becoming agitated as she expressed her anger in remembering the past; another shifting forward, closer to me the researcher, telling me to make sure I write her truth the good and the bad as she raised her boys alone, doing her best and; confidence as a woman leaned back into the chair, smiling as enjoyed the recollections of her past. Women's emotionality is energy and passion and physicality, it is wholebeing in engaging with the subject; to talk of the **mamae** or pain and the desire to do something about this. On the recordings I could hear their conversations: laughter; sadness; pain; hesitancy; increasing volume; the silences and, the higher pitched words signalling discomfort and anxiety. Mindful of the rhythm of women's bodies to their conversations and, listening to their stories led me to intertwining themes; the transformative and the subjective, and the historical and objective. They, we, us, had moved from object to subject (Friere, 1970; hooks, 1989), from knowledge to understanding towards liberation. These were womens' truths, our multiple indigenous **Māori** womens' truths.

## **Tikanga Rangahau**

### ***A Kaupapa Māori approach***

*"Kaupapa Māori is a discourse of proactive theory and practice that emerged from the wider revitalisation of Māori communities that developed in New Zealand following the rapid urbanisation in the 1950's and 1960's"* (Bishop, 2008, p.439). The suburbs became pan-tribal **rohe** for newly arrived rural **Māori** peoples. My mother, my uncles and aunties and their generations were these people; their cultural homelands, the northern **whenua** no longer able to sustain my **whānau**, my people, economically and politically. They moved south to begin new lives in strange places; they retained their spiritual links to the **whenua** and familial links with kin who remained behind. In the following decades of the 1970's and 1980's, the demise of **Te Teo Māori me ōna tikanga** combined with educational underachievement underpinned Auckland suburban youth angst in becoming critical of the government's social policies for **Māori** (G. Smith in Bishop, 2008) The underdevelopment and failure of **Māori** aspirations were linked with historical land alienation, cultural dispossession and hegemony (Bishop, 2008; King, 2003; **Mikaere**, 2011; Walker,

2004). Following, was a period of civil unrest and protest aimed at the state. Groups like **Ngā Tamatoa** and **Whakahou** from **Otara**, Auckland, of which the researcher was a member of the latter, were actively involved in the political conscientisation of two generations; ourselves and our aunts, uncles and mothers and fathers (Friere, 1970; **Tamanui**, 2012; Walker, 2004).

Hegemonic practices were strongest in the institutions of education therefore these places were sites of activism in the collision of cultures, dominant versus indigenous **Māori**. In the 1980s and 1990s **kōhanga reo**, language nest for young children, established in the suburbs, providing the “*world with a model language-recovery programme*” (Bishop, 2008; Walker, 2004, p. 238) and followed by **kura Māori**, schools. The central tenets of **kōhanga** and **kura** were **tino-rangatiratanga** and **Te Reo Māori**, the right to self-determination in the transmission of cultural epistemology exclusively through **Māori** language.

**Kaupapa Māori** was the “*conceptualisation of Māori knowledge*” (Nepe, 1991, p.15). **Kura tuarua** differ from **kura kaupapa Māori** in that the English language and **Te Reo Māori** were considered equitable mediums for education; however, the governance was **Māori**. My children attended **kōhanga reo**, **kura kaupapa Māori** then **kura tuarua**. The term **Kaupapa Māori** was articulated by scholars in **Tāmaki Makarau** out of the philosophical underpinnings of **kōhanga reo** and **kura kaupapa Māori** (Personal communication Leonie **Pihama**, teleconference **Kaupapa Māori** Research Conference, Wellington, July 2011). **Kaupapa Māori** formed as a cogent philosophy and practice from which resistance and transformative agency would enable indigenous **Māori** advancement in the areas of education, academia and research (Bishop, 2008).

It had been close to three decades since the first **kōhanga reo** was established along with the emergence of **Kaupapa Māori** ‘critical consciousness’ (Friere, 1970), when **Pihama** responded to an emerging researcher who was vocal in ‘diminishing’ the validity of **Kaupapa Māori** in contemporary research. In the exchange between the **tuakana** with research integrity and the **teina**, with innovative research praxis, **tuakana** purported **Kaupapa Māori** as one method of validating indigenous aspirations, epistemology and ontology (**Hui Whakapiripiri**, July 2012 at Auckland). **Kaupapa Māori** was a beginning, the start of **rangatiratanga** or ownership in research, with the expectation that many indigenous methods and methodologies would eventually be as ordinary among research

communities (Personal communication Leonie **Pihama**, CEAD conference **Waikato**, November 21st 2012). Conscientisation is the emergence of many truths over a single story of dominance.

The indigenous research field is dynamic and challenging. As a **Māori** indigene researcher I experienced tensions in adhering to the requirements of the academe, the tenets of '**kaupapa**' **Māori** research and listening to my **Māori** woman's heart. I am a product of localised, regionalised and nationalised knowledge systems and my experiences and knowing identifies groups of women among our indigenous communities enduring intergenerational marginalisation.

### ***Tenets of whakawhanaungatanga***

**Whakawhanaungatanga**, relationship development, was vital in the recruitment of participants and this was initiated firstly in the details of **pepeha** (see PIS). The **whānau**, **hapū** and **iwi** affiliations of the researcher were crucial in letting participants know that, the researcher whom they will eventually meet, **kanohi-ki-te-kanohi**, would have some shared commonalities (Palmer, 2002). Gender appropriateness of **wāhine-ki-te-wāhine** is important in revealing **waka wāhine**, women's' journeys. The facility of **manāki tangata**, 'hosting' participants and caring for their emotional, spiritual, mental and physical needs during the contact time, was crucial to researcher-participant engagement. Reciprocity in the researcher-participant relationship would be negotiated through **koha**, in the giving of a gift which acknowledges the 'real **taonga**', the stories of the research participants.

**Whakawhanaungatanga** in research relationships was an acknowledgement of a paradigm of trust as in **hapū** and **iwi** ties. The researcher was **tuakana**, elder to the participant, **teina**, therefore the onus was on the **tuakana** to practice research always with care, integrity and openness. This was the '**mana**' of **manāki-ki-te-tangata**. Leadership was derived from **mana**, the authority in caring for people.

### ***He koha tēnā nāku ki a koe***

This **whakatauki** translates to "*this is a gift, mine to you*" (Williams, 1992, p.123). The giving of **koha** was customary practice among my people. In days gone by, people attended **hui** and contributed to the administration of **hui** in the form of food and "*other gifts such as mats and baskets*" (Barlow, 2005, p.48). **Kai**, **whariki** and **kete** were once bountiful in customary access to land, rivers and seas. Food for feeding **manuhiri** was a display of

**manākitanga** and contributed to the **mana** of **ahi kā** in hosting visitors. Visitors would also bring a **koha** as a display of good intentions. In contemporary times, food, mats and baskets became inadequate to cover **hui** administration and people no longer owned their own lands, nor did the majority have access to the natural resources of **whenua** and **moana** (King, 2003, **Mikaere**, 2011; Walker, 2004).

Contemporary **hui** and **tangihanga** were held in places with overhead costs in hosting people and, in the performance of **tikanga**. Monetary transactions were now ordinary forms of '**koha**' in recognition of **hui** expenses. Each **hapū** has **kawa**, protocols specific to the giving and the receiving of **koha**. For some **whānau**, **koha** was problematic, an indication of poor socio-economic times. However, the smallness of **koha** or the absence of 'funds' were not deterrents in the processes of **tikanga** and **hui**. **Tikanga** must run its course. The collective of **whānau** and **hapū** manage the administration of **hui**. Within the HRC scholarship a budget was created for interview '**hui**' expenses. For each participant was a **koha** of one hundred dollars. The budget also covered costs of refreshments for the interview **hui** and, transport associated to travel.

#### ***Kuia advisory group***

Introduced in *Marker Story 1 – Mama's Day* and CHAPTER 1, were the members of my advisory group, the surviving daughters of my grandmother **Ripeka Arepata Kihi Maihi** and her husband **Te Ururoa Haare Kainamu**. These were my aunts and when I became a mother I then addressed them as Nanny, initiating the next generation of **mokopuna** to the 'preciousness' of the **tupuna-mokopuna** connection. In doing this, I stopped calling my aunts by their adopted European names and commenced referring to them by their birth names or their ancestral names or their family names; Nanny **Makere**, Nanny **Ririamoe**, Nanny **Te Waihemonga** and Nanny **Kuia**. I have known these women all my life, they are my mothers. I remain connected to them and now my children, their **mokopuna**, know them too.

#### ***Talking the walk, research dissemination***

**Mauri** is the life force or essence and in people, **mauri** exists as wellbeing and **mauri** can be diminished or strengthened by another's **mauri** (**Pohatu**, 2004 & 2011). Words hold tremendous power in our indigenous worlds therefore the language of research has influence, positive or negative, on people's wellbeing. Research for research's sake is unacceptable. **Āta**: Growing respectful relationships with people and with their

communities is the essence of research and at its heart is **mauri** (Pohatu, 2004). The research community has obligations to share the outcomes of research with the communities from which the research was gathered, and, also with the organisations and communities who supported the researcher. Information and knowledge is for the benefit of the collective.

The researcher presented preliminary findings of this research at the HRC **Hui Whakapiripiri** in July 2010, **Rotorua**, in a presentation titled "*Mother, mother, whats going on...*". In March 2012 the researcher presented at the Bi-annual **Māori** Mental Health Nurses **wānanga** in **Rotorua**. Titled "*Indigenous Autoethnography: Selfside*", the aims of this presentation were in exploring autoethnography methodology as pertinent to mental health nursing research and, focusing attention on the sexual abuse of women and children, and, the links to later poor mental health. In November 2012 I presented at CEAD, Contemporary Ethnography Across the Disciplines with "*Becoming Whole: Childhood sexual abuse in the context of historical cultural trauma and loss*". The main aim of this conference presentation was linking childhood sexual abuse among indigenous communities with historical cultural trauma and loss.

I participated at the Bi-annual **Māori** Mental Health Nurses **wānanga** held in **Whangarei** in March 2010, the CEAD conference in November 2010 held in Hamilton, the **Kaupapa Māori** Research conference, July 2011 in Wellington and the HRC **Hui Whakapiripiri** held in July 2012, Auckland.

Over the duration of this doctoral research, the researcher has been a member of **Māori** Caucus of **Te Ao Māramatanga**, New Zealand College of Mental Health Nurses's (NZCMHN's) and represented **Māori** Caucus at the New Zealand Nursing Organisations Consortium in 2012. The recruitment and retention of **Māori** into tertiary nursing programs and into the nursing workforce were particular concerns for **Te Ao Māramatanga** (NZCMHN's) (refer CHAPTER 1) (Kainamu, 2013). Currently, the researcher is a member of the **Rūnanga** at the **Manukau** Institute of Technology in **Otara**, Auckland, with a focus on the recruitment and retention of **Māori** students into tertiary education.

At a professional level, the findings of this research informs my clinical practice as a mental health nurse and in this capacity, the knowledge of women's multiple truths is shared with teams, managers and **kaumātua**. **Kaumātua** are the seekers of truth and the speakers of

wisdom. The influences of hegemonic power, 'whiteness' and invisibility are understated in the fields of mental health and healthcare, therefore, dissemination of research includes revealing these unseen forces in the day-to-day caring of people and communities. This is nursing activism.

## **Summary Chapter 2**

**Te Reo Māori** revitalisation emerged from first generation suburban **Māori** youth. Women and mothers, men and fathers were at the forefront of cultural renaissance, spreading the word literally by establishing a nation of language pre-schools. **Rangatahi** were making the link between the present and what went before. **Kaupapa Māori** methodology and approaches developed during this period of cultural renaissance, informing research communities in working within indigenous paradigms. Academics and communities were moving ahead separately but in the same direction in changing the normal and mundane of hegemony. In public, we were calling our nannies, my aunties, by their beautiful **tupuna** and birth names. Society was tilting towards change. Clear research guidelines were in place to protect the participants and researcher due to the sensitivity of this research topic. The concepts of **Whakapapa** and **Whānau** overlaid the data analysis in the emergence of themes separating out to historical and transformative. Women revealed in their stories, the things they were content with and those which caused anguish and defined their current circumstances.

**PART TWO: WHAKAPAPA KŌRERO** privileges the stories of the twenty research participants. They ranged in age, experiences and backgrounds and these characteristics form the contents of **CHAPTER THREE: WAHINE-KI-TE-WAHINE**, woman-to-woman.

**CHAPTER FOUR: TE TOTE O TE KŌRERO**, the salt of the talk, speaks to the essence or details of the women's stories of childhoods: becoming mothers and grandmothers; the men in their lives; raising children and **mokopuna** and; women's agency. Women share the objective and subjective in making sense of their lives as women and mothers.





## PART TWO: WHAKAPAPA KŌRERO

*Figure 3.1: Tamanui-Te-Rā, nā Kiri-Maree Kainamu Wheeler 1994 (aged 7)*





## ***Marker Story 2 -The Cake Tin***

**Kaumātua** enjoy talking about the past, of the times and events they lived in. This is oral history. They may retrieve from under the bed or from within the wardrobe or from the set of drawers precious family memento's; be it a suitcase of memories, a box of photos, or a cake tin, layered with the papered past. Within these prized containers are bits of papers, evidence of land ownership, certificates of births and deaths, children's school reports, newspaper clippings and old receipts for monies paid. These were endings and beginnings of **whānau** lives. Papa brought out a satchel, and from this extracted maps and papers. The next day I heard Papa talking to his older sister over the telephone, "*...give that **whānau** that paper, it belongs to them, I just seen the paper, give it to them, they need it*". The papers he refers to are **Māori** Land Court documents of **whenua** or land ownership. In the past **whenua** was extensive and is now reduced to a few hectares shared by multiple kin shareholders. On "*that paper*" is a list of names, owners of the shared land. As each registered shareholder passes from **Te Ao Tangata**, the world of the living, their offspring succeed to the land and the list of shareholders grows, unless a current owner 'signs over' the land to kin. Land papers are pieces of hope. Hope that someday, somebody will return to the land, build a home or use the **whenua**, and once again the footprints of **uri** will **takahi** into the dirt in acknowledgement of **tangata** and **whenua**.

Soon, my daughter will make the trip from her place in Southland to join her grandmother in the Land Court of **Whangarei**, Northland. Her grandmother will sign over some of her shares to this **mokopuna**, the one who has shown an interest in the **whenua**. This savvy **mokopuna** has aspirations, a plan with intent. Her grandmother has hope. They are a match: of youthfulness and age; **mokopuna** and **tupuna**; millennium knowledge and experience and; edgy ambition and wise cynicism. Something good will happen.

My mother observes people. She watches the way people and **whānau** interact with others and with her. The cerebral stroke that impacted on her verbal communication has sharpened her skills of observation and analysis. She can read genuineness and authenticity and only participates in activities and environments conducive to her **mana** as a **kuia**. Every person has **mana**.

Nanny **Wai** placed the cake tin in front of me and I gently opened this. I carefully unfolded the heavy paper of officialism, the marriage certificate of my grandparents **Ripeka Arepata Kihi Maihi Pou** and **Te Ururoa Haare Kainamu** (refer to *Marker Story Part 1 - Mama's Day*). They were married "*1931 Maehe 23rd i roto i te whare moe o Arepata Kihi i Kaikohe*" (see Figure 3.1: Copy of Register of Marriage). The marriage ceremony was conducted inside the home of **Arepata Kihi Maihi** and **Whakaahua Te Arani Pou**, the parents of **Ripeka**. The names of the parties involved, including the the Officiating Minister, and all of the signatories, were written in dark ink that has survived eighty years of storage in the cake tin. The "*Māori minita*" who officiated at the ceremony was **Erika Akuhata**, and the beautifully written words and signatures on the certificate appear to be from a single hand. The marriage certificate records Mama's age as 21 years old and my grandfather's age as 28 year old. Her Death Certificate (refer *Marker Story 1-Mama's Day*), records Mama's death on February 25<sup>th</sup> 1962, at 49 years old.

Figure 3.1 Copy of Register of Marriage

NEW ZEALAND.  
(IN U TIRENI.)

COPY OF REGISTER OF MARRIAGE.  
[TAUIRA O TE REHITA MARENĀ.]

[R.G.—12A.]

Marriages in the District of [Marana i te Takirua o] *Bay of Islands.*

No.	When and where married. [Te ra me te wahi i marana a.]	Name and Surname of the Parties married. [Ipa ingoa o te hunga kua manau.]	Age. [Ipa tau.]	Occupation. [Ipa mahi.]	Condition of Parties: Bachelors, or spin- ners, Widows, or Divorced, or the names of their former Husbands, Husbands, Hes, For- merly married.	Birthplace. [Te wahi i whanau a.]	Residence. [Te Kaitiaki.]	Parents Father's Name and Surname. [Ipa ingoa o te Atua kua.]	Mother's Name and Surname. [Ipa ingoa o te Atua kua.]
25	1931 <i>Maria 23 tau whaka i te whare nui o Shepato tiki i Kaikohe</i>	<i>Shepato Shepato tiki</i>	28	<i>tau mahi katoa</i>	<i>he Shepato kaikohe</i>	<i>he kaikohe</i>	<i>kaikohe</i>	<i>Shepato tiki</i>	<i>Shepato tiki</i>

MARRIED under section 191 (1) (b) of the Native Land Act, 1908, by  
[I MARENĀRIA I RAU I nga tikanga o te kaitiaki 191 (1) (b) o te Ture Whenua Maori, 1908, e] *Linda Akurata*  
This Marriage was solemnized between us,  
[He Marenā tenei i whangamā te mānau.]  
[The Marenā tenei i whangamā te mānau.]  
In the presence of us,  
[Ia mānau i teira.]

Signature of Officiating Minister: *Linda Akurata*  
[Ipa ingoa o nga kai tika.]  
Signature of Witness: *Shepato tiki*  
[Ipa ingoa o nga kai tika.]  
Signature of Witness: *Linda Akurata*  
[Ipa ingoa o nga kai tika.]

I certify that the above is a true copy of the entry in the Register-book of Marriages kept by me at  
[E whakakātia mā ahau ko nga tuhinga i runga nei, he taurua taurua no nga tuhinga kai toto i te  
Pukapuka Rehita kai a au e whakā māu.] *Shepato tiki*  
*Linda Akurata*  
Officiating Minister.  
Denomination: *Pāhi Kaitiaki*  
[Te kaitiaki.]

4 (Rev. 9/12/29—2800)

Nanny Wai had been living at home caring for her sick mother and according to Nanny Wai; Mama was 46 years old when she died. She substantiates this with a story. Her niece

telephoned Nanny **Wai** to say her father **Mate**, the older brother of Nanny **Wai** had died. The immediate thought of Nanny **Wai** was her brother's age at 44 years old; he was two years younger than their mother when she died. Mama and three different dates of birth: 1910 (according to the marriage certificate); 1913 (according to the death certificate) and; 1916 (according to Nanny **Wai**). The corresponding ages when Mama married were then: 21; 18 and; 15 years old. Nanny **Makere** adds another story her mother shared with her upon the eve of Nanny **Makere** marrying at 18 years old:

*"He kotiro noa iho ahau i taku moenga i koutou papa...  
taka mai ana,  
taka mai ana,  
taka mai ana"*

*I was only a girl when I slept [wed] your papa...  
[the babies]  
came,  
came,  
came.*

Mama was referring to her own, much younger age when 'wedded', compared to her daughter's age at 18 years old. Nanny **Wai** and Nanny **Makere** felt their mother's youthfulness accounted for some things: the domineering attitude of their father over their mother; their mother's acceptance of the young marriages of her children and the early pregnancies of her daughters and; the silence of her parents regarding their own histories. In the Cake Tin were stories, threads which led to truths. Everything has a **whakapapa**, a beginning.

# CHAPTER 3: WAHINE-KI-TE-WAHINE

*Her power resides in her belly-Our Mother's belly-for her cure is not an isolated act but a total social phenomenon, Sorcery, according to numerous accounts, is hereditary solely within the matrilineal clan; and a man, in countless cases, can only become a sorcerer (a wizard) through the transmission of power by a sorceress (witch). He understands the full power of woman and/in storytelling also understands that life is not to be found in the mind nor in the heart, but there where she carries it:*

*I will tell you something about stories, (he said)*

*They aren't just entertainment.*

*Don't be fooled.*

*They are all we have, you see,*

*all we have to fight off*

*illness and death.*

*You don't have anything  
if you don't have stories...*

*He rubbed his belly.*

*I keep them here (he said)*

*Here, put your hand on it*

*See, it is moving*

*There is life here*

*for the people."*

*Trinh Minh-ha (1989, pp.136-140)*

PART ONE presented an **Māori** indigene autoethnography methodology framework for this research. 'I' become the collective 'we' of mothers mental wellbeing. Autoethnography incorporates **uku**, art, writing and, inspirational poetry and prose, reflecting awareness and understandings for those who have known subjugation. Autoethnography is an important indigenous methodology in linking colonial discourses with the here and now and, the impact on **whānau** and women. Autoethnography is personal and intimate geography and links this to the wider political landscape; we women embody life, it is in the recesses and cavities of our intellect, our breath, our sex and our **puku** or abdomen.

PART TWO CHAPTER 3 introduces you the reader to the twenty mothers who shared their narratives. Based on current shared circumstances at the time of the interview, four distinct **rōpū** emerged and were named: **Tau Te Rangimarie**; **Wāhine Toa**; **Hine-Tī-Tama** and; **Mama Pūhou**. The women were born between 1947 and 1989, ranging in age from



21 years old to 63 years old. **Tau Te Rangimarie** were four mature women in my age group (50 to 63 years old). They exuded experience, knowledge and contentment; hence the name of this **rōpū** meaning , ‘be at peace, settled’. Three mothers comprised the second **rōpū Wāhine Toa**, meaning determined and tenacious, on pathways of cultural revitalisation for themselves, their children and community. The **rōpū Hine-Ti-Tama** comprised of eight mothers. Their shared commonalities included current difficulties impacting on wellbeing and, mostly the women had experienced earlier troubled childhoods. **Hine-Ti-Tama** is one of the key women in the **Māori** creation myth who underwent spiritual or **wairua** transformation (see CHAPTER 5). Five young mothers comprised the final **rōpū Mama Pūhou** hence the name. These four **rōpū** were a small cross section of **Māori** mothers representing nannies and **kuia**, women of the baby boomer cohort and millennium mothers.

CHAPTER 4 presents four broad themes and many sub-themes which revealed themselves in the iteration of data analysis. The data from the mothers narratives was pared down in an autoethnographic process of too-ing and froo-ing; from ‘I’ as researcher, to ‘us’ as the researched, to all of us that is society and back.

### **Ngā kōrero ahiahi a Hinewhā**

Writing and talking mother’s agency is ‘centralising’ womens’ voices. The above **whakatauki** “*the evening stories of Hinewhā*” (Mead & Grove, 2001, p.324) referred to the private talk women exchanged between themselves. These were woman’s stories of authenticity; sisterhoods of truths. The kinship connections across women flowed with tender talk, rapid words, laughing and soft tones and, mockery, but always with awareness of women’s ‘things’.

Women’s realms included but was not limited to sexuality, sexual reproduction, expanding **puku**, generating life, birthing and rearing **whānau**. Back then, little did I know, our bodies, our women’s knowing were used in symbolic representations of **Māori** creation stories. Ours, was the womb from which the seed-stuff of the universe gestated and developed (Marsden, 2003). Women’s talk was sexual, but also political and social; back in the day when women were crucial to community and society (Salmond, 1985). Now, women’s voices were talking back, ‘claiming self’ (hook, 1989).

During the year of gathering womens' stories, March 2010 to March 2011, I committed time each week to sculpt **uku**, shaping clay forms which came to represent my reflections along the research journey. Sculpting **uku** became a 'release' from academic reading and writing, it was a creative process and restorative. My living-in-the-world continued as another layer to the research. I had children wanting care, **whānau** commitments, supporting relatives and friends, and, attending **tangihanga**. **Whanaungatanga**, relationships, were integral to our connectedness as **whānau** and **whānau** could not be put on 'hold' or 'pause'. Research and my life merged together, this is autoethnography. **Uku** was sense-making of life as it unfolded at my fingertips in text and in sculpture.

The women of **Whakapapa Kōrero** shared stories of their early lives, their relationships with mothers, fathers, aunties, grandmothers, grandfathers and men. The women's stories initially commenced with talk about their children in explaining how they came to name their children. **Whakapapa** was important to the women and some children were named after **tupuna** or family members. Others were named after friends and names taken from the bible. Some started their stories with the children's ages and, they also spoke about their **mokopuna**.

The women's stories merged into **whānau** stories, then went onto stories about community, collectivism and culture. Whether they started at an ending or a beginning, the stories eventually came back to the source of this doctoral research; the women themselves. The weaving of the women's stories followed a conceptual framework of autoethnography, the self, our bodies, are connected to the larger social, cultural and political worlds.

Autoethnographic writing and insights were integrated through this chapter indicated in the use of the personal pronoun when drawing on my own stories. When women described their upbringings, I could feel the warmth in their recollections of strong family bonds and, of the security which wrapped around children and mothers. The women remembered joy, loving family and 'good times'. They had 'place' in their families, their families told stories about them. These memories and stories carried through into their lives as mothers. They told stories about their own children and the experiences of raising them, they shared the good times, the joyful times and the hard times.

Other women articulated struggles, troubled times in their childhoods, which continued through into later life when raising their own children. In their stories, they recalled their sense of helplessness in the past. In interviews the women's **mamae**, pain, swirled poignantly in the spaces between and around us. Women cried, their voices trembled and, their bodies tensed with emotion. I apologised for opening these places of unhappiness, for stirring stale, troubled memories. When invited, not one woman wanted the interview stopped. They carried on sharing the intimacies of **whānau** in crisis and, the absence of **aroha** and **tapu**. These stories were powerful and subjective insights into unhappy and unsafe childhood events and, mothering their own children in adversity. Now decades later, whilst being interviewed, the women's bodies still remembered the hurt and helplessness of earlier times. Some were healing, still. Others were recollecting the past before they folded it back into the cerebral 'cake tin' and shut the lid. **Ka haere atu e te mamae**. Go away hurt. **I haere!** Gone!

## Tau Te Rangimarie

*Figure 3.2: Whaea o te motu nā Reena Kainamu*



The **wāhine** in **Tau Te Rangimarie** were born after World War Two and at the time of the narrative interviews they ranged in age from 50 years old to 63 years old. Prior to World War Two (1939-1945) 90 per cent of **Māori** people lived in rural homelands (Moon, 2011; University of Auckland, 1960). Throughout the war years, a continuous ‘trickle’ of **Māori** people from Northland migrated towards Auckland and other industrial centers, away from rural poverty and towards economic hope.

Two of the four **wāhine** of **Tau Te Rangimarie** were reared in rural communities. The other two **wāhine** were raised in the suburbs of Auckland and in 2010, at the time of the

narrative interviews, these women were still living in the same suburbs in which they were raised, and living close by were members of their immediate **whānau**. The following table depicts early **whānau** membership:

**Table 3.1: Tau Te Rangimarie; Early childhood locality and caregiver and family circumstances**

Mothers	Early childhood locality	Raised by	Family characteristics
1.	Rural	Parents Grandparents	10 children Multiple whāngai
2.	Suburbs	Parents	7 children 8 whāngai
3.	Suburbs	Parents	6 children
4.	Rural	Grandparents	Biological mother had 10 children Multiple whāngai

The mothers of **Tau Te Rangimarie** described Halcyon-type childhoods among multigenerational **whānau**. Parents, mum and dad, and nannies, grandmother and grandfather, were the primary people in young lives. These were close knit families, living together. Mothers and grandmothers were carers of young children and **whāngai** in roles within the home. Older sisters, **tuakana**, cared for young siblings, **teina**, and younger siblings expected to be looked after and led by elder sisters. Young women replicated the domesticity and relational activities of mothers and nannies:

*“...I was young and tidying things up. My parents had church meetings to go to which meant when they were gone in the evenings and once the children were in bed I would potter around, tidy up, sweep and bake” (Tau Te Rangimarie),*

*“I don’t recall cultural links when I was little, going to tangi occassionally, our family culture was based around the church rather than being Māori” (Tau Te Rangimarie), and,*

*“...they did everything together gardening, shopping. If one of us was playing sport they both went” (Tau Te Rangimarie).*

One woman was raised by her nannies whilst her mother lived closeby. Secure ties with her nanny and mother allowed her as a child to move seamlessly between both “of my mothers” (**Tau Te Rangimarie**). When she birthed her own daughter, it was her nanny/mother who told her to return home with the new **mokopuna** and spend time with her ‘other’ mother. Mothers understood their children needed nannies who could provide

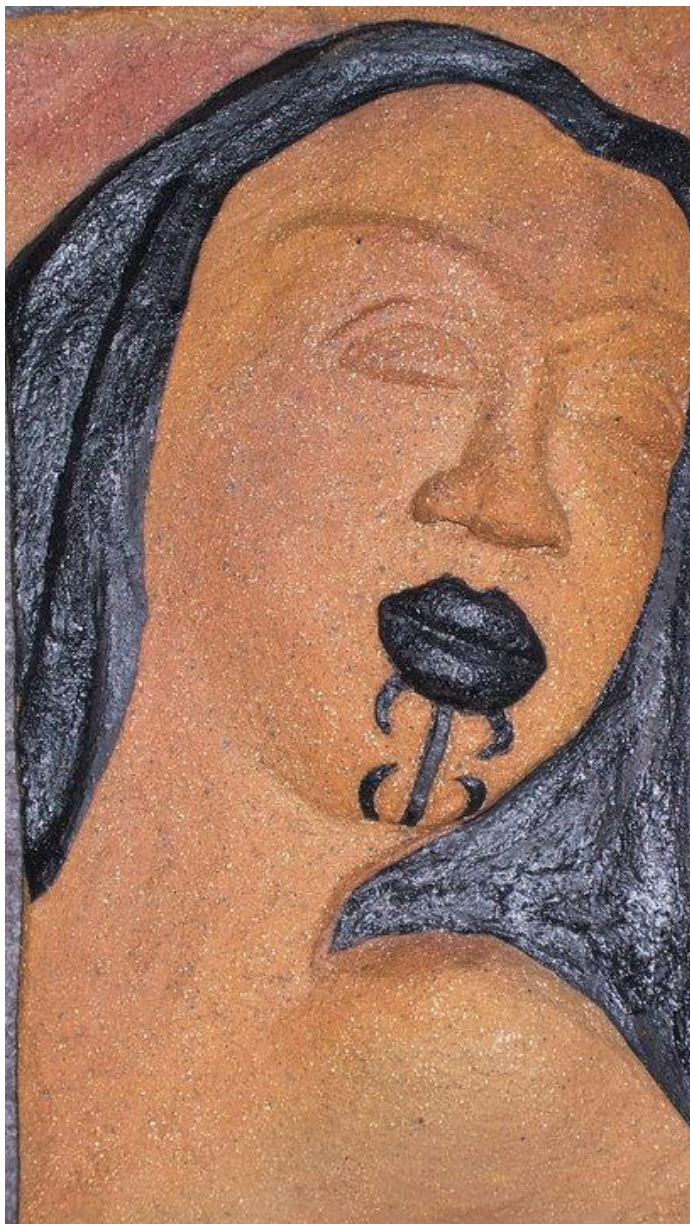
better care. Nannies were coming to the end of their lives and, were aware their mokopuna would need bonds with their mothers.

The women's fathers and grandfathers were the unequivocal heads of **whānau**, and men were the public face of families working outside of the home and, moving into roles within the church, **marae** and community. Women focused their time in the day-to-day routines of living and employment, the organisation of duties and caring for children.

Women of **Tau Te Rangimarie** experienced difficulties in relationships with **tāne**, the fathers of their children. Untenable partnerships and marriages ended for three of these women. During one separation, the woman's **tāne** died. Family were the buffers against stress as mothers became both the primary caregiver and primary wage earner. Now older, women remained connected with their original families and their own adult children. These older women valued themselves, they had strong esteem.

## Wāhine Toa

*Figure 3.3: Ko 'Au' (It is 'I') nā Reena Kainamu*



The **Wāhine Toa** group members voiced strong commitment to **Te Ao Māori**, they held vocational roles among **Māori** communities. They had ‘recovered’ **whānau** knowledge, they had ‘reconnected’ with **hapū**, they had ‘learnt’ **whakapapa** and, cultural practices. Their children were immersed in **Te Reo Māori** education. These mothers were clear about how they wanted life to be for their children, **mokopuna** and **whānau**. They were cultural activists in the revitalisation of **Māori** cultural practices and knowledge.

There were three **wāhine** in this **rōpū**. The following table depicts the women’s early **whānau** lives and **whānau** strengths:

**Table 3.2. Wāhine Toa; Early childhood locality and family circumstances**

Wāhine Toa	Early childhood locality	Family characteristics
5.	Suburban	Multi-generational family Parental separation Nomadic lifestyle Strong hapū links
6.	Suburban	Multi-generational family Maternal mental illness Strong hapū links
7.	Initially rural then suburban	Raised by grandparents then parents Premature death of father Strong hapū links

The women of **Wāhine Toa** generally enjoyed childhoods with grandparents and, whilst upbringings were largely suburban, as young women they participated in **whakawhanaungatanga**, the maintenance of kin ties with **ahi kā**, the people ‘back’ home. This was mediated by older family members, nannies.

Hardships were present in earlier lives (refer CHAPTER 4) including: parental breakup followed by several years of an unsettled lifestyle; high levels of alcohol usage amongst the adults and physical altercations were common in this context; the premature death of a father; **whānau** history of severe medical problems and; a mother’s bipolar disorder within historical family mental illness. For the women, adverse events were catalysts in driving them to generate meaningfulness in their lives in connecting with **Te Ao Māori**. They desired for their children, pathways unambiguously, culturally, **Māori**. For these mothers, an identity **Māori** equated with wellbeing. Wellbeing was connectedness on several levels, firstly within **whānau** and, then externally to **Te Ao Māori**.

Women were concerned for the mental and cultural wellbeing of **tāne**, the fathers of their children and other men. Whilst women and children were immersing themselves in **Te Ao Māori**, **Māori** fathers were moving away from their families and becoming further estranged from **Te Ao Māori**.



## Hine-Ti-Tama

*Figure 3.4: Hine-Ti-Tama nā Reena Kainamu*



The next group, **Hine-Ti-Tama** comprised the largest group of eight women, aged 28 years to 40 years old. The name given to this **rōpū**, **Hine-Ti-Tama** derives from the first woman of the **Māori** creation story, **Hine-Ti-Tama**, who was wronged by **Tane-Nui-Te-Rangi** (refer CHAPTER 5). To offset the gender imbalance **Hine-Ti-Tama** transformed herself, thereby regaining greater **mana** than before. In their narratives these mothers had experienced multiple early childhood setbacks which continued into their later lives. As older women

and mothers, they were making changes in wanting to improve their circumstances for their children and themselves; they were healing and transforming at the same time.

**Wāhine** from the previous two groups had childhoods that were generally happy, and their experiences of adversity were single events. **Hine-Ti-Tama** women had traumatic childhoods with multiple negative events (see Table 3.3 below) and a continued pattern of disruption into later lives. These women were second generation suburban raised. Their remembered accounts of younger lives were dominated by violence, abuse, trauma, neglect, rejection and abandonment

**Table 3.3: Hine-Ti-Tama; Early childhood locality and family circumstances**

Mothers	Early childhood Locality	Raised by	Family circumstances
8.	Rural	Parents	Mother's death Childhood sexual abuse
9.	Suburban	Early foster care Grandmother & father then onto mother	Nomadic childhood among whānau Father had cancer Abusive mother
10.	Suburban	Lone mother	
11.	Suburban	Parents	Gang family Sexual violence of Mother & women Mother's drug use
12.	Suburban	Raised by grandparents & strong connection with grandmother	Heavy alcohol usage by parents Grandfather a heavy drinker, attempted suicide, depressed Childhood sexual abuse
13.	Rural initially then later Suburban	Parents	Heavy alcohol usage by parents
14.	Suburban	Parents	Heavy alcohol usage by parents Emotionally abusive mother Sexual permissiveness among the children
15.	Suburban	Mother then onto grandparents	Heavy alcohol usage by mother Mother's death Violent grandmother Nomadic childhood among whānau

*Alcohol consumption was normalised in my **whānau**. Both men and women consumed alcohol at public bars and in their homes. In community, alcohol consumption, parties, became frequent practices in the aftermath of **tangihanga**, like a form of payment for the work of the **kaimahi** and **ringawera**. Grieving **whanau pani** and **kaumātua** in the **whare tupuna** were in the midst of **tikanga tangihangi** and **kaimahi** managed the tikanga of **manākitanga**, caring for the **whanau pani** and **manuhiri**. The **hakari** signalled the completion of **tapu** and **whānau pani** contributed a portion of the financial **koha** to the **kaimahi** and **ringawera**. Alcohol was purchased like a form of self-reward perpetuated through the **hapū** 'class' system. Alcohol practices became our socialisation, alcohol behaviours became our culture (Researcher reflection).*

Childhood sexual abuse was a commonality across the first three **rōpū**. At least one mother from each **rōpū** had a child who had been sexually abused. The perpetrators were family members, men and women, in two instances. Women in **Hine-Ti-Tama** had been child victims of sexual abuse and, later became victims of sexual assault. The perpetrators were known to the women as **whānau** members or within the family networks but were not primary relationships.

*The impact of childhood sexual abuse runs a pernicious course into adulthood, impacting on all family relationships. Long before I revealed the abuse I had already developed maladaptive behaviours inclusive of conflict avoidance and early anxiety. The trauma of abuse was compounded by emotional neglect and the tenuous connection between my mother and myself. I eventually disclosed the abuse to her; however, the gulf between us continued to widen for what would be a lifetime. I was on my own (Researcher reflection).*

The **wāhine** from **Hine-Ti-Tama** had powerful stories to tell of hardships and vulnerability, as children and young women. They 'storied' brutality and alcohol excesses and family circumstances went from crisis to personal crisis. Fathers were invisible in their childhoods and, some mothers and grandmothers were hostile to daughters and **mokopuna**, unleashing upon them mis-directed anger. Remember I said before that love does not grow in the presence of anger. These were dangerous environments in which to raise young children.

## Mama Pūhou

*Figure 3.5: Māhanga (Twins) nā Reena Kainamu*



This final **rōpū** comprised of five young women who reminded me of my own daughters and their friends. They conveyed strong self esteem and confidence. They combined childcare responsibilities with higher tertiary educational studies. Aged between 21 to 23 years old, the five women had plans for their lives. Four aspired to graduate with university qualifications and then onwards to careers and, promising futures in which to raise their babies. The final young woman had enjoyed caring for nieces and wanted to become a mother. Table 3.4 depicts the mothers' early childhood locality and family circumstances:

**Table 3.4: Mama Pūhou; Early childhood locality and family circumstances**

Mothers	Early childhood locality	Raised by	Family circumstances
16.	Rural	Mother (re-partnered)	Professional occupation Mother's alcohol behaviours Kinship community
17.	Rural	Parents	Professional occupations Kinship community
18.	Overseas	Parents	Professional occupations
19.	Suburban	Parents	Whanau culture of young mothers Multi-generational household
20.	Suburban	Lone mother	At home Mother's alcohol & gambling behaviours

*I saw one of these mothers today. She sat opposite me during an orientation programme at a health organisation. **Te ao Māori** is a close community. **Māori** comprise nearly 15 per cent of the total population of New Zealand, that is about 580,000 people, and the largest population of **Māori** live in **Tāmaki Makaurau** Auckland. **Māori** nurses comprise seven percent of the nursing workforce in New Zealand. Here, she sat at the beginning of her nursing career. Her plan had been realised (Journal entry, February 2013).*

Two young mothers had concerns for the mental health of their own mothers around high levels of alcohol usage and, gambling problems. They understood the demands of the community on **Māori** women's time and, the expectations on elder daughters to care for younger siblings, as they had done. Education, **tāne**, **pepi** and decision-making were social, biological and cultural milestones of becoming independent and, commencing their own families. The young women were sexually active at high school or within a short time of ending high school. Inevitable pregnancies were confirmed with a mixture of excitement and ambivalence. Young and pregnant, and, as **rangatahi** mothers they experienced stigma.

Young pregnancies were initially upsetting for **whānau**, however family members eventually shifted their disapproval and planning for a newborn commenced. Nannies, older **tupuna**, and the young women themselves, got on with life and the expansion of their **whakapapa**. Becoming mothers did not stop young women from forging ahead with their lives, if anything, having babies encouraged them to succeed.

### Summary Chapter 3

The twenty mothers represented three generations; across them were grandmothers through to new mothers. The oldest group of woman were the first generation of their **whānau** to relocate to suburban areas of major cities; for them family membership changed from being raised in large multi-generational households with **whāngai** to having their own smaller individual **whānau**. Mostly, women shared stories of memorable upbringings, caring for younger siblings and they spoke affectionately of family affairs. These women had met with single or a few adversities as young adults however, they continued on with plans of furthering themselves and raising their children. Their stories held hope and ambition for the future.

For one group of women, their **whānau** stories were of hardships, trauma, multi-abuses, neglect, family alcohol practices and conflicted intimate relationships between parents and grandparents. Unhappiness and troubled lives continued into their becoming mothers. Their stories were of intergenerational abuses and impoverishment from which they would, eventually emerge.

CHAPTER 4 draws on the nuances of mother's narratives in seeking their insights on early upbringings, family life and the associations to later mental wellbeing.



# CHAPTER 4: TE TOTE O TE KŌRERO

## *MĀORI WOMEN'S HUI*

*Sleeping in the wharenuī  
encased within my bag  
surrounded by women  
I remember that other time  
encased within my bag  
sleeping within my mother  
surrounded by women*

*Caressed by the hum of voices  
women's stories  
women's snores  
soft voices  
woven into dreams  
dreams woven into the past  
the past all encompassing  
in the poupou  
the tukutuku  
the kowhaiwahi*

*Sleeping in the wharenuī  
in the belly of our ancestors  
feeling safe  
like that other time  
before birth*

**Marewa Glover (2001)**

CHAPTER 3 introduced the **rōpū: Tau Te Rangimarie; Wāhine Toa; Hine-Tī-Tama** and; **Mama Pūhou**. Membership of the four groups comprised of shared characteristics of age, upbringings and present circumstances. There were clear distinctions across the **rōpū**; settled, enjoyable **whānau** with warm affectionate relationships with children contrasting with troubled and disturbed beginnings.

The title of CHAPTER 4 **TE TOTE O TE KŌRERO** is taken from a story in CHAPTER 8 about the trauma of women in **Parihaka**. A question was posed, what is the salt, the **tote**, of this talk? Seasoning **kai** brings out flavours and in this instance it refers to the amplifying of mother's voices. The **kai** of **rangatira** is **kōrero**, communication and knowledge. In this thesis we are all hungry for the **kai** of **rangatira**, we want to speak, share and hear the



**kōrero**. Tone and volume were necessary to engage the reader. Remember? This is autoethnography and through the mother's stories is my story. Our words are not 'idle' women's talk, but many layers of truths. CHAPTER 4 has four primary themes: **He Tapu Te Tinana** (sacred body); **Damaged Discourses and Disconnection**; **Silence to Voice** and; **Ko Au Te Pito** (self as center) with further sub-themes. Mothers quotes and experiences will be identified by **rōpū**, not by individual pseudonym, to protect confidentiality.

### ***Coming back to ourselves***

Woman and mother personifies creativity, generativity and agency. Normally but not exclusively, 'mother' was the person in the realm of **Mana Tupuna**, ancestors and people, to whom a child fostered an initial relationship. In this connection between baby and mother is responsiveness and mutual empathy (Romans & Seeman, 2006). Connections, relationships or **whanaungatanga** were complex experiences and throughout the life continuum, connections were sustainable forces in people's lives (ibid). Life's initial relationships were simplistic involving physical and emotional nurturance reflected in the early connections between children and immediate **whānau** members in fulfillment of children's needs. Secure connections were sought, establishing the place of children within **whānau** and, the layers of kin support for **whānau**. As people transitioned through life, relationships developed complexity in seeking a match for individual needs from partners, **whānau** and community. Social and cultural dynamics influenced people's desires and expectations from and, within relationships. At the other end of the age spectrum, connections simplified again, as mature minds and hearts identified, life's important facets generating satisfaction, happiness and joy. This was a time of 'sageing' in wisdoms of older age (Rozario, 1998). **Whanaungatanga**, connections and relationships, were formed always in the context of culture (Romans & Seeman, 2006). Embedded in **whānau** relationships were cultural connections, the inter-connectedness with land **Mana Whenua**, ancestral knowledge and practices, **Mana Tupuna** and, connections to the domain of gods, **Mana Atua** (refer CHAPTER 5).

For the ease of the reader, the following tables were grouped together. In the body of the text will be references to the information on these tables. Table 4.1: Current social status across the four **rōpū** of mothers in 2010 lists comprehensive data. The four groups are in the first column along with the numbered sequence of the women. The numbers are sequenced across the tables in this chapter and the previous CHAPTER 3: the women of

**Tau Te Rangimarie** are numbered 1-4; 5-8 are the **Wāhine Toa** mothers; 9-15 are the **Hine-Ti-Tama** mothers and; 16-20 are the **Mama Pūhou**. For example, number 15 is the same woman across all the tables (refer CHAPTERS 3 & 4).

**Table 4.1: Current social status across the four rōpū of mothers in 2010**

<i>Rōpū (age range in years)</i>	<i>Personal status</i>	<i>No of long-term partners</i>	<i>Total no of Children</i>	<i>Current vocation</i>	<i>Tertiary qualification</i>
<b>Tau Te Rangimarie (50-63)</b>	<b>1. Widowed</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2 &amp; 1 whāngai</b>	<b>Registered Nurse</b>	<b>Health Degree</b>
	<b>2. Lone</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Retired</b>	
	<b>3. Lone</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Marae social services/Student</b>	<b>Arts Degree</b>
	<b>4. Lone</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>Social Services</b>	<b>Management Diploma</b>
<b>Wāhine Toa (30-42)</b>	<b>5. Lone</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3 &amp; 3 whāngai</b>	<b>Teacher/Student</b>	<b>Teaching Diploma</b>
	<b>6. Lone</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>School counsellor</b>	<b>Counselling Degree</b>
	<b>7. Married</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>Marae social Services</b>	<b>Diploma</b>
<b>Hine-Ti-Tama (28-40)</b>	<b>8. Married</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2 &amp; 1 whāngai</b>	<b>Post graduate Student</b>	<b>Humanities Degree</b>
	<b>9. Lone</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Whanau</b>	
	<b>10. Lone</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3 &amp; currently hapū</b>	<b>Whanau</b>	<b>Incomplete Film Degree</b>
	<b>11. Lone</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>Whanau</b>	
	<b>12. Lone</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2 &amp; 1 whāngai</b>	<b>Whanau</b>	<b>Commerce Degree</b>
	<b>13. Lone</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>Under-graduate Student</b>	
	<b>14. Lone</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Whanau</b>	
	<b>15. Partnered</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>Whanau</b>	
<b>Mama Pūhou (21 to 23)</b>	<b>16. Partnered</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>Postgraduate Student</b>	<b>Education Degree</b>
	<b>17. Partnered</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>Under-graduate Student</b>	
	<b>18. Lone</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1 &amp; a stillbirth</b>	<b>Under-graduate Student</b>	
	<b>19. Partnered</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1 &amp; currently hapū</b>	<b>Whanau</b>	
	<b>20. Lone</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>Under-graduate Student</b>	

**Table 4.2: Hine-Ti-Tama; Womens' childhood disruptions , later adversity and current circumstances**

Numbered according to Table 4.1	Early childhood disruptions	Later adversity	Current circumstances
8.	Childhood sexual abuse Maternal death	Mental illness Suicidal behaviours	Ongoing mamae, Healing
9.	Foster care & nomadic childhood Abusive mother Neglect	Domestic violence Drug abuse Gambling addiction	Parenting program DV* program
10.	Lone parent	Gang partner Domestic Violence	Parenting program DV program
11.	Gang family Witness to sexual violence Maternal drug usage	Domestic violence Drug abuse Sexual abuse Multiple partners	Residential parenting program Counselling
12.	Childhood sexual abuse Caregiver mental illness Caregiver alcohol culture	Partner suicide Mental illness	Treatment for Bipolar disorder Ongoing mamae, Healing
13.	Parental alcohol culture	Drug abuse Mental illness	Healing Mother & daughter Programs
14.	Abusive mother Familial alcohol culture Domestic violence Sexual permissiveness	Partner's suicide Child was sexually abused Substance abuse Domestic violence Multiple partners	Ongoing mamae, healing Difficult relationships with adult children Connecting with social networks
15.	Maternal death Violent grandmother Nomadic later childhood Familial alcohol culture	Domestic violence Substance abuse Multiple partners	Parenting program DV program Anger management

\*domestic violence

**Table 4.3: Associations between childhood abuse event and caregiver relationship**

Rōpū	Abuse event/s	Where abuse Occurred	Caregivers & their Relationships
Tau Te Rangimarie 1.	Sexual abuse of whāngai Child	Biological whanau	Affectionate whāngai Parents
Wāhine Toa 6.	Sexual abuse of child	After-school care	Lone mother
Hine-Ti-Tama 8.	Childhood sexual abuse	Friends of family	Lone father death of mother
9.	Childhood abuse and neglect	Mother	Grandmother/father, then to estranged mother
11.	Witnessed gang violence and towards mother	Gang culture	Domination
12.	Childhood sexual abuse	Kin members	Conflicted grandparent relationship
14.	Childhood abuse & neglect Witnessed DV Sexual permissiveness Sexual abuse of daughter	Mother Parents Between rangatahi New partner	Conflicted parental relationship  Conflicted
15.	Childhood abuse & neglect	Grandmother	Mother's death Conflicted grandparent relationship

### He Tapu Te Tinana (sacred body)

**He tapu te tinana o te wahine nā te mea he whare tāngata** are the words in an artwork titled *“He Tapu Te Tinana 2”* by Robyn Kahukiwa. This art hangs on my wall. The children’s father and I purchased this in 2003 for our third daughter in celebration of her success in receiving a **Huia** Publishers award for her literary composition at age fourteen years old, titled *“Mere and her poi”*. Success as **whānau** and as women are important to celebrate. *“He Tapu Te Tinana 2”* was selected for its meaningfulness in honouring women. Words, art, **whakaaro** celebrating women’s discourses are authentic aspects of women’s storytelling. Woman’s body was sacred as were men’s. Maggie **Papakura** in **Makereti** The Old-Time **Māori** noted there was nothing unclean about our bodies nor nothing which could not be spoken of and, in this light, children understood how their bodies functioned (**Makereti**, 1986).

From the body of women comes people, generated from the **wharetamariki**, the womb. All which originates from the body of woman was also **tapu** or sacred, newborns, men and women, placental membrane and the monthly non-conception. **He tapu te katoa**, all

sacred. **Mauri**, the combination of physical and spiritual essences, is instilled in the unborn moments before birth by **ngā atua** (Barlow, 2005; Pohatu, 2011). **Tapu** continues in the child. This is **Mana Atua**, the authority and integrity of the higher beings or gods, in bestowing the gifts of life through woman as **he whare tāngata** (refer CHAPTER 5). People are **Mana Tupuna** connected to ancestors through knowledges and practices, **ngā taonga tuku iho**, transmitted down the generations. In the creation story, woman was created from **Kurawaka**, the sacred generating red soil of **Papatūānuku** (White, 1887). This is **Mana Whenua**, the primacy of the **whenua** or land in peoples lives. Woman is the connector between and across **Mana Whenua**, **Mana Atua** and **Mana Tupuna**. The **koru** or spiral of life commences with woman, to baby, to women and men, and back to woman. Life starts and ends with woman in an enduring cycle of **tapu**, sacredness.

***Ko au te mokopuna, ko te mokopuna ko au  
I am the grandchild, the grandchild is me***

The birth of **mokopuna** generates pivotal connections across the generations of **tupuna-matua-mokopuna**, grandparent-parent-grandchild. **Tupuna** or grandparents guide parents in nurturing **mokopuna**:

***“Respect, looking after yourself, looking after my mokopuna first and foremost, manāki those mokopuna” (Tau Te Rangimarie),***

***“My grandmother was of the old school because I was the eldest of the grandchildren she asked my mum if she could have me...I was very lucky I had a country life before being brought up in the city...my grandmother and grandfather were like my first parents...we lost them both in the same year when I was six years old...”(Wāhine Toa).***

Acknowledgement by the previous generation for the newest generation was **whānau** affirmation of **aroha**, recognition of successful **whakapapa**. Outside the immediacy of the mother-baby or the father-baby relationship were significant **wairua**, spiritual and emotional connections between **tupuna** and **mokopuna**. Parents were responsible for the day-to-day nurturance of **tamariki**, however it was the bonds with the older generation of grandparents or aunts and uncles which would spiritually sustain **mokopuna**. These **wairua** bonds were the foundations for the wellbeing of **mokopuna** in a trilogy of **tupuna-matua-mokopuna**; transgenerational connectedness.

Her **first mokopuna** was “*four weeks old, brand new*” when I met this new nanny aged forty years old (**Wāhine Toa**). Months earlier, her **rangatahi** daughter had approached her mother to say she was ready for the next transition of ‘woman-being’ towards sexual intimacy with her **rangatahi tane**. The mother was pleased her daughter had confided with her and, they undertook sex education through the school health clinic. However, her sixteen year old daughter chose to become pregnant:

*“...we did everything but at the end of the day she had it in her heart to have a baby...” (Wāhine Toa).*

In the heat of surprise and disappointment, the **whānau** expressed harsh thoughts “*she should get rid of it...*” from the **Pākehā** great-grandfather-to-be, “*...this is not going to be good for her*” (**Wāhine Toa**). **Rangatahi** pregnancy has associations with stigma held in the term “teenage mothers”. In the text of this research I have chosen not to use this highly politicised and emotive term which reflects condemnation, discrimination and power. In reading literature around pregnancies in the 1950s (University of Auckland, 1960), **Māori** women were referred to as young married mothers who started families early. My seventeen year old mother left her rural homeland to birth me in the city and perhaps this was a sign of those times, when pregnancies of unwed mothers were unspoken and hidden realities. Shamed and blamed, young mothers left their homes to birth elsewhere. Back to this nanny and her **mokopuna**. To manage the disapproval amongst her own family the nanny-to-be sought counsel from her friends :

*“...we reconciled quickly...I had my friends talk to my brother, and sisters to talk to mum, and dad trusted me enough to know having a kōrero with my children would work out whatever it looks like” (Wāhine Toa).*

Women soothed the anguish of the family men and the great-grandfather-to-be in order for the **whānau** to focus on this newest event in their lives, the expectation of the fourth generation. The family recouped their composure, responding to the young parents need of **awhi** and **aroha**. Relationships between young and old got back on track as **rangatahi** sensed they ‘mattered’. They had relevance among **whānau** and were acknowledged for the creation of another layer of **whakapapa**; **whānau** planned for the arrival of a **mokopuna**:

*“...that's what it is all about, that is why they are doing so well we are there all around them” (Wāhine Toa).*

This nanny described her young daughters competent caring of her newborn *“...she was a natural {at mothering}” (Wāhine Toa).*

**Tuakana-teina** relationships, older siblings caring for younger ones, were generational activities across **whānau** forming the organisational structure within households. Young people had *“plenty of practice”*, whether or not they liked the responsibility of caring for siblings (**Mama Pūhou**). It is in the midst of **whānau** where children learnt unselfishness in giving and protecting younger siblings (**Makereti**, 1986). From this context young women and young men developed views of children as normal aspects of life. Children signalled healthy **whakapapa**. **Rangatahi** sexual experimentation involved risks of unprotected sex. Both sexual experimentation and **whakapapa** creation, having babies, were rites of passage for young women, similar to reproductive practices in the 19th century (Mitalfe, 1991; **Whatahoro**, 1913):

*“I talked about wanting a baby because I had a niece and I pretty much had her all the time and thought I might as well have my own but when it happened it was scary” (Mama Pūhou).*

Hers was a **whānau** culture of young mothers. She lived in her parent's home with two sisters and their babies. Unlike her sisters she had the support of a **tane**, a Samoan man, and prior to her pregnancy they had discussed children. He too was young and unprepared for fatherhood:

*“...he just wanted to live life...without having someone to worry about..he was quite happy when it actually happened, it wasn't talk anymore, it was actually the real thing” (Mama Pūhou).*

She knew her mother would not be happy to find out she was **hapū**, *“...she still believes we're kids ourselves”*. Both grandmothers were accepting of the inevitable arrival of this new **mokopuna** (**Mama Pūhou**).

When her marriage ended, a mother of three returned to the workforce and her parents took on the fulltime care of their **mokopuna**. This was a closeknit three-generational **whānau** and caring for grandchildren and **whāngai** were normal aspects of family. The mother lived close by to have daily contact with her elderly parents and her children:

*“...when they asked to look after my kids when I was working I said yes and how much do you want to pay...nothing....[they said] when we ring you at home it will be something for one of the kids for a school trip or something...money was not an issue to them but I always made sure to buy them things like cigarettes...” (Tau Te Rangimarie), and,*

*“...she (her mother) had other grandchildren, she would say to me that the only reason I took yours was that I was allowed to growl them, the others [her siblings] would step in and go off at mum” (Tau Te Rangimarie).*

It was important for grandparents to fully practice their care over **mokopuna** in guiding and disciplining their grandchildren as well as expressing their affections for them. On the passing of this grandmother in her eighties, the grief of the grandchildren that she had cared for in their early years was huge *“...broke their hearts when she died, torn to pieces” (Tau Te Rangimarie)*. Grief is a healthy organic process of acknowledging **tupuna-mokopuna** bonds and continues long after the event of passing and the burial. Collective grief is about great loss and great love. **Whānau** remember.

Beyond the immediacy of meeting the functional physical or practical needs of young family, the trilogy of **tupuna-mama-mokopuna** was a relational model of intergenerational care. From this foundation, reciprocity between, within and across the generations is repeated throughout the lifespan:

*“...she [mother] has been dead for five years at the end of this year. She brought two plots to go on top of one another [her mother and father] and the next one to them is for my sister, the handicapped sister. I use to look after her for three years, I gave up my job because I had no committments but she got too much for me, she is now with my other sister” (Tau Te Rangimarie),*

*“Towards the end of mum’s life there was someone in the house with her. All of us had to have training before we could bring her home from hospital.. she had to be turned, both legs amputated and my two girls did the washing of her, the changing” (Tau Te Rangimarie).*

Family members transmitted to the younger generation concepts of **manākitanga** and **tiakitanga**, hosting and guardianship in caring for disabled and sick **whānau** members.

Mothers from the **ngā rōpū Tau Te Rangimarie, Wāhine Toa** and **Mama Pūhou** valued **tupuna-mokopuna** connections. Forgiveness and healing for having children as young mothers were embodied in **tupuna-mokopuna** relationships. The birth of **mokopuna** were



occasions to celebrate **whakapapa**. In **whānau** where parents or grandparents had initially expressed their disappointment of young mothers, eventually the tensions and disappointments shifted, replaced by care for mother and baby. **Whānau** priorities changed. **Tupuna-mokopuna** bonds exude **aroha** and appreciation of **whakapapa**.

### **Whāngai**

The term **whāngai**, associated with the **Pākehā** practice of adoption, is a contentious term for some, believing this is not appropriate when used in kinship relationships. How can one foster one's own when the term **whānau** is inclusive of all kin? **Whāngai** carries practices of **whakawhanaungatanga** in cherishing and, protecting **pepi** and **tamariki** in supportive environments. **Whāngai** is a relational term where one has the resources to give to another. It was usually women and mothers who embraced the care of **whāngai**:

***“My mother brought up her two nephews, their mother had died, plus us ten and many others who came out of Waikeria prison” (Tau Te Rangimarie).***

This **whānau** lived on a farm and at the end of the road was a prison. Her grandparents would call out to the discharged inmates walking along the road towards town to come, sit, talk and eat. Some would stay a time, helping out on the farm and resocialising themselves. When they were ready, the men would take their leave from the **whānau**. Grandparents and parents modelled care of strangers and kin alike. Children grew up participating in **whāngai** practices:

***“...as Māori we grow up in the concept of a big whānau, you just tend to look after the younger ones so it wasn't a huge issue [to whāngai]” (Wāhine Toa).***

A woman's mother raised eight boys, **whāngai**, newborns, brought to their home by aunties:

***“They never showed they were struggling, they just carried on, they were whanaunga.” (Tau Te Rangimarie).***

In spite of material poverty, **whānau** were open to accepting **whāngai** and assisting kin mothers. There was reciprocity in relationships, one gave when one could and reciprocity went round and round. Knowledge of people's status as **whāngai** was open, there was no shame attached to who was in this position nor the circumstances behind the **whāngai**. A mother of two asked her **whanaunga**, a grandmother, for her unborn **mokopuna** whose

mother was *“auctioning off her puku”* in the public bar of the local hotel (**Tau Te Rangimarie**). The grandmother agreed to **whāngai** her **mokopuna** to this relative as the mother-to-be was a ‘alcohol drinker’ and had not been caring for herself during the pregnancy. The **whāngai**-mother-to-be later sealed the process of **whāngai** with a formal legal adoption to secure baby’s place within her **whānau**.

Grandparents and women accepted **mokopuna** into their households and lives for many reasons. Sometimes this care endured for a lifetime, other times it was for short periods. Of the four **rōpū**, **whāngai** practices were most evident in the families of the mothers in **Tau Te Rangimarie** (see CHAPTER 3 Table 3.1) and **Wāhine Toa** (refer CHAPTER 4 Table 4.1) and to a lesser degree among the mothers of **Hine-Tī-Tama** (see Table 4.1) . A mother in the latter **rōpū** saw herself in the position of a **whāngai**:

*“I lived with my nan from aged two to six, it was cool I loved it. From about six to twelve I was just whangai’d off” (Hine-Tī-Tama).*

Her experiences of being a **whāngai** were moving across several **whānau** households under the care of aunties and their partners. She was treated well by the many **whānau**, however her ‘happiest’ time was under the care of her nan *“my nan was sort of like my mother figure” (Hine-Tī-Tama).*

Mothers referred to their *“step-children”* as **whāngai (Wāhine Toa & Hine-Tī-Tama)**. Their partners had children from previous relationships and the mothers, as the second partners, embraced the children. In one instance the behaviours of the **rangatahi whāngai** clashed with the childrearing practices of a mother which caused conflict between her and her **tane** their father:

*“...then the arguments started about bringing up our grandchildren...”  
(Wāhine Toa).*

Issues from previous relationships entered consequent partnerships impacting on adults parenting authority. The mother above had strong cultural beliefs in rearing children inclusive of alcohol abstinence. Her **whāngai** used alcohol and drugs, as did both of their parents, and this was a source of tension for her and her partner. She did not want her children or the **mokopuna** witnessing the alcohol behaviours of the older ones. A mother from the **rōpū Hine-Tī-Tama** had raised her husband’s two children and the couple were

also caring for nieces and nephews. **Whānau** from the rural districts sent their **rangatahi** to the couple in order for them to assist their young relatives to enroll into tertiary education programs and to establish themselves in suburban apartments. The status of **whāngai** came with responsibilities for those in the position of caring for others, and came with mutual understandings of expectations of **whāngai** towards caregivers. Being a **whāngai** was considered 'special' and women were nostalgic about this time in their lives:

***"...the four years I had with my whāngai father were the most important"  
(Tau Te Rangimarie).***

**Whāngai** and **whakawhanaungatanga** were inter-related practices bound by the principle of **whanautanga** in strengthening family cohesion and the bonds across **whānau**.

#### ***Whenua-ki-te-whenua***

The Samoan grandmother, tina o le tama, claimed the **whenua** or placenta of her **Māori-Samoan mokopuna** following the hospital birth. She took this back to her suburban home and placed it in the soil in the practice of **whenua-ki-te-whenua**. Embodied in this indigenous **Māori** and Pasifika **tikanga** or practice is "*Iho – cord between two worlds*", the honoring of the connection between **Mana Tupuna** and **Mana Whenua** (Tikao, 2010). This practice was unknown to the first time mother "*I should have listened when my nan was here*", and she was grateful for her "*mum-in-law's*" knowledge:

***"...her first grandchild, his one (placenta) is also buried in her front yard..."  
(Mama Pūhou).***

**Whakapapa** was important to the tina o te lama. The **whenua** of her **mokopuna** has its spiritual origins from the earth in the form of the primal woman **Hine-Ahu-One**, woman-soil-sand, made from **uku**, clay (refer CHAPTER 5). The Samoan grandmother ensured the **whenua** of her **mokopuna** journeyed back to its beginning.

It is vital to have older **whānau** at the birth to advocate for young and new parents. The Europeanising of **Māori** maternities in the 1960s through health legislation was an attempt by the government to improve newborn mortality and morbidity rates (Palmer, 2002). In the process, **Māori** women were disconnected from traditional birthing which previously had occurred in the home and on **papakainga** (ibid). Whilst there has been a revival of birthing **tikanga**, first time mothers and fathers may not have the knowledge to request

the return of their baby's **whenua**. As well, they are emotionally pre-occupied, as they should be, with the new-born of their making, therefore **whānau** presence is crucial in **tauiwi** or dominant 'other' situations like birthing facilities to advocate for mothers cultural interests.

A young student mother whose parents were raising her child became **hapū** again and, the relationship with the **tane** was not sustainable. Her **whānau** remained supportive of her:

***"I had organised with my brother, I was going to whāngai my baby to my brother so everything was in place..." (Mama Pūhou).***

Baby was stillborn ***"... and even though I was not going to keep baby it was hard"***. The **whānau** took the **mate**, the death, back to their tribal **rohe**. The brother's American wife named their baby:

***"...she felt this sense of unity and so she kept looking up the word unity in Māori and came up with Kotahitanga and I was going to gift the child to them and so I am happy with that" (Mama Pūhou).***

Two months on from the burial of her second baby, this mother's grief remained 'fresh':

***"Unfortunately in my head I feel irrational. I take on the guilt sometimes and I know I shouldn't it is just an irrational feeling and I know hopefully over time I will deal with that but I haven't got the answers yet" (Mama Pūhou).***

Remember, I said earlier, that a mother's body is **tapu** and whatever comes from **tapu** continues to be sacred. The mother's **whānau** were mindful of her loss and they had gathered in **tangihanga** to show their love for her. The stillbirth or **tamarikiwhenua** was given back into the earth in **whenua-ki-te-whenua**, a deeply spiritual process. The young mother's grief too is a **wairua** process. She is secure in the knowledge that whatever happens, her **whānau** will embrace her, they will come for her.

For many mothers, secure family bonds and active **whānau** support were not their experiences. Their young lives were shaped by violence and neglect.

### **Damaged Discourses and Disconnection**

The becoming of an oral or aural storytelling culture into a written history founded on European philosophies resulted in men privileging men's stories over women (refer

INTRODUCTION & CHAPTER 6). European historians re-created indigenous epistemologies and, women were displaced in origin stories and in stories about life (refer CHAPTER'S 7 & 8).

Early cross-cultural sexual liaisons, partnerships and marriages among **rangatira** produced mixed cultural offspring, men and women, who became enculturated with European knowledge and culture. They, too, privileged their own **rangatira** (leader class) society and **tikanga** associated with pregnancy, birthing and newborns were practices attributed to high born women only (**Makereti**, 1986). **Māori** scholars emerged from European institutions and contributed indigenous **Māori** worldviews to anthropology. Women's presence in society was diminished and maternities, especially birthing rituals, were considered uncivilised compared to their **Pākehā** counterparts (Buck, 1950; Palmer, 2002).

**Tūtua** (not **rangatira** or slave class) mothers became lesser than **rangatira**, lesser than men and, lesser than **Pākehā** men and women. The collective **tapu** of **wāhine** was normalised to sickness in the term **mate wahine** (women's sickness) in describing menstruation (**Makereti**, 1986). The changing of mythology and origin stories (refer CHAPTER 7 & 8) cast women as passive and unclean and reports by early explorers vilified women (August, 2005; St. Jean Baptise, 1986; Yate, 1971 ). **Mikaere** had this to say:

***“The one figure who could scarcely be characterised as passive was Hine-nui-te-po...Faced with the irrefutable expression of female sexual power that Hine-nui-te-po posed, the redefiners of Maori cosmology recast her as evil and destructive. This fitted nicely with biblical notions of woman being responsible for sin. The negative connotations that men attached to the female sexual organs were also entirely consistent with Old Testament notions of women being unclean because of menstruation” (Mikaere in August, 2005, p.120)***

### ***Whakapapa, desire and dishonor***

A healthy, wholesome strong **whakapapa** fosters respectfulness of both men and women's lineage. Limited and unknown **whakapapa** was a sign of domination, trauma and abuse towards women in society. **Whakapapa** connects people across time and place, thereby locating belonging in layers of dimension; the physical and spiritual realms. In the rejection of mothers who bore their children and in the abandonment of children, men and their **whānau** denied offspring their **whakapapa**:

***“...sixteen years we lived in the same town and we never spoke to each other and I thought well it was not me as the child to right those things, it should be him because he is the adult...” (Tau Te Rangimarie),***

The time period was 1960's in a rural **Māori** community and the father in this instance had social standing in the tight knit-kin community. In pre-European society followed by early colonial contact, offspring from an array of sexual connections were viewed as legitimate members of **whānau** and **hapū** and therefore of **Māori** society (**Makereti**, 1986; Shortland, 1849). **Māori**-marriages were unfavorable to Europeans who sought to bring in the practice of Christian marriages, the European institution for family (Smyth, 1983). Stigma came to be associated with children conceived outside of 'wedlock'. The withholding of paternal **whakapapa** combined with the rejection of her mother led to women in **whānau** experiencing a collective shame leading to the transmission of low self esteem:

***“...my mum and my nanny had a lot of guilt around so many children [and many fathers] and the way things were” (Tau Te Rangimarie).***

The kin community openly discussed this woman's dual **whakapapa** as a child and she was acknowledged in this respect. Nannies, **tupuna**, buffer some of the stigma of paternal rejection by showering **mokopuna** with **aroha**. Later, this **mokopuna** as an adult became entangled with an unavailable man, the partner of a friend:

***“I was a single person . I was thirty when I fell pregnant” (Tau Te Rangimarie).***

And the start of a new life within her was also the end of the liaison with her friend's husband. The two women retained close bonds, creating a shared pathway for their children to know one another. Similar to her mother's situation, the child from this union has no social connection with her father.

In the absence of a father from her childhood years, a young woman went in search of her gang father to fulfill the emotional void of paternal **whakapapa**. She met him as an adult and no connection was forged, yet she was attracted to the gang demeanour. At twenty four years of age she became pregnant to:

***“A bad boy”, a gang member (Hine-Tī-Tama).***

Several children later, she and the father of her children separated. She is trying to break the pattern of violence in her life, however she is dependent upon the children's father to assist with their childcare. In the past her mother engaged police services to extract her daughter from domestic violence situations. Mothers were overwhelmed by the responsibility of raising children in a context of dysfunctional partnerships and, conflicted primary relationships with their own mothers from whom they required support.

The denial of paternal **whakapapa** commences a pattern of maternal singlehood for mothers in low expectations of men stepping up to 'father roles' of children.

### ***Untenable relationships and whānau support***

The strains and tensions between mothers and the fathers of their children often ended in estrangement and separation (see Table 4:1) In the aftermath of partnership failures it was mostly mothers who took on the responsibilities of rearing children. Two mothers in the **rōpū Hine-Tī-tama** were each restricted to having care of the youngest child whilst older children remained with fathers. Some mothers acknowledged "drug" and "gambling addictions" which developed in the emptiness of unloving childhoods (refer Table 4.2). They were drawn to partners who reflected their low self-esteem.

Mothers in the older **rōpū Tau Te Rangimarie** had been raising their families without the fathers, in some instances throughout the childhoods of their children. In the **rōpū Wāhine Toa** and **Mama Pūhou** the duration of being separated from partners and fathers of the children ranged from recent to ten years. Separated mothers from across **Tau Te Rangimarie, Wāhine Toa** and **Mama Pūhou** received support in many layers by **whānau** members, brothers, sisters and, their parents and grandparents. Mothers from the **rōpū Hine-Tī-tama** were often disconnected from families. For mothers without partners there were multiple reasons for fractious relationships with the fathers of children:

***"...I was tired of the lack of support with the children and the constant criticism, life was not the joy it should have been, I was merely coping rather than living" (Tau Te Rangimarie),***

***"...he was too paranoid and protective of me, really suffocating and he didn't like what I did with my studies, the clinical placements and things so I decided to call it quits as it was too stressful" (Mama Pūhou),***

***“We separated. His lifestyle was totally different to mine, he liked to party and drink and I was the one that wanted nice things for my children and to give them a good education” (Tau Te Rangimarie),***

***“I struggled with him...he did say that I didn’t need really need him because if something happened I would fix things myself...I was in that marriage by myself...” (Wāhine Toa)***

For three of the women of **Tau Te Rangimarie** and for ten other women across the other **rōpū**, relationships with partners, husbands and the fathers of their children were unstable, unhappy and, eventually, untenable (refer Table 4.1.). Women had moved outside of home and were involved in community in wanting concurrent and multiple social roles inclusive of mother, partner, student and career. Women sometimes chose to separate from their partners rather than relinquish personal desires and goals for education and for their children. In separating from long standing partnerships, women incurred financial hardships for themselves and children:

***“...I had been use to things being tough because during the later stages of the marriage John wasn’t giving me money anyway because I wasn’t being agreeable” (Tau Te Rangimarie).***

Withholding finances from women was a form of manipulation by some men, a punitive measure to control women in the home. This woman had been married for “*twenty years before it fell apart*”, however, there had been earlier friction in the relationship which impacted on her confidence as a mother, “*I was really unhappy. I never ever saw myself as being a good mother*” (**Tau Te Rangimarie**).

In moving ahead of the financial hardships of lone parenting, women sought low paid employment to accommodate childcare responsibilities. Other women were engaged in tertiary programmes to improve future financial prospects and women had cultural commitments to their communities (see Table 4.1). Sometimes, mothers were simultaneously improving **whānau** circumstances across several levels, and often this led to stress which shifted onto elder daughters to carry the extra responsibilities of caring for young siblings. These were also sites for mother-daughter and **tupuna-mokopuna** conflict.

### ***Burdened women***

Women, aunties, grandmothers and mothers were the usual parents or caregivers of young children, often better situated to ‘**whāngai**’ or foster kin children:



***“...between two to six I was between my dad and my nan. But my nan was sort of like my mother figure. And then from six to eleven I was with my dad and then I went to my aunties, then from eleven I stayed with my mum” (Hine-Tī-Tama).***

Attachment to several ‘parent’ figures was managed in relationships that were secure and nurturing. The poor health of primary caregivers, sometimes leading to death, disrupted family circumstances and children were given back to biological **whānau**:

***“I have grown up being a kid and then all of a sudden I have to live with mum and I have to be a parent as well {to younger half-siblings}. It was a culture shock” (Hine-Tī-Tama),***

***“...there were four of us and we all got separated after mum died...all of us were brought up different and we are all still trying to find each other” (Hine-Tī-Tama).***

Older children, with emotional needs, and, grieving for siblings and **whānau** carers, returned to established families with estranged kin, of whom the primary caregivers of children were mothers and grandmothers. The reasons for initial child-parent estrangements were unresolved. Abuse, trauma, neglect and rejections were regular reoccurrences for these children who were ill equipped to negotiate tense and conflicted relationships with mothers and grandmothers:

***“I was so naughty I wasn’t very good and she wasn’t very nice, she gave me a hiding, like I would be sitting in a chair staring at her and she would say, what are you looking at and then walk over to me and hit me right in the face, pull my hair and drag me into the room, she gave all her grandchildren a hiding...” (Hine-Tī-Tama).***

***“...there was violence, well you know hidings...if you are really naughty you get the jug cord or the vacuum cord” (Hine-Tī-Tama).***

Normally, mothers and grandmothers were the sole carers of children and sometimes in the burden of these roles, women developed ‘drinking’ and ‘gambling’ behaviours:

***“...if I drink with her it is only a couple and often I would see the state she would get in and I would come home...typical Māori three sometimes four times a week depends on what is happening, and it is more about getting out of the house” (Mama Pūhou),***

*“...after mum and dad split up, my mum started drinking more and things we kind of went off the track a bit like we started drinking...I have been talking to my brother about mum drinking as well as gambling...” (Mama Pūhou),*

*“...my mum was a drinker, always at the pub, we were always at the pub waiting for her to get out of the pub, my sister was the one that looked after us...the mother role even when mum was alive even when mum was drinking with her mates we didn't spend much time with our mum” (Hine-Tī-Tama).*

*“...there were moments when mum would get really aggressive about something, dad was never angry...it was mum she would lose the plot completely and throw things around...and those memories still have an impact on my siblings” (Wāhine Toa).*

*“...my mother told me she didn't want me, she didn't like me...[drunk] I put her to bed” (Hine-Tī-Tama).*

Daughters witnessed violence within the home between parents and adults which had a trajectory later in their own mothering and mental health and wellbeing (refer Table 4.2) Daughters were beaten and emotionally abused by angry mothers and grandmothers. For eight of the twenty women, there were associations between the hardships of childhood, adversity in later life and current mental health circumstances (see Table 4.2).

**Hine-Tī-Tama** women had few stories recalling affectionate relationship with mothers, grandmothers or with adult caregivers. Fathers, grandfathers or family men were invisible in the recollections of early childhoods of the mothers from **Hine-Tī-Tama**. Childhood happiness was elusive and in its place sat emotional neglect, cruelty and violence (refer Table 4.3). Conflicted partnerships between parents or grandparents were not conducive to happy childhoods and were associated to children experiencing abuse and neglect.

Women from three **rōpū**, **Tau Te Rangimarie**, **Wāhine Toa** and **Mama Pūhou**, experienced **whānau** drinking behaviours, however, unlike women from **Hine-Tī-Tama**, these women did not personally experience abuse, neglect or violence. Children and **mokopuna** from the former three **rōpū** were kept apart from adults drinking alcohol:

*“There had been parties. They rarely ended badly like a fight but we were always ushered off quickly...something would happen and they would put us in the car...” (Wāhine Toa),*

***“...my father would buy a flagon...my mother was not a drinker so that is maybe why we had a good life because they weren’t both drinking which is good” (Tau Te Rangimarie),***

***“We had lots of drinks at the homestead. We had a room for the boys and a room for the girls...they would get home from the pub and want a party at six o’clock and we would always want a look...he would sit at the door on the other side... we thought it was so we could not get out but it was to stop people getting in...”(Tau Te Rangimarie),***

### ***Sexual abuse of children and young people***

Childhood sexual abuse and sexual violence of indigenous women in the context of colonisation was alongside the subjugation of cultural ways of being and knowing by the colonising powers. Women across three **rōpū** either experienced personal childhood sexual abuse, sexual assault as **rangatahi** or had children were were victims of childhood sexual abuse (see Table 4.3). Childhood sexual abuse had a trajectory to later mental illness inclusive of psychosis for some mental health patients (Read et al., 2003) (see INTRODUCTION). Mostly, sexual abuse of children, daughter and sons, and sexual assault of young women occurred within kin communities and had far reaching consequences:

***“I let her go to her mother and grandmother and one of her first cousins sexually abused her...I blame myself because I let her go and so she blamed me and for many years I had to take her to counselling but at the end of the day she was still angry with me...she was so angry with the world” (Tau Te Rangimarie),***

***“Nan had an open house and whānau would drop in whenever they needed to stay and be looked after. When I told my nan I didn’t see them [her abusers] at the house ever again” (Hine-Ti-Tama),***

***“I had a feeling in the pit of my stomach that something was wrong, my daughter was sitting on the floor by herself in the middle of the night. My partner had been behaving oddly. The next day I overheard my girls talking about something that happened with him, they told me” (Hine-Ti-Tama),***

***“...my son who was four or five at the time was sexually abused by an older child in an after school programme...” (Wāhine Toa).***

A mother spoke of the intergenerational transmission of trauma and abuse,

***“drugs and alcohol were a massive thing down there, very bad...my grandparent’s generation...they were the ones that got into alcohol in a big way, a lot of incest and a lot of rape” (Wāhine Toa).***

Sexual predators mostly known to **whānau**, were amongst families already experiencing distress of conflicted caregiver partnerships (see Table 4.3). A young woman and her siblings were sexually abused by a close friend of the family and later sequelae for the woman was mental illness and suicidal behaviours (see Table 4.2). Sexual abuse, physical violence, emotional abuse and neglect as young women had sequelae in later life in poor mental health, suicidal behaviours, substance disorders and serious mental illnesses (see Table 4.2).

### ***Mental illness***

Risk factors for mental disorders during motherhood included; young pregnancy, domestic violence and the experience of childhood sexual abuse (Agar, Read & Bush, 2002; Bohn, 1990; Kendall-Tackett, 1998). These antecedents were prevalent among **Māori** mothers (Mullen, Walton & Romans-Clarkson, 1988; Fergusson, Horwood & Lynskey, 1997) and evident across the four **rōpū** (refer Table 4.2 & 4.3). Mental illness were the ‘lived experiences’ of mothers either personally and/or through a first degree relative or primary caregiver:

***“Hemi, our third child, was suffering physically from the unhappiness between his father and I. I did not notice, I was that miserable I did not notice” (Tau Te Rangimarie),***

***“...I had been depressed for the longest time I was just coping” (Tau Te Rangimarie),***

***“...things in our family have been around mental unwellness...my mum, my mum’s mum, mum’s sisters, my sister diagnosed with bipolar..three of my female cousins and a male cousin” (Wāhine Toa),***

In speaking of her grandfather’s mental illness, suicidal and alcohol behaviours, a mother reported:

***“...alcoholics don’t drink because they are happy, do they” (Hine-Ti-Tama).***

Of her own bipolar disorder, she had this to say:

***“...I was in bed and helpless, I prayed that things would get better for me...”  
(Hine-Ti-Tama).***

**Rangatahi** women had had involuntary hospital admissions for suicidal behaviours when their lives had become desperate, and many years later, as mothers and caregivers, mental health and mental illness continued to be problematic for some of them (Agar, Read & Bush, 2002). Some women described in themselves and their mothers what sounded like undetected and untreated mental disorders; addiction, depression, anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorders against a background of unhappiness, marital discord, excessive alcohol and drug usage and childhood sexual abuse.

***Mixed cultures, mixed values, seeking dad***

Young mothers had clear messages from their fathers who disapproved of young pregnancy and motherhood. The young women wanted affection, approval, connection and support from their fathers; they desired relationships with their fathers and they wanted grandfathers for their children. Within families of mixed cultures, **Māori** and **Pākehā** held different views on young pregnancy. Mothers felt the stigma of pregnancy mostly from **Pākehā** fathers, **Pākehā** grandparents and **Pākehā** family members:

***“My dad took it the hardest as he felt he had invested a lot in me, emotionally and financially. He came around in the end, he is the one that probably spoils Hinemoa the most...I think it is a wonderful thing, grandparents have all this knowledge and experience. Why not let the child have this and the parents just support really. I just love that concept at the end of the day the child gets more out of this; more than anybody” (Mama Pūhou).***

Another young mother, who was not raised by her father, recalled her delay in meeting with her him following pregnancy and birth, ***“...with dad because he is on the Pākehā side I did not speak with him for a year...”*** and as time moved on father and daughter reconciled:

***“Great, he wants to see them all the time now. He just thought that seeing my mum and my aunties that when they got pregnant, not sustaining jobs, on the benefit...he really came around when I started doing my bachelors degree [nursing] ” (Mama Pūhou).***

A student mother, partnered and with an infant and a toddler, expressed the tensions in being a young mother:

***“...I was always the high achiever at school, prefect and all that. I got frowns from my family, my Pākehā side of the family are still a bit hostile when it comes to kids, not holding a grudge but disappointed that I did not wait. My Māori side were upset but they got over it and they have come to love them. All of my family do but they took a while to get use to it” (Mama Pūhou).***

There was a pervading sense of one-dimensional thinking where young pregnancy and motherhood was considered an end rather than a beginning:

***“My father is half Pākehā, his father is Māori, his mother is Pākehā. My Pākehā grandmother has very high expectations of me she wanted me to be this top doctor. She kind of feels that baby is not good enough for me but she doesn’t see the other side, she sees finances, the financial side” (Mama Pūhou).***

Becoming mothers and commencing their own **whānau** were normal cycles of development and within these cycles, mothers lives would expand, taking on new meanings and directions. Mothers, of all ages, were wanting to continue on with their own aspirations of education, intimate relationships and rearing children. Negative stereotyping of young pregnancy and young mothers were facets of wider societal constructs which aimed to discriminate against indigenous women. Within **Te Ao Māori** society, women and young mothers especially, were marginalised (Hokowhitu, 2011).

## **Silence to Voice**

### **‘the crackling page’**

***my poetry is like a fire –  
if I shut my mouth I will die***

**Robert O’Sullivan (Sommerville, 2011, p.38)**

### ***Discovering connection/Self to whānau***

As briefly mentioned earlier, the storying of the mothers of **Hine-Ti-Tama** were packed with recollections of childhood disruptions and damaging **kōrero** of hurtful lives as young children and women. The way out of **trauma** and abuse and recycling of these experiences for some women came with later families, in times of desperation and in epiphany for others:

***“I reached out for help from my sister and she said she would look after my kids as she wanted me to have rehab...my sister drove all the way from Wellington for the kids and the following day I went into detox” (Hine-Ti-Tama),***

Months later, upon confirmation of a twin pregnancy, she further resolved to abstain from all substances including tobacco. She engaged with anger management and parenting programs:

***“Twins are special, it sort of woke me up, can’t carry on doing what you are doing...I don’t want to turn out like my grandmother, I don’t want to beat up on my kids...I want to be a good mother who looks after her kids” (Hine-Ti-Tama).***

Parenting programs combined with counselling were ways mothers activated their desires to re-define how life should be for them and their children. The following is from a woman who left her family of two children and much later had a child from a further relationship:

***“My son was a beautiful easy baby...he’s my world he saved me...I’m regretful I couldn’t do it the first time but I’m happy I got the opportunity to do it {sic mothering} again” (Hine-Ti-Tama).***

Community programs gave her a sense of empowerment to want to transform her life, to attempt to close the rift with her daughters and to heal sibling and kin relationships:

***“This year is about trying to reconnect with my family, my brothers and trying to reconnect with my daughters...that’s why when I saw this research I thought this is a stepping stone and I need to let it out...”(Hine-Ti-Tama).***

Another woman had several of her children placed in the care of their fathers. With the responsibility for a single toddler she was now engaged in a residential mothering program:

***“My counsellor told me to do your study, it would be good for me” (Hine-Ti-Tama).***

Mothers had walked away from their own children, families and communities where transgenerational trauma, abuse and neglect of themselves as young women had been occurring:

***“Just had enough of being a mum at that age, at 22 I felt confined...I started gambling hard out to the point where we broke up, left him. Then I was hapū with our second child...we got back for our baby ...and I signed him over...then I felt stink for doing that...my family were dissappointed with me...I just got out and packed my stuff in my car and came here” (Hine-Tī-Tama)***

***“I didn’t listen to my sister and I left rehab and went with Robert to the bush...in the middle of nowhere and it was more like detoxing myself which I did, it worked and I didn’t have nothing, no drugs, we stayed out there for about nine months and I thought, I am alright to be able to return...” (Hine-Tī-Tama).***

Mothers had spiritual and emotional wounds from poor and unhealthy primary relationships of early childhood. Parts of their journey meant time away from **whānau** to commence healing in the quiet of self-reflection. In sharing their recollections of abuse, trauma and neglect by mothers and grandmothers in the context of dysfunctional **whānau** situations, women put words to their feelings of **mamae** and emotional pain. These were declarations of owning up to being ‘mothered’ by hostile, angry and resentful women and, bearing these burdens, deliberately or passively, into their own mothering practices with their children. Betrayl, disappointment and devaluing of their positions as daughters and young women, were experiences of conflicted mother-daughter and **tupuna-mokopuna** connections which emerged from intergenerational **whānau** disorder and dysfunction.

Decades on, the remembering of her upbringing by an angry mother came with the heartache of rejection, of not being loved:

***“...you know I still get bitter on it, isn’t that sad” (Hine-Tī-Tama).***

Burdened mothering, untenable partnerships, cruelty and neglect were aspects of the women’s childhoods and raising their own children yet there was always another side involving triumph and desire and of **whānau** offering care and leadership. Women wanted better and more for themselves and mostly for their children. It was important to hear the ‘whole’ story:

***“I am doing my best with my boys, please talk about those things too” (Hine-Tī-Tama).***

***“...the little brother he actually had a good upbringing, the other brother was in and out of boys’ homes then in and out of jail so he has been in the justice***



*system throughout his life...my sister had a hard life and when she went to my grandad she was okay...my brother and I talk about 'do you remember when nan did this' and that we come out with those things now because at the time we couldn't talk because we were separated..."(Hine-Ti-Tama).*

Sharing recollections of 'hardships and harshness' with siblings generated threads of remembered realities. The previously 'unspoken-about' became tangible and the words less wounding. Familial adversities had an impact across entire **whānau**. Trauma and abuse of children trapped both brothers and sisters who would later become parents, and when left unaddressed, continued in the intergenerational transmission of spiritual and emotional neglect.

Mothers did not use terminology like 'single mothers' or teenage mothers to describe themselves, their mothers or their daughters. They did not blame **tāne** and partners for their circumstances or for the abandonment of children. Many mothers were on the way back from "running away from ourselves" (**Wāhine Toa**). Women were sharing their stories with counsellors, therapists and other **Māori** women. Women from **Hine-Ti-Tama** also reported becoming active in **marae** social services and local organisations which featured **Māori** women as **kaimahi** or as leaders. Mothers from **ngā rōpū Tau Te Rangimarie** and **Wāhine Toa** were representative of the strong presence of **Māori** women **kaimahi** in **marae** social services and schools. Availability and accessibility to healthcare which featured **Māori** health professionals and **Māori** women was crucial in engaging mothers (Wilson, 1985).

To whom mothers told their life stories to was important and in pre-interview discussions with some of the women, they spoke of their trust in participating in research on 'Māori mothers' by a **Māori** woman researcher. **Kaupapa Māori** research principles of **manaakitanga**, **kanohi-ki-kanohi**, **aroha**, **te reo Māori** me **whakawhanaungatanga** were pivotal in the relationships between myself as the researcher and the mothers in revealing their many truths:

*"...I get to remember and see what was my upbringing and life, and how do I place that with my son today" (Hine-Ti-Tama).*

To halt the cyclical pattern of spiritual emptiness, women stepped away from the trajectory of disrupted childhoods and, onto a precipice for transformation; it began with themselves.

### ***Embodied emotion***

In re-telling their stories mothers were clearing out the past and releasing accustomed ways of being. These were movements away from the static of helplessness towards energy, thought and, desires for change. Thought or **whakaaro** was the initial tension for agency:

***“...what’s happening to my whanau is that we keep getting sick [mental illness] so I wanted to make sure that my children are grounded and they know their whanau, their Māori identity...once I know they have got that they will be strong” (Wāhine Toa),***

***“...he did not change, the change was in me...” (Tau Te Rangimarie),***

***“Like ethics, from my point of view, my ethics, of how I wanted things to be” (Tau Te Rangimarie).***

One mother recalled an earlier childhood of loving experiences with her **tupuna** and her father. When they became ill, she returned to live with her mother. She had felt unwanted and, unloved and, experienced abuse and neglect. She chose to recollect the earlier period of her childhood to model parenting of her own son:

***“I let my son get away with alot because I think about how I was as a kid, my nan use to let me get away with stuff, my dad let me get away with stuff...”(Hine-Ti`-Tama),***

Remembering how her body felt to be loved as a child was key to this mother’s later enjoyable parenting. Contentment in being women went far beyond motherhood and the day-to-day of caring for children. In picking up the threads of cultural knowing and understanding women reclaimed their places in replenishing the void of self. Thought led to desire.

### ***Wānanga as liberation***

**Whānau** cultures of trauma and abuse combined with disadvantage and poverty halted cultural knowledge; anger and pain to not generate life. In the intimacy of **whānau** abuse, the focus is on emotional, physical and spiritual survival. One woman had a life of

deprivation, disadvantage and drug addiction, and another had lived experiences of suicidal behaviour and disabling low self-esteem resulting from childhood sexual abuse (see Table 4.2). Both had been diagnosed by clinical services with major psychiatric disorders during later adolescence. In later life they, and other mothers, had relocated themselves at **wānanga** and universities, places of learning and education (refer to Table 4.1) As **akonga**, students, women were ready for teachers to come back into their lives through university, **wānanga** and parenting programmes.

A mother showed me the **harakeke** she had been preparing for **raranga** or weaving. This lay bundled in a dedicated area of her small apartment she shared with her young daughter. Through **wānanga**, a pedagogy of **Māori** learning, she traced the connectedness of herself to **harakeke** and the natural environment. She learnt all of this and more in knowing the **tikanga** of 'slicing' **harakeke** or flax for weaving a **kete**, her own basket of knowledge (refer CHAPTER 6). On her wall was a large art triptych by a **Māori** woman artist and she was 'paying off' this purchase over a number of months. Reflected in art were the worlds of **Māori** women, her world.

Another woman was in the midst of a masters degree in indigenous studies. She was known in her **whānau** for supporting the younger members of family into tertiary education. In total, fourteen of the women in these **Whakapapa Kōrero**, narratives, had joined an education revolution in entering into tertiary and/or **wānanga** (see Table 4.1). There was esteeming in learning, especially within culturally supported environments.

For many of the mothers, **marae**, **Māori** communities and **whānau** were their everyday environments. Their lives revolved around their own families and also in the revitalisation of **Te Reo Māori me ōna tikanga**. They were re-defining motherhood as one aspect, but a very important one, in the connectedness to **Te Ao Māori** and society. Women relate, to education, knowledge and to each other, through their bodies and minds. Women had plans:

*“...this qualification will take me and Hinemoa somewhere and I can see the confidence in her as well being around my parents...completely trusts them as well which is another bonus”, Mama Pūhou,*

*“...wait ‘til I graduate and then I finish (with) two degrees...”*, Mama Pūhou,

*“...it might be hard coming to university and I had people saying oh you are a young mum when I would say I am at university... but you are still a young mum and that made me slouch a bit but it is quite satisfying for me to say to them, oh here is the young mum and I would say here is the qualified young mum...yeah I got to say that”, Mama Pūhou, and,*

*“I don’t see a future drinking it doesn’t progress anything, hopefully I will have a career and a nice lifestyle” (Mama Pūhou),*

A **kuia** who studied in later life said:

*“I was fifty when I did my nurse’s training, only because my husband died...I was a very spoilt wife, he provided everything and when he died I had nothing...so I had to go to school” (Tau Te Rangimarie).*

Her and her adult daughter with a **mokopuna**, went back to school. For women whose early education had been disrupted by adversities, there was healing in learning about themselves and their **Te Ao Māori** worlds. For others, education was a means to a career and financial security for their children. Education and knowledge were a powerful combination:

*“I had my freedom” (Mama Pūhou).*

Freedom to be a **Māori** woman.

**Ko Au Te Pito**  
**I am the centre**

**Tupuna**, the old people desired **mokopuna**. In grandchildren was the security of **whakapapa**. Most mothers from the **Whakapapa Kōrero** were raised with a strong sense of **whānau** and within this were the ties to each other and to the generations before and after them. **Whānau** were the centre of cultural self as woman:

*“...dad would say he had six women, his five daughters and a wife, we were his whole world” (Tau Te Rangimarie),*

*“my daughter has always had a culture of whānau always being around”(Tau Te Rangimarie),*

*“I wanted my children to know who they were as Māori that was really important and I didn’t realise it until I got older and became a kohanga reo teacher” (Wāhine Toa),*

***“I didn’t have anyone to tell me my whakapapa so I went on a hikoi and it took me 14 years to finish it but I have so my son does not have to do that journey, it is all here for him” (Wāhine Toa),***

***“With tangi and stuff we would go and help, we were always behind the scenes at any tangi” (Mama Pūhou),***

***“I have always been brought up with our tikanga and it has always been a big part of my life”, (Mama Pūhou).***

For women raised in the 1950s and 1960s, society viewed domesticity and childrearing as the domains of mothers and daughters (Hohepa, 1967; Jenkins & Matthews, 1998; Metge, 1986). Women’s recollections of childhood experiences of their mothers or grandmothers, the women who raised them, were centered around ‘home’, in the organisation of childrens’ schooling and sporting activities as well as being active in communities:

***“My whāngai mother was dependable, she would always be there for you whatever you needed and those were the attributes that I looked at. She was always hardworking making bread, making flowers for the marae table” (Tau Te Rangimarie),***

***“I always say mum was a perfectionist, every night, had to be smart shirts, stock the coppers up and put the whites in pressed up for the morning, she was very good, she was very active...” (Tau Te Rangimarie),***

***“My most beautiful memory is getting off the school bus and my mum was waiting at the gate every day she would wait at the gate to walk us home, so I would wait for my children when they came home” (Tau Te Rangimarie),***

The final woman from the rōpū of Tau Te Rangimarie recalls childhood experiences of her mother:

***“Very comfortable warm and loving. My mother, particularly, was strongly focused on their spiritual beliefs and religious practices and it was all around the family and love” (Tau Te Rangimarie).***

The family circumstance of these women were stable, with mothers at home and fathers in paid employment. Their storying of their parents and grandparents were of couples who were affectionate towards one another, and unified in child-rearing practices. Families socialised together. Differences and conflicts were aspects of these relationships, yet not to the degree as to become irreconcilable.

A robust connectedness to **whānau** enhanced women's cultural identity fostering a strong **mauri** or cultural esteem enabling women to manage adversity like discrimination:

*"I was in the my last year of high school I just managed to finish my exams...and the next year I had my daughter. It was a bit difficult because I went to a private school and there was a lot of stigma around being pregnant" (Mama Pūhou)*

The **Pākehā** transliteration of her **Māori** name chosen by her **Māori** mother was "**fair-skinned**" and she could have 'passed' as **Pākehā** (University of Auckland, 1960). Raised outside of New Zealand, the threads of her cultural identity and connections to **Māori** cultural roots were woven by her **Māori** mother. Women transmitted relational aspects of caring, loving, protecting, nurturing, strength and connectedness to daughters and **mokopuna**:

*"...when my whāngai mother (nanny) turned seventy my real mother who is a great cook came and did all the preparation and then when my whāngai mother died my real mother was here to support us...I was in the kitchen...she (real mother) said you go organise the kitchen cause I will go and be the kaikaranga for nanny...and when my real mother died I sat there with my other brothers and sisters..." (Tau Te Rangimarie).*

#### Summary Chapter 4

For some **whānau**, their existences were in netherworlds, in stories lacking in expressions of respect or valuing of children and women. Parents and grandparents had cultures of alcohol, drugs and violence to placate spiritual voids. Relationships floundered and mostly it was mothers and grandmothers who reared children. In the intimacy of **whānau** abuses, daughters had their self-esteem squashed; their voices discouraged and, silence reigned.

**Whānau** whose lives were centered around children and 'being together' grew stories about how they were with each other. Older sisters were carers of young siblings. Fathers and grandfathers loved the women in their lives. Early lives, shaped in loving relationships continued on into later lives in a cycle of **whānau** esteem. From this center, mothers managed adversity. Later, they moved into community leadership, spread their influence and expanded upon their stories.

PART THREE **MANA ATUA** presents the **Māori** creation origins of women and men. In this thesis I have avoided the terms male and female when discussing people. This terminology

is demeaning and has its roots in the anthropologist's gaze of native as object and a species. I draw on the literature of nineteenth century ethnographers and missionaries who recorded our cultural histories from **Māori** men. The omission of women's presence in cosmogony would have an influence on the social status of women. This gender imbalance derived from privileging men's storying of themselves and their interpretations of women's knowledge. **MANA ATUA** is innovative, privileging the fullness and richness of women-being and, commences with a **maunga**, my **maunga** in Northland called **Pūtahi**.

# PART THREE: MANA ATUA

*Figure 5.1: Knowledge Stones on my tongue nā Reena Kainamu*



*“Knowledge and Wisdom are related but different in nature. Knowledge is a thing of the head, an accumulation of facts. Wisdom is a thing of the heart. It has its own thought processes. It is there that knowledge is integrated for this is the centre of one’s being.” Māori Marsden (2003, p.59)*





## ***Marker Story 3 – Centred***

Writing woman-mother-soul is plural writing as being **Māori** is never singular. I write with other women and men within vision, within mind and within soul. And at the very least, as woman-mother-soul, I write as a creator, a generator, a nurturer of men and other women. I write as woman-mother having had mothers who had mothers who had mothers who had borne women-mothers and men, and so it goes. Endless beginnings with as many endings, storying of women-mothers. The journey of innate-woman knowing and being is not undertaken in isolation of other women and men on these same journeys.

On the journey are intersections of race and gender ideologies, inevitable spaces of tensions and vulnerabilities. Intersections occur when another's way of 'knowing and being' intrudes with their observations, values and privileges. Diversity is in identity, normal aspects at the junctions of difference. Dominance and discrimination are damaging. For woman-mother-soul to stay and acknowledge this criss-crossing is to be interrupted in being pressed to see likeness, to see compatibility and even worse, to see better. Better is an expectation because my native-ness as woman-mother-soul is considered inferior by dominant other. The sum of my woman-mother-soul is greater than the criss-crossing of dominance and its trajectory of marginalisation in the ubiquity of 'whiteness', to be 'like' the other but not in the dominant position of the other.

Juxtaposing women selves at the junctures with men and non-**Māori** is preordained, as "*hegemony and racism*" are issues faced by 'native' women (Minha-ha, 1989, p.86). Woman-mother-soul also adds two more '...ism's', sex and mother, to the experiences of multiple jeopardies. In women's language is activism, taking and owning literary spaces, shifting aside captive myths of us in the imagination of other. Word by highlighted word to-know-us-by is pressed into print. These small "*gestures of defiance*" 'write' our visibility, our resistance, our self-recovery (hooks, 1989, p.9). Species? Race? Female and human are universal terms detracting from truths. We are women and people. We do not stand 'stilled', we were viewed as 'them...over there' ...silenced at the stop-go lights, waiting for a colour change signalling our stepping out and away from the crossing. Being native, woman and mother is whole being, wellbeing. In this centeredness are self-determination, **tino rangatiratanga**, and liberation, and from this arise assurance, excitement and cultural

esteem. We are, 'matou' and '**tatou**', 'we', 'us', all of us. We are dynamic and in the dynamism there is movement away from object to subject (Friere, 1970; hooks, 1989), from, to or at the centre, outwards and back.

We are women-mother-soul and native, indigenous, all of these things, seamless, **ngāwari**, easy. That's us, that's how we roll. We are "*talking back*" as equals (hooks, 1989, p.9) to 'them...over there', in those places of control, shaking off the cloak of a peculiar silence, stifling in its oppression and recognising the silence as a product of exploitation (Friere, 1970). Returning to the core of knowing-us-as-us is coming back to us as women in the celebration of multiplicity, numerous presences of cleverness, veracity, generating, creativity, resistance, resilience, self-perpetuating knowledge and nurturance. **Aroha**...we have this, **aroha**. Respecting and regarding ourselves and each other with **aroha**, this way-of-being that opens up in acknowledgement of the **tapu** of every person:

*"...the one receiving the greeting is seated on the ground and the one giving it goes up to him and brings the end of the other's nose into contact with his own. They stay in this position for the space of half a minute, and then they speak to each other, for the greeting is exchanged without anything been said" (Journal entry December 1769, St. Jean Baptiste, 1982, p.136).*

The 'just arriving' salutes 'the-always-here', the standing greets the sitting, **manuhiri** addressing **ahi kaa**, junior person recognizing a more senior person, two people meeting for the first time or again, acquaintances or **whānau** or both. In the **wā**, the time in-between 'I-see-you' and the responding 'I-have-been-seen' is the manifestation of awesome sacredness. In the temporal touch and sharing of breath, an infinitesimal sound rolls off the back of the throat '**ummmmm**'...a salutation of 'knowing' and 'being'. Captured is acknowledgement, respect, sacredness, vulnerability and the divinity-of-being in the giving of each to the moment. I-see-you-who-enters-into-my-space, my world, come, **nau mai**.

**Kei konei au**, I-who-enters-into-your-space pays homage. **Tēnā koutou**.

# CHAPTER 5:

## AT THE BEGINNING WAS HINE...

*The soul of a people,  
the essence of their being,  
exists within the warmth of their philosophy;  
it is nurtured and sheltered by the wisdom of their beginning word"*

Moana Jackson in Mikaere (2011, p.322)

**He Tapu Te Tinana** (the sacred body), **Damaged Discourses and Disconnection; Silence to Voice** and, **Ko Au Te Pito** (self as centre) were the major themes from mother's **kōrero**, presented in the previous chapters of PART TWO. For some women, trauma, abuses and fragmented lives were their experiences. Later, women wanted better lives, "*I had changed*" said an older mother (**Tau Te Rangimarie**) and they sought to halt the flow of despair for their children and themselves. Women had strong cultural 'cores'; their stories resonated with **mauri**, esteem and wellbeing which propelled them beyond adverse life events. These women had a sense of purpose and agency, they were active participants in **Te Ao Māori** and society, in serving people. Mostly, they had place in **whānau** and strong links within these families; they unequivocally belonged.

PART THREE presents women's cultural knowing and being and involves a journey into **Māori** myth, origin stories and, pre and early colonisal contact. Insights and epitome from the mothers **Whakapapa Kōrero** (refer PART TWO) and my autoethnography are integrated in the text. This first section is about remembering our beginnings as women; the forgotten stories, the ones misrepresented, omitted or subjugated. I followed literary leads from the early and mid 1800s indicating women's prominence at the beginning of creation. It was about this time our oral histories were recorded and translated into both a written and English language. Perhaps also, myth ceased to be a continuous thread transmitted orally from generation to generation and it evolved into 'shortened' storying or discourses (Barthes, 1982). Whoever owns the language then narrates the discourse therefore our stories became the 'myth reporting' of men. Our women's reproductivity was used to explain creation and women were viewed as passive and sacrificial as mothers, our bodies fragmented in giving birth to men's stories. In discussions with academic

colleagues, we reflected on indigenous women's diminishment in cosmogony stories, the dominance of patriarchy, the ubiquity of 'whiteness' and women's status in society. We pondered the associations. Reading between the lines of old and recent texts, we revel in the strength and passion of women's storying in enduring through the pages of his-storying. We were there and we are here, still.

CHAPTER 5: IN THE BEGINNING WAS HINE... commences with a **maunga**, a mountain, my mountain in my homeplace of Northland, New Zealand. Orientating oneself in the world is done by identifying two distinct and significant points or events and thereby locating oneself. This is triangulation of meaning addressed at the thesis commencement (see Introduction)(Aluli-Meyer, 2006). My **maunga** is a **pouwhenua**, a geographical 'dot' or point on the landscape of 'belonging'. I connect this to another 'dot' for example, to my **tupuna**, my grandmother **Ripeka Arepata Kihi Maihi** (refer *Marker Story 1- Mama's Day*) and I, self, is located in the mythology, biology and geology storying of both my **tupuna** and a **maunga**. This is relatedness of the self to **whenua**, the interdependence of people through **whakapapa** and and to the cosmos where our beginnings as **wāhine** commenced. Connecting the three dots or points strengthens each and thereby the whole (Aluli-Meyer, 2006). I exist in my **tupuna** and our epistemological origins exist in our **maunga** created from **Papa-tūā-nuku**. This thesis presents powerful triangulations of meanings (ibid); **wahine**, **whakapapa** and **whenua**; the three-world creation **Te Korekore**, **Te Pō** and **Te Ao Mārama**; **Hine-Nui-Te-Pō**, **Papa-tūā-nuku** and **Hine-Ahu-One**; **whānau**, **hapū** and **iwi**; **wairua**, **hine-ngaro** and **tinana**; knowing, knowledge and being and; woman-self-mother. Cultural awareness and cultural understanding are conveyed through written and spoken language but also draw from the arts; **uku** sculptures, **waiata**, artwork and poetry, in valuing creativity in the expression of knowledge and culture. In this thesis, the **whakaaro** or thoughts of children and **rangatahi** explained in a **waiata** or a bold picture (see Figure 1.1 of my son's drawing of his **kuia**), give a fresh uncomplicated gaze of **Māori** creation and the presence of women and their centrality in life itself. In the relationship of mother and child or **tupuna** and **mokopuna**; woman teaches, child learns, child teaches, woman learns. Knowledge transmission is relational, interwoven in caring connections. Cultures where women and children are valued, also value women's art and knowing (Klein, 1980).

CHAPTER 6 continues on from knowing in a discourse of being; the operations of **whanau** and **hapū** life and, relationships in pre and early European New Zealand society. What were the practices of caring for one another and children? How were women valued? What were gender and intra-generational relationships like across **whanau** and **hapū**?

### **A mountain of knowledge**

Twenty thousand years ago approximately, volcanic eruptions commenced in the **Kaikohe** centre, Northland, New Zealand (Kear in Mulhheim, 1973). **Kaikohe** is my **papakāinga** or **turangawāwae**, my **whānau** place, and volcanic disturbances occurred on average every two thousand years since the initial tectonic movement of the earth's crust (Mulhheim, 1973). **Kaikohe** is the **rohe** of my grandmother's **hapū**, **Ngatiwhakāeke**. Where "*the Hōne Heke monument*" stands today atop of **Kaikohe** hill is where lava poured down the slopes to the **whenua** below (Mulhheim, 1973, p.52). **Hōne Heke Ngāpua** was a local parliamentarian said to have been originally nominated at **Ōhaeawai**, some kilometres east of **Kaikohe**, in a local **whareniui** urging him to ensure his efforts for his people "*had a beginning and an ending*" (Ritchie, 2004, p.6). He was elected to parliament in 1893 at the age of twenty-four years and he died prematurely in 1909 of tuberculosis, one of several epidemic diseases decimating indigenous **Māori** communities in the late 1800s and early 1900s (King, 2003; Ritchie, 2004). The monument for **Hōne Heke** was erected as a people's testament in celebrating kin and a local whose leadership crossed two worlds **Te Ao Māori** and **Te Ao Pākehā**. Had he lived into the 1930s, the contemporaries of **Heke** would have been Sir **Apirana Ngata** and Sir Peter Buck, described as 'Marginal' men; men who belonged to two cultures and mediated between them (Sorrenson, 1982). At the time of their ascending as stars, parliamentary representatives, these men were participants with European discourses; they had been accepted into the **Pākehā** world of men and power. **Buck** and **Ngata** were **rangatira** and **rangatira** were a privileged class (refer CHAPTER 6). **Buck** wrote to his friend **Ngata**, acknowledging their privilege in the government's deference towards the **rangatira** class, whilst responding to the **tūtūā** in an 'indifferent' manner (Sorrenson, 1992).

**Putai** or **Pūtahi** or **Pūtaia** is a "*remarkable hill*" (Taylor, 1855, p. 222, Yate, 1970), one of my **pouwhenua**, **hapū** land markers, and lying north-east of **Kaikohe** within view of Lake **Omapere** (see Map.7.1 CHAPTER 7) (Rodwell, 1950). Accounts of volcanic disturbances

around **Pūtahi** were shared with missionaries who published these narratives in the 1800s (Taylor, 1855; Yate 1970). Within these accounts were the destruction of entire villages around the headlands of **Omapere**, with loss of lives and no doubt the migration away to safer lands. Interred within **Pūtahi** were **tupapaku**, the bodies of **tupuna**. A missionary explored **Pūtahi** in the early 1830s:

*“I once ascended to the top of this hill in a journey to the latter place; and examined its caves, eleven in number, on its top and side: they are very romantic in their appearance, nor less curious in their structure. Their openings are overgrown with brushwood, as luxuriant as to reach from side to side, and to cover the mouths of the caves; which render the approach to them dangerous. We burn the brush-wood; and rolled large stones into one of the caves; which bounded from shelf to shelf; til the echo was lost in the distance, or distinguished in the last sound by the splash of spring water, into which they had fallen at the bottom and which discharge itself into the lake at the base of the hill. We saw several dead bodies deposited by the natives in some of these caves as the place of security for burial: in other were perceived the remains of the bodies” (Yate, 1970, pp.4-5).*

It is said that **maunga**, were **tupuna**, revered **ancestors** (Shortland, 1849). Volcanic eruptions created caverns or **tomo** which were natural vessels in which to hold the dead. **Pūtahi** is described as giving *“the impression of being quite youthful”* and probably arose in the *“mid-Pleistocene age”* (Bowen in Muhlheim, 1973, p.52). In geological terms this ‘mid’ age spanned 781 to 126, 000 years ago within the larger Pleistocene age comprising of four stages and called an ‘epoch’, having commenced millions of years ago. My **maunga Pūtahi** belonged to an ‘age’ and was indeed, relatively, *“youthful”*.

This information fascinates me as it adds a further dimension in a geological backdrop to the **Māori** creation stories that I accessed as an adult student. I gained an appreciation of the notion of time or **Te Wā** in the evolvment of culture and our worldview. ‘Epoch’ as a notion of time is greater than an ‘age’, as in the Pleistocene age, and lesser in length of time compared to a ‘period’. These enormous measures of time were necessary in the formation of my **rohe Kaikohe**, in Northland as one part of **Te Ika a Maui**, the North Island, **and Te Waka o Maui**, the South Island (Taylor, 1885). The two main islands of New Zealand were first known by these legendary terms, the fish, **ika**, caught by **Maui** on the boat, **waka**, of **Maui**. **Maui** is a demi-god with a prominent role in mythology and he is discussed later in this chapter (Taylor, 1855; Walker, 2004). **Māori** cultural epistemology has its conceptual roots at the start of **Te Wā**, the beginning of time in the ‘epoch’ of **Māori**

cosmogony (Marsden, 2003) with the presence of “*Māori whakaaro*” or thought (Salmond, 1985, p.241).

Hard rock is ‘matter’ and if matter took an ‘age’ or an ‘epoch’ or a ‘period’ in which to form, then by the accounts of a nineteenth century European ethnographer recording native New Zealander’s knowledge in the early-1800s, matter itself was ‘youthful’ compared to that which came before; indigenous epistemology and ontology were truly ancient:

***“...in fact their traditions of the creation go back far beyond even the gods themselves. They begin with nothing, which produced something, and that brought forth something more and generated a power of increasing. Spirit being more subtle than matter came before it and thought, being supposed to be more so than spirit, then commencement dates with its birth” (Taylor, 1855, pp.13-14).***

### **Hine-ngaro / First thought**

**Māori** thought, **hine-ngaro** or mind-heart, was the “*first emergent principle in the cosmos*” (Salmond, 1985, p. 244). **Hine-ngaro** is the intellect or mental dimension in us all. In her workbook **Te Tohu O Te Ako, Ko Te Wheke Tino Kamaatu, Dr. Rangimarie Turuki Pere** translates **Hine-ngaro** as ‘*Hidden Mother*’ **Hine** means daughter or young woman and variations on the prefix denotes the relational aspect of the pronoun, for example **tuahine**, sister, **tamahine**, daughter and **wahine**, older woman. For the **Hine-ngaro** of **Pere**, **ngaro** means hidden and has some similarities to **kore**, meaning nothingness or void. “*Hidden Mother...Hine-ngaro has twin children, Tumatauenga, the ‘left brain, a son, and Rongo, the ‘right brain, a daughter. The left side of our body is referred to as Tamahine, the female side, whilst the right side of our body is referred to as Tamatane, the male side*”, writes **Pere** and, the collective functions are:

***“...the mental, intuitive and ‘feeling’, seat of emotions. Thinking, knowing, perceiving, remembering, recognising, feeling, abstracting, generalising, sensing, responding and reacting are all processes of the Hinengaro – the mind” (Pere, 1995, p.32).***

Clever! Our **tupuna** were very clever philosophers. They employed personifications in the construction of cultural epistemology and ontology. Every stage of creation had a **whakapapa**, an origin and at the beginning was thought:



**Box 5.1: The Epoch of Thought**

***Nā te kune te pupuke  
Nā te pupuke te hihiri  
Nā te hihiri te mahara  
Nā te mahara te hinengaro  
Nā te hinengaro te manako.***

***The first period may be styled the epoch of thought-  
From the conception the increase,  
From the increase the thought,  
From the thought the remembrance,  
From the remembrance the consciousness,  
From the consciousness the desire.***

***(Taylor, 1855, p.14; Salmond, 1985, p.245)***

**Hine-ngaro**, a raw energy of intellect and desire, was there before the spoken word, “**Toi tu te kupu**”, before authority, “**Toi tu te mana**” and before land, “**Toi tu te whenua**” (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 405). The universe existed in pure thought. The mind, **hine-ngaro**, was not separate from “*emotion or feeling*” and the bowel was the source of emotions, it was here where the mind-feeling or mind-heart was activated (Salmond, 1985, p. 246). **Hine-ngaro** could only be a woman and existed as the precursor to will and intent as the start of the three-world creation of **Te Korekore**, **Te Pō** and **Te Ao Mārama**; the realms of potential being, coming into being in the domains of the natural world, the gods and eventually, the world of people (Marsden, 2003). The **Māori** creation story commenced with woman’s thoughts and reproductive processes in generating ‘being’ of **Te Korekore**:

***“Te Korekore is the realm between non-being and being: that is, the realm of potential being. This is the realm of primal, elemental energy or latent being. It is here that the seed-stuff of the universe and all created things gestate. It is the womb from which all things proceed. Thus the Māori is thinking of continuous creations employed by two allegorical figures: that of plant growth and that of gestation in the womb” (Marsden, 2003, p.20; Mikaere, 2011, p.310).***

Reproduction, conception and gestation are the gender activity of woman and woman permeates throughout the creation story and in life itself:

***“The female presence at the beginning of the world is therefore all-encompassing. The female reproductive organs provide the framework within which the world comes into being. Moreover, the blueprint for the creation of human life is set out in this story. It establishes a cycle that is repeated with***

*each and every human birth, a cycle within which the female role remains forever central” (Mikaere in Lambert, 2006, p.50).*

The universe was a cosmic **puku**, a womb with its own unique cultural creation story in the making. **Te Korekore** “...could neither be felt nor sensed. This was the void, the silence, where there was no movement and none to move, no sound and none to hear, no shape and none to see” (Kahukiwa & Grace, 2000, p.16). In the stillness dwelt the dynamic of embryonic intelligence, spirit and emotion in **Hine-ngaro**. The essence of woman begat woman, in the generating period of darkness, **Te Pō**:

**Box 5.2: The Epoch of Night**

*Ka hua te wananga  
Ka noho i a rikoriko  
Ka puta ki waho ko te po,  
Ko te pi nui, te po roa,  
Te po i tuturi, te po i te pepeke,  
Te po uriuri, te po tangotango,  
Te po wawa, te po te kitea,  
Te po te waia,  
Te po i te oti atu ki te mate.*

*The second period is of the night-  
The word became fruitful;  
It dwelt with the feeble glimmering;  
It brought forth night:  
The great night, the long night,  
The lowest night, the loftiest night,  
The thick night, to be felt,  
The night to be touched,  
The night not to be seen,  
The night of death.  
This (we are told) is all we have to do with night; during these periods there was no light-there were no eyes to the world.*

*(Taylor, 1855, pp.14-15; Salmond, 1985, p.245)*

In the intensity of darkness in the period of **Te Pō**, were many nights “spanning eons of time”, (Marsden, 2003, p.60) captured in a **Te Rahuitanga Te Kohanga Reo** song (Kainamu, 2001, pp.24-27):

**Box 5.3: Waiata, Te Pō (abridged version)**

<i>Te Pō-nui</i>	<i>The great night</i>
<i>Te Pō-roa</i>	<i>The long night</i>
<i>Te Pō</i>	<i>The night</i>
<i>Te Pō</i>	<i>The night</i>
<i>Te Pō</i>	<i>The night</i>
<i>Ki te Po-uri-uri</i>	<i>To the deepest night</i>
<i>Ki te Pō-tango-tango</i>	<i>To the intense night</i>
<i>Te Pō</i>	<i>The night</i>
<i>Te Pō</i>	<i>The night</i>
<i>Te Pō</i>	<i>The night</i>

*(Kainamu, 2001, p.27)*

### **The Ubiquitous Papatūānuku**

In continuous glorious layered night were the many beginnings and endings of **whakaaro** in developing cultural epistemology. In the womb of **Te Pō** was **Papatūānuku**, Rock-foundation-beyond-expanse, the infinite, earth mother (Marsden, 2003).

*“[Papatūānuku]...was conceived in Darkness, born into Darkness – and who matured in Darkness, and in Darkness became mated with the Sky” (Kahukiwa & Grace, 2000, p.16).*

Rock-foundation-beyond-expanse, the infinite she, the omnipresent procreated with **Ranginui**, Sky-great. The fabric of indigenous **Māori** knowledge was constructed from multiple interwoven layers of shared **whakapapa**; everything was related to the other. Epistemology was designed this way in order to create irrefutable ‘knowing’, knowledge for people to follow and to co-exist with the natural world. All things existed as spiritual energy, **wairua**, evolving towards the formation of physical matter, **tinana** (Barlow, 2005). **Wairua**, spiritual energy, embodies ‘kinship’; in that all things are connected to the thing that came before and the things that came after and so forth. Affinity generates life.

**Papatūānuku** and **Ranginui** were complementary elements and they had seventy offspring, all men, living within their embrace in cramped and overcrowded circumstances. A senior brother, **Tane-Mahuta**, also known as **Tāne-Nui-Te-Rangi**, wanted to separate the primal parents causing divisions across the siblings. Rivalry, jealousy, competitiveness, insecurity and rage were powerful new feelings as the brothers sided for and against the separation of their parents. It fell on **Tane-Mahuta** to separate the parents in the realm of self-perpetuating ‘gods’. Divine knowledge required an audience and **Tane-Mahuta** would

be instrumental in creating that audience, people, and in bringing to the new world, knowledge. The world of knowing, knowledge and enlightenment commenced:

**Box 5.4: The Epoch of Te Ao Mārama**

*Nā te kore i ai,  
Te kore te wiwia  
Te kore te rawea,  
Ko te hotupu, ko hauora  
Ka noho i te atea,  
Ka puta ki waho te rangi e tū nei  
Te rangi e teretere nei  
I runga o te whenua  
Ka noho i a ata tuhi  
Ka puta ki waho te marama  
Ka noho te rangi e tū nei  
Ka noho i a te werowero  
Ka puta ki waho ko tera  
Kokiritia ana ki runga  
Hei pukanohi mo te rangi  
Te ata rapa, te ata ka mahina  
Ka mahina te ata i hikurangi*

*The third period is that of light-  
From the nothing the begetting,  
From the nothing the increase,  
From the nothing the abundance,  
The power of increasing,  
The living breath,  
It dwelt with the empty space, and produced the atmosphere which is above us,  
The atmosphere which floats above the earth;  
The great firmament above us, dwelt with the early dawn,  
And the moon sprung forth;  
The atmosphere above us, dwelt with the heat,  
And thence preceded the sun;  
They were thrown up above, as the chief eyes of Heaven:  
Then the Heavens became light,  
The early dawn, the early day,  
The mid-day. The blaze of day from the sky.”*

*(Taylor, 1855, p.15; Salmond, 1985, p.245)*

Elemental ingredients of life emerged, separating away from the core creating varied and specific energies. Components matched and doubled, increasing the potential for being. Moisture unfolded, air became and light, in its many forms, dense and spreading, rose. Concentrated activity and drive expanded momentum; desire was strong in wanting substance. Sky lifted above solid mass that was becoming something. Knowledge holding life in its purest form became imminent. In separating from the longest night, light, clarity

and enlightenment emerged. With the 'blaze of day', **Te Ao Marama**, came awareness, understanding and knowledge.

**Tane-Mahuta** rolled his mother **Papatūānuku** onto her **puku** to prevent her searching the skies above for **Ranginui** in inconsolable grief and loss (see Figure 5.2)

*Figure 5.2: Ko te wehenga a Papatūānuku raua ko Ranginui, nā Ani Kainamu 2005*



Some of her children remained with **Papatūānuku**, whilst others went with their father **Ranginui**. **Rūaumoko** was particularly attached to his mother (refer PART FOUR). The presence of woman is strong throughout the three world creation story of **Te Korekore**, **Te**

**Pō** and **Te Ao Mārama**. **Māori** creation was conceived, gestated and birthed from the **puku** of woman; women were ubiquitous in the story of **Māori** creation. With this awareness, it is conceivable to locate woman as the highest being or energy or **atua** in cosmogony as earlier stated by **Mikaere** (August, 2003) (refer CHAPTER 4).

### **Hine-nui-te-Pō / The Grandmother of them all**

**Hine-Nui-Te-Po** was the **atua** of **ngā atua**, the primary god of gods, “*great Hine of the night*” (Binney, 1968, p.151; Taylor, 1855). She was the supreme god of trees and grasses, **kumara** and fern root (White, 1887). **Hine-Nui-Te-Po** was so revered that those who spoke of her, addressed her with trepidation. She led the period of **Pō**, the many aeons of unfolding darkness in the evolvment of **wairua**. In one fable she was the Great-daughter of Night who begat death in killing **Maui** (Shortland, 2001).

As introduced earlier, **Maui** was a demi-god whose many legends formed the cultural infrastructure from which arose many of our cultural understandings (Walker, 2004). **Maui** was the youngest of five brothers and was given his mother’s name **Maui-Tikitiki-A-Taranga, Maui-from-the-topknot-of-Taranga**. **Maui** ascended into the vaginal canal of **Hine-Nui-Te-Po** in the reversal of the birthing process. In seeking immortality he disturbed **Hine-Nui-Te-Pō** who awoke and crushed **Maui** within her thereby ensuring the mortality of people (**Kahukiwa** & Grace, 2000; Mila; 2005). In highlighting this particular relationship between **Maui** and **Hine-Nui-Te-Pō** I am reshuffling the sequence of contemporary mythology which resolves itself later in this chapter. At this time the focus is on the emergence of several themes; the desire for men to dominate women; the celebration of women’s sexuality; the sacredness of reproduction and; women’s sexual energy and influence captured in this poem:

**Box 5.5: Legendary**

*You are my Maui-Tikitiki-A-Taranga  
demi-god to me  
trickster of the heart  
I just hope I'm pulling you in  
because you could slow the sun for me  
Maui  
you could have every finger of my fire  
but remember  
I am woman  
and I do not doubt  
that you will die  
between my legs*

*Karlo Mila (2005, p.59)*

Sexuality was an early rite of passage for young Polynesian women (**Makereti**; 1986; Mead, 1934; St. Jean Baptiste, 1982). Many mothers in the **Whakapapa Kōrero** were sexually active as younger women (refer CHAPTERS 3 & 4). **Rangatahi** sexuality is not a new phenomenon and the children borne contributed to increasing **whānau** and **hapū** numbers (**Makereti**, 1986; Shortland, 1849). Sexual reproduction was a wholesome activity propagated throughout cosmology and mythology in explaining the expansion of the universe.

**Tāne-Nui-Te-Rangi** asked his mother **Papatūānuku** if he could procreate with her, strong was his desire to reproduce. She let him know that he was from her body therefore as mother-all-knowing and omnipresent, the Rock-foundation-beyond-expanse, the infinite, gave the only answer possible; as his mother, procreation between parent and child could never be (White, 1887).

I reflected on the compulsion of **Tāne-Nui-Te-Rangi** to procreate, the strong desire for men and women to reproduce them, to impregnate and to be pregnant. Cosmogony gives a rationale for the existence of people physically, spiritually and intellectually. Reproduction and sexual desire were normal functions although not exclusively mutual. In responding to her son in the way that she did, **Papatūānuku** placed a **tapu** on sexual activities between primary relationships (ibid). In other indigenous cultures, consanguine sexual activity was explicitly prohibited and adhered to (Freud, 1934).

**Papatūānuku** instructed **Tāne-Nui-Te-Rangi** and other **atua** in locating **Kurawaka**, the sacred red clay of **Hawaiki** in her generating reproductive area. Remember **Hine-Uku-**

**rangi**, woman-clay-precipitation, in the Introduction section of this thesis? She was the progenitor of **uku**, clay and, others around her were the progenitors of sand and the many varieties of stone. **Hine-Uku-Rangi** shared a **whakapapa** back to **Papatūānuku** and **Ranginui** with other natural elements such as the wind and the rain (refer CHAPTER 1).

I was a mature woman when I first learnt about **Māori** cosmogony and the primary presence of women in the storying of our beginnings. As a school student in the 1960s and 1970s, the education curriculum did not reflect a **Māori** cultural worldview nor did my nursing education in the years 1978 to 1981. The birth of my first child was a catalyst in actively seeking cultural knowledge. At her birth was her father whilst my mothers, Nanny **Kuia** and Nanny **Wai**, remained outside as only husbands were welcomed into the delivery suite beside their wives. Following the birth, the obstetrician offered me baby's placenta. Perplexed by his offer and exhausted I declined, unaware of the significance. Much later I learnt of the birthing practice **whenua-ki-te-whenua** (see CHAPTERS 4 & 6) in giving back to the earth, **whenua**, the after birth or placenta also named **whenua**. Women's association to **whenua** or land is multifaceted and located in the origin narratives. Similar to some of the mothers from the **rōpū Wāhine Toa** I went on a **whakapapa** journey in remembering the practices of old to pass on to my children:

*“...I didn't have anyone to tell me my whakapapa so I went on a hikoī and it took me 14 years to finish it, but I have and so my son does not have to do that journey, it is all there for him” (Wāhine Toa).*

Back to the creation story of woman. **Tane** and the other **atua**, instructed by **Papatūānuku**, formed from her generating **uku** the first woman, **Hine-Ahu-One**, Woman-soil-sand. Like the **atua**, in the moulding of women's forms from **uku**, I too **reached** for the clay to expand my knowledge:

Thud, whack, shudder, I pounded the wet red clay against the surface expounding out the air within. Over and over in my body repeating silently the words of woman's beginning in the new world of daylight. **Nā te ahu, nā te one, ka puta e hine**. From the earth, from the sand, came woman... (Researcher Artist)



“Woman made” according to “**Nga-I-Tahu**” (White, 1887, p.155)...

*“Here stands the originating power, the power dreaded  
Inspired and stretched out. Dawn, thou day on high;  
Dawn, thou day beneath; dawn on the mountain peak;  
Dawn, thou uplifted; dawn within;...,”*

...with my fingers I stretch out the form of **Hine-Uku-rangi**, I shape and manipulate and become one with the **uku**... (Researcher Artist),

*...it is stretched out, stretched out.  
To what shall I place my procreating power-  
To what-to your head?  
That is where the hairs have their storehouse.  
That’s not it...*

...our head creates the space and place for **hine-ngaro**...anticipation is sparked...(Researcher Artist),

*...to what shall I place my procreating power-  
To what-to your forehead, then?  
That is where the blood has its storehouse.  
That’s not it...,*

...the senses that inform mind-heart must have outlets and nose, eyes, mouth; ears are shaped...anticipation transforms into energy... (Researcher Artist),

*To what shall I place my procreating power-  
...to what-to your nose, and created the kea (mucus)...  
...to what-to your eye...creating the eyeball...  
...to what-to your ear...  
...to what-to your mouth, ...created the mare  
(phlegm)...*

...chin is moulded; rounded, perfected for **moko kauwae**...**ihi** is coming... (Researcher Artist),

*...to what-to your neck...  
...to your armpit...  
...to what-to your breast...*

...breasts, **u-kai** that feed, nurture are the gendered elements, press out the **uku**; form the **breasts** and nipples...pleasure and excitement are here... (Researcher Artist),

*...to what-to your stomach...*

...**puku**, expand, grow, and protrude again and again, **pito** pushed out by the lives within gestating from our desire, from the heat of our generating place. **Puku** that holds stories and life...visceral emotion is alive... (Researcher Artist),

*...to what-your side...created the riko-werawera  
(perspiration)...  
...to your back...*

*...to what-your navel...  
...to what-your waist...  
...to what-your thigh...  
...to what-your anus...  
...to what-your body...  
...to what-your flesh...  
...to what-your joints...  
...to what-your feet...  
...to what-to your power of producing? to her tara  
(clitoris)...It is good-to your producing power...*

*...and into the kiln and intense heat, likened to the fires of **Rūaumoko** within the belly of **Papatūānuku**. **Hine-rangi-uku**, the soft, the wet, the pliable, transforms in the extreme heat... (Researcher Artist),*

*That is where the procreating power has its storehouse,  
Fully abundant, fully engendered,  
Procreation complete, unlimited, and final...*

*...Tihei Mauri Ora! Hine-Ahu-One becomes... (Researcher Artist).*

*Thus was lo-wahine (female godly power) produced,  
and she walked forth a woman. Tane knew his prayer  
was all powerful. He had made man, and now he had  
made woman, and she ran forth and was called  
lo-wahine " (White, 1887, p.155-159).*

*Figure 5.3: Hine-Ahu-One nā Reena Kainamu*



The researcher artist created the form of **Hine-Ahu-One** (Figure 5.3) from **uku**, clay, similar to the activity in fashioning a woman's shape from the sacred generating clay of

**Papatūānuku**, “*Tane took clay, moistened it with water and sculptured the form of woman*” (Marsden, 2003, p.18). There are many versions to woman’s creation in **Te Ao Māori** with different emphasis on woman’s active and passive creation of herself. **Tāne-Nui-Te-Rangi** breathes life into **Hine-Ahu-One** thereby initiating **mauri**, the sacred life force in people and inanimate things that generates and regenerates life. Remember the **maunga** at the start of the chapter...a mountain and a woman has the same epistemological source, **Papatūānuku** and **Ranginui** (see CHAPTER 1 **Whakapapa** of **Hine-Uku-Rangi**).

**Papatūānuku** “*was the personified form of **whenua**, the natural earth*” (see Figures 5.2 and 5.4) and woman’s creation from the **uku** of **Papatūānuku** is celebrated in the birthing practice of **whenua-ki-te-whenua**, placenta-to-soil (Marsden, 2003, p.4; **Kainamu**, 2001, p.27). Le Tina o lo’u Tama, the Samoan grandmother of the **mokopuna**, placed her grandchild’s placenta, **whenua**, back into the earth (refer CHAPTER 4). The **whānau** of another young mum gathered around her to share her grief for a ‘**kahu**’, a stillbirth at six months. The family named the baby who would never be, **Kotahitanga**, unity, signifying their solidarity as a **whānau**. **Kotahitanga** was interred back to **Papatūānuku**, the soil. Understanding the centrality of **Papatūānuku** in our creation myths is internalised by young children (see Figure 5.4). In life, the beginning and the unfolding, through to death were many links to **Papatūānuku**.

**Figure 5.4: Papatūānuku, nā Marama Kainamu Wheeler aged 4 & ½ yrs, 1994 (drawing copied onto material and quilted), (Kainamu, 2001, pp.24-27)**



**Tāne-Nui-Te-Rangi** and **Hine-Ahu-One** proliferated abundantly, creating many offspring. The **tapu Papatūānuku** sanctioned in procreating with her son was not followed through and a twist occurred in the myth of people's origins. **Tāne-Nui-Te-Rangi** propagates with a child from his union with **Hine-Ahu-One**. Later this child, **Hine-Tī-Tama** enquired as to who her father was and in reply was told to ask the four posts of the **whare** (White, 1887). **Tāne-Nui-Te-Rangi** was also the progenitor of the trees of which **Hine-Nui-Te-Pō** was the supreme god (ibid). The **pou** and the **tahuu**, post and ridge of **whare** were the offspring of **Tāne-Nui-Te-Rangi**. **Hine-Tī-Tama** learnt that her father was also her lover. The storying of the incest between **Hine-Tī-Tama** and **Tāne-Nui-Te-Rangi** appears incongruent considering

the stance made by **Papatūānuku**. However, this myth remains a widely accepted segment of **whakapapa**, retold as a prominent part of the creation story on how people came to be.

The shame of incest drives **Hine-Tī-Tama** away from the world she occupied and leads her to become **Hine-Nui-Te-Pō**, Women-great-night, residing eternally in the underworld as the god of death to receive all deaths who must pass her way (Barlow, 2005; Kahukiwa & Grace, 2000; Walker, 2004). It is at this point where Maui-Tikitiki-A-Taranga encounters **Hine-Nui-Te-Pō** on his expedition for immortality, after she has self-exiled to the place at the end of life (Walker, 2004; White, 1887). The gendered voices of cosmogony and mythology have reflected the tensions in men's domination over women in giving leadership a patriarchal framework. **Hine-Nui-Te-Pō** who was at one time reported as the Great grandmother of them all (Taylor, 1855) has been displaced to a lesser status.

Women from the **Whakapapa Kōrero**, two of their daughters and a son, were sexually abused as children and mostly within the intimacy of **whānau** although not in primary relationships of parent-child or grandparent-child as portrayed in the myth of **Hine-Tī-Tama** and **Tāne-Nui-Te-Rangi**.

Sexual abuse during my childhood would have a lifetime trajectory. As a young person, I wore tight body suits to prevent my breasts showing through in warding off unwanted sexual attention from men. Years later I discovered my breasts were ruined and misshapen. Eventually as an adult I had reconstructive surgery. Decades later in my fifties, I sought counselling to deal with the unseen emotional effects of sexual abuse, the unsatisfactory relationships with partners, the conflicted connections with family members and self-doubt (refer CHAPTER 8). Somehow, in the leaving of my children to get on with the business of confident young people, I unravelled. The silence rendered by sexual abuse and emotional neglect became too loud to bear.

*A **kuia** spoke of the sexual abuse of children among her **whānau** and within these networks. As a young woman she disclosed to the police the on-going incest within her family and for a lifetime suffered the scorn of **whānau** members for revealing their family secrets. I asked another **kuia** whose own children had experienced sexual abuse, why did **whānau** scapegoat victims or young people who spoke against abuses. She said adult abusers and perpetrators, mostly men, used their positions in family to undermine the truths and credibility of their victims. It is an extension of the abuse already suffered. Children and women were reduced to non-entities, silenced and rendered powerless (Journal October 2012 & March, 2013).*

**Hine-Ti-Tama** acknowledges the incest and removes herself socially and physically to another place away from her abuser. Young children cannot remove themselves from lived experiences of sexual abuse. As young women, the mothers from the **Whakapapa Kōrero**, and I too, stored the memories of abuse in our bodies along with the remembered shame (refer CHAPTER 4). Internalised, abuse experiences became visceral and intense. In a research project of food culture in **Māori** families, a mother shared with the project researcher her experiences and thoughts about childhood poverty. She did not complain about eating poor food but it was the 'poor food made with abuse' that she remembered (CEAD conference, November 23<sup>rd</sup> 2012 Waikato University). When she became a mother, she made the conscious decision not to prepare the foods from her abusive childhood; instead, food became a culture of **whānau** and health.

Sexual abuse generated insecurities causing me to physically wrap up my body, wearing layers of clothing and large clothing. I insulated myself socially and emotionally from the world around. Much later as an older woman, with each **uku** piece I created, with every voice I heard of women's presence in cosmogony and society, I emotionally unwrapped a little bit more. I came to 'be' me, comfortable with the imperfections.

The presence of **Hine-Nui-Te-Po** shifted from "*chief*" god to a lesser position of 'god' of a specific realm, that of death (August, 2005; Taylor, 1855, p.15; White, 1887). The change in social status of **Hine-Nui-Te-Po** in cosmogony reflected the Europeanising and Christianising of the indigenous **Māori** creation story and the diminishment of woman's primary presence within these stories (**Mikaere**, 2011). Woman's presence in the creation story was omnipresent:

***Hine-ngaro begat Te Po begat Papatūānuku begat Hine-Ahu-One begat Hine-Ti-Tama begat Hine-Nui-Te-Po begat Hine-Ngaro (Researcher).***

Later, came origin myths corresponding to the Judaic account of a single supreme god, “the cult of **Io** the parentless, **Io** the parent, was actually a late inventions, an adaption from Biblical teaching, passing itself off as ancient **Māori** knowledge” (Mitcafle, 1981, p.45).

### **Io / Supreme god**

**Io**, the supreme being “*thought to exist alone in the realm of **Te Korekore***” (Marsden, 2003, p.16). Generally considered to be male, **Io** procreated himself, conceiving, gestating **Io** the many in the time of the double nothingness of **Te Korekore**. **Io** developed prominence in **Maori** cosmogony and **Maori** epistemology in the latter half of the nineteenth century:

*“The first reference to **Io** in the north was recorded in 1876..[**Io**] whose name was so sacred that none but a priest might utter it...the only specific material is that based on three Christian converts, **Te Matorohanga**, **Nepia Pohuhu** and **Paratene Te Okawhare**, written down in the early eighteen sixties by the missionary-educated half caste, **H.Te Whatahoro**. The excessive detail and the obvious Christian influences indicate that the cult is a late intrusion (Binney, 1968, p.130)*

**Io** was “**Io-moa**, ‘the exalted one, **Io-tikitiki-o-rangi**, the supreme one in heaven, **Io-te-toi-ngā-rangi**, the pinnacle of heaven, **Io-nui**, the infinite one, **Io-roa**, the eternal one, **Io-uru**, the omnipresent, **Io-mata-kana**, the all-seeing-one, **Io-wānanga**, the all wise, **Io-mata-aho**, of the glorious blinding countenance” (Marsden, 2003). Marsden was a northern **tohunga** and scholar trained in the learning of the **whare wānanga** and his learning’s were particular to **Ngāpuhi**, not necessarily pan-tribal.

**Te Korekore** was the time of potential being, remember, as story-ied in **Hine-ngaro**, it was an embryonic period, a seed only of what was to be. Then **Io** summoned the eons of **Te Pō**. Remember the many **Pō** in the **kōhanga reo waiata** sung by my **tamāriki** in the 1990s and still practiced today at **Te Rahuitanga Kōhanga Reo**. To these earlier ‘**Pō**’ add the intensive night, **Te Pō-kerekere**, the night streaked with light, **Te Pō-tiwhatiwha**, the night streaked with broad light, **Te Pō-haehaea**, the night of unseeing, **Te Pō-tē-kitea**, the night of hesitant exploration, **Te Pō-te-whāwhā**, the night inclined towards day, **Te Pō-namunamu ki Te Wheiao** and, the night that borders day, **Te Pō-tahuri-atu**. **Io** commandeered the light, he called for **Te Ao Mārama**. Dawn separated from the mid-day to become ‘the



blaze of day'. Taylor's gathering of native accounts of **Māori** creation was at a time when Christian doctrine had not yet become an institution among **Māori** therefore, in his descriptions of cosmogony's beginning, there was a **Hine...** or two or three (Taylor, 1855).

Following **ngā Pō**, **Io** raised the "several **Hawaiki: Hawaiki-nui Hawaiki-roa Hawaiki-pāmamao Hawaiki-tapu** (great **Hawaiki**, extensive **Hawaiki**, far distant **Hawaiki**, and sacred **Hawaiki**)" (Marsden, 2003, p.17; Taylor, 1855; White, 1887). **Hawaiki** is our ancestral cultural source, the place **Io** resided. The place from whence land was generated. **Io** created **Papatūānuku**, **Hine-nui-te-pō** birthed **Papatūānuku** from her womb (**Kahukiwa & Grace, 2000**), remember, **Hine-nui-te-po** was chief of the higher order of **atua** or gods, much revered and feared (Taylor, 1855):

*"Speaking to Te Heuheu, the powerful Chief of Taupo, of God, as being the creator of all things, he ridiculed the idea, and said, is there one maker of all things amongst the Europeans? Is not one a carpenter, another a blacksmith, another a ship-builder, and another a house-builder? And so was it in the beginning; one made this, another made that: Tane made trees, Ru mountains, Tanga-roa fish, and so forth. Your religion is of today, ours from remote antiquity. Do not think then to destroy our ancient faith with your fresh-born religion" (Taylor, 1855, p.13).*

**Io** created **Ranginui** and **Ranginui** procreated with **Papatūānuku** and from these two came a pantheon of gods (Walker, 2004). Marsden says the ultimate reality is one of **Te Ao Wairua**, a spiritual world (Marsden, 2003). Remember, all life evolved from spiritual matter, from **hine-ngaro**. **Māori** are a **hine-ngaro** and **wairua** people, spiritual and intellectual.

*Te Ara Tipu / A rangatahi wahine world view*

*E tū te huru mā*

*Haramai e noho*

*E tū te huru pango*

*Hanātu haere*

(Mead & Grove, 2004, p.49)

This **whakatauāki** refers to the talents, skills, vigour and ambition of younger people with fresh knowledge for the changing world. It invites those with white hair "**huru ma**" to sit whilst those with dark hair "**huru pango**", to stand, it is their time (Mead & Grove, 2004). The pursuit of knowing, knowledge and enlightenment was discretionary:

*“It was a basic tenant of Maori-dom that the inner corpus of sacred knowledge was not to be shared with the tutua – the common herd – lest such knowledge be abused and misused” (Marsden, 2003, p. 57).*

**Kōhanga reo** and **kura Māori** evolved out of cultural renaissance and **Māori** language revitalisation (refer CHAPTER 2). My children attended **kōhanga** and **kura kaupapa Māori** in **Otara** Auckland. These were exciting and satisfying years for me, watching my children grow in the knowledge they were **Māori** and, this was reflected in the communities we lived within. We storied our days. Any uncertainties I had of a discordant world and the effects this would have on my childrens spirits, were laid to rest in the profound beauty, simplicity and knowing of their drawings.

**Hapū** identified leaders through **whakapapa** and merit, whose premise were particular areas of knowledge in which to inform and or lead others. In cosmogony, **Tane-Nui-Te-Rangi** ascended to the twelfth heaven, the place of **Io**, to acquire wisdom and knowledge for people in **Te Ao Mārama** to maintain connectedness to the proceeding domains of **Te Korekore** and **Te Pō**. **Tane-Nui-Te-Rangi** returned with *“Three knowledge baskets and two small stones”* (**Whatahoro**, 1913, p.20) (refer Figure 5.5 regarding the three knowledge baskets). The **Whatu-kura**, stones, were **Whatu-kura Huka-a-tai**, foam of the ocean, and **Whatu-kura Rehu-tai**, white sea mist (refer Figure 5.1) (Brassey, 1985; Marsden, 2003; **Whatahoro**, 1913). The **Whatu-kura** symbolised the **mana** associated with learning and knowledge at **Te Whare Wānanga** (Marsden, 2003; Robust, 2006). At the commencement and completion of each knowledge cycle, **tauirā**, students, brought the stones to their mouth. The ‘Three Knowledge Baskets and Two Stones’ were how people made sense of their day-to-day existence, the cosmos and the unseen world; these connected the terrestrial with the celestial (refer Figure 5.1):

Figure 5.5: Te Ara Tipu nā Ani Kainamu (2005)



*“We were never taught this as knowledge to hold in our heads, but to put that knowledge into our body and for it to be a part of our belief systems. So our mind, had to play with it and be with it and learn it and apply it to everyday living. We never moved to the next basket of knowledge until we had done that” (Kohu, 1997, p.140).*

### **Te Kete-Tua-Uri**

The first **kete**, **Te Tua Uri** (refer Figure 5.5), Beyond-the-world-or-darkness held the genealogical sequence of creation and cosmic processes. In this period of cosmic evolving and gestation were root energies; **Mauri**; **Hihiri**; **Mauri-ora** and; **Hau-ora** . **Mauri**, a force that impregnates all things, binds the animate with the inanimate. **Hihiri**, an elemental energy is dynamic, has heat and gives off light as in aura pertaining to animate things. **Mauri-ora**, a life principle translates to wellbeing, necessary for people's existence and **Hau-ora** is the 'spirit' or wind which in the process of birth generates life. These elements originate from the realm of **atua** and their creation was specifically for the realm of **Te Ao Mārama**, the world of people. People were planned.

### **Te Kete-Aro-Nui**

The second **kete**, **Te Aro-Nui** *"that before us...before our senses"* is the world in front of our eyes and sense (Marsden, 2003, p.61). It is the lived experience of being in this world. In the natural environment exists organic rhythms and patterns, observable, experienced and felt. People accumulate knowledge, test its theory and this is validated through doing and being. It follows that knowledge is held by **kaumātua** and **tohunga** and transmitted to the next generations who trial the knowing. Cultural epistemology emerges out of knowledge application and success. This dynamic is repeated over and life is recreated in an unforced way of being. Everything has a genealogy, a **whakapapa**, a natural order of being. Resonance and coherence exists in, between and across people and communities within the larger world of **Te Taiao**, the natural system and the still larger world of **wairua**; this is harmony and order.

### **Te Kete-Ao-Tua-Atea**

The final **kete**, World-beyond-space, **Te Ao Tua-Atea**, is space or time of eternal spirit. It is the domain of **Io** where people transcend their physical beings in the place of earthly existence and connect to higher thoughts and higher beings. The journey of life is the realisation of **wairua** where life is eternal. **Wairua** has its own energy and dynamic prescribed in the messages from **Apa-kura**, spiritual beings that carried out the commands of **atua** from the higher heavens. In the natural order of life comes death; the end of being

where **wairua** vacates the physical body and returns to **Hawaiki**, back to **Te Pō**, back to the heavens. The body is returned to the earth **Papatūānuku** from whence people originated. Remember, **Hine-Ahu-One**, the first woman, and **Hine-Ti-Tama**, **he whare tangata** derived from the earth:

**Box 5.6: Nā te Ao**

<i>Nā te ao</i>	<i>From the world</i>
<i>Nā te ahū</i>	<i>From the earth</i>
<i>Nā te one</i>	<i>From the sand</i>
<i>Ka puta e hine</i>	<i>Came woman</i>

Remember.

Figure 5.5: **Te Ara Tipu** is a **rangatahi wahine** view of the pathway of growth and fulfilment. The three **kowhaiwhai** designs in the lower part of the figure are representative of the types of knowledge specific to individuals, **whānau** and **hapu**. The plant life is symbolic of the natural systems and the continuum of life as a process of creation and recreation. The **manu** form of the **hau**, a spiritual wind heading in the direction of the heavens, Ahead are **whetu kanapa**, glimmering stars, **mareikura** and **whatukura**, women and men **Apakura**, the messengers of the **atua** who carry divine knowing and **ngā taonga tuku ihu**, ancestral gifts. **Tamanui Te Ra**, the sun, and **Mārama**, the moon, represent the new world of day and night, of new beginnings and new endings, the world of people. And the **poupou**, ridgepole in the centre, symbolises **Te Whare Wānanga**, the sacredness of higher learning. The **poupou** upholds the **tahuu** of backbone of every **where tupuna** and in each **whānau** or home place will be a **poupou**, be it a person or a **tupuna**.

The beginning of this chapter commenced with a mountain, my **maunga Pūtahi**. Locating myself against this **pouwhenua** links me with knowledge of **whenua** and **whakapapa**, my cultural centre. The collective me, women and men, is located in this chant dating back to the end of the eighteenth century (Munn, 1981). The mountains of **Ngāpuhi** call to one another and within this ‘naming’ circle live the storying of my people:

**Box 5.7: Te Whare Tapu O Ngāpuhi**

*He mea hanga-ko papa-tuanuku te papa-rahi, ko nga maunga nga poupou, ko te rangi e titiro iho nei te tuaanui.*

*It was deliberately made – the earth is the floor; the mountains the supports; the sky which looks down here is the roof support*

*Puhanga-Tohoroa titiro ki Te Ramaroa:*

*Te Ramaroa titiro ki Whiria – ki te paiaka o te riri – ki te kawa o Rahiri:*

*Whiria titiro ki Pangaru – ki Papata, ki te rakau tu papata i tu ki tu Tai-ha-uru;*

*Pangaru Papata titiro ki Maungataniwha: Maungataniwha titiro ki Tokerau:*

*Tokerau titiro ki Rakau-mangamanga:*

*Rakau Mangamanga titiro ki Manaia:*

*Manaia titiro ki tutamoe:*

*Tutamoe titiro ki Manganui:*

*Manganui titiro ki Puhanga-Tohoroa-ko te whare ia teenei o Ngapuhi*

*Puhanga look to Ramaroa:*

*Te Ramaroa to Whiria – the taproot of strife, the ancestral control of Rahiri:*

*Whiria look to Panguru- to Papata, to the slanting trees of the western coastline:*

*Panguru Papata look to Maungataniwha:*

*Maungataniwha look to the Bay of Islands (Tokerau):*

*Tokerau look to Cape Brett (Rakaumangamanga):*

*Manaia look to Tutamoe, Tutamoe to Maunganui Bluff:*

*And the Bluff look to Puhanga – Tohoroa – this is  
The house of Ngapuhi*

*(Munn, 1981, p.103)*

## Summary of Chapter 5

Women's presence in ancient **Māori** cosmogony was strong and vital in each of the three worlds **Te Korerkore**, **Te Pō** and **Te Ao Mārama**. Women's facilities of conception, gestation and birthing were used in the explanations of creation and therefore re-creation. Women were the processes of creation in the intellectual, physical and spiritual evolution of a world being prepared for people. The Three Knowledge Baskets and Two Small Stones were the guiding principles for the emergence of women and men in the new world.

Christianity changed the storying of women in **Māori** origin narratives and women were represented as passive. Reducing women's status in myth and origin stories would have repercussions in **Te Ao Māori** and the coming generations (refer CHAPTER 8).

CHAPTER 6 discusses pre-history and later colonial contact. **Whanaungatanga** and **whakapapa** were the foundations of **whanau** and **hapū**. Traditional values of **tapu** and **mana** underpinned society, underscoring the relationships between and across the genders and the generations. Men and women led co-operative lives.

# CHAPTER 6: HE KURA TE TANGATA

*Myth does not reveal the whole of a people's culture and design for living, thought that is embedded in tradition often leads to knowledge and truth lost to the conscious mind of a people.*

**William Lessa (Maranda, 1972, p.177)**

CHAPTER 5 presented accounts of the **Māori** origin narrative and the strong notion of woman's body as the symbol or standard from which creation was articulated and understood. Origin stories were vital, informing the socio-cultural landscape on which to hang the day-to-day existence of living for **whānau** and **hapū**, men and women. As people migrated to new locations and came into contact with others, creation stories changed, reflecting shifts in making-sense of the world and adaptation to new knowledge. Culture is dynamic.

CHAPTER 6 examines what life may have looked like for pre-history **Māori** women and men however; most understandings of indigenous society were reported on in the early colonial history and thus come with an 'outside gaze' and privileges the knowledge of a particular class and gender. As the title for this chapter suggests, every person was "*precious*" and the group had a regard for the "*intrinsic value*" of each person and their contribution to the collective (Mead & Grove, 2004, p.91). Pre-history **Māori** had an oral and aural tradition. Language, **Te Reo Māori**, held the concepts, values and beliefs of culture. Language embodied the relationship with the **whenua** and the natural environment. **Te Reo Māori** was a gender neutral language. 'ia' (pronounced ee-a) was the word for both he and she. 'Tana' denoted the term for his or hers. **Rangatira, ariki, tohunga, kaumātua** and **matakite**, leader, supreme leader, specialist, elder person and 'psychic', delineated social status of women and men. **Tapu** was an essential value intrinsic to each person regardless of age or gender and was especially pertinent to women in their capacity as bearers of children.

European history writers transformed a spoken tradition into a written language and in doing so added Eurocentric views to ethnic understandings. Predominantly, it is these historical accounts which give insights into the first New Zealanders on the cusp of contact with the European world up until the late 1800s when European settlement and political



governance were firmly established. Of this latter period, it had been stated that whilst **Māori** had accepted the dominance of European or **Pākehā** knowledge systems, however, **Māori** people, especially **tūtūā**, commoners continued with cultural practices and beliefs (Simmonds, 1982). CHAPTER 6 discusses the social structures and social activities of **whānau** and **hapū** underpinning the esteeming towards woman in pre-European society . Understanding what went before creates awareness of the mutable aspects to come.

### **The first settlers**

**Māori** academic **Ranganui** Walker dates the era of **Māori** settlement around 800 AD and historian Micheal King says earlier carbon dating on which this date was identified proved to be incorrect thereby tracing **Māori** settlement from the 1200s (King, 2004; Walker 2004). The latter settlement was seen as a second era of migration possibly internal (Walker, 2004). The huge variance between these dates highlights the contrasting worldviews between epistemology **Māori** and western science:

***“Maori whakapapa offers names without remains – that is stories without evidence – while archaeology offers remains without names – evidence without stories” (King, 2003, p.67).***

Research technologies investigating the movements and the migrations of ancient peoples is developing continuously, confirming or contesting current knowledge of people’s locations geographically and culturally. Technologies, research methodologies and cultural narratives carrying evidence from the past have a combined importance in generating truths and in storying remembered realities of peoples migrations and accounts of living in this world.

Pre-history indigenous peoples in **Aotearoa** New Zealand were thought to be different groups having either departed from many separate Polynesian islands or having evolved cultural and language differences in isolation of other groups on the destination islands of New Zealand (Walker, 2004; White, 1887). There were regional differences across pre-contact peoples:

***“originally named themselves as descendants of a particular ancestor...and did not think of themselves as any kind of collective unit or ethnic group until they encountered other ethnicities” (Ballara, 1998, p. 42).***

Groups shared common cultural elements and common protocols as in rituals of encounter as depicted in the hongi, *Marker Story 3 - Centered*, and in a greeting by a **rangatira** towards a group of aggressive foreigners (refer CHAPTER 7) (Ballara, 1998; St. Jean Baptiste, 1982). Both greetings came out of the first encounter of northern peoples with French explorers in 1769. Pre-history peoples understood and lived by the concepts of **tapu** and **mana**, values of sacredness and authority (Ballara, 1998). Commonalities also extended to origin stories from **Hawaiki**, the spiritual Polynesian homeland, migration histories and settlements to and within this place, New Zealand. The first New Zealanders had ancient histories of civilisation on the multiple smaller islands of the Pacific from which they carried traditions, beliefs, stories and myths informing religion and society, the abstract and the everydayness of life in the new homelands (Walker, 2004). Changes were inevitable in adapting 'island' culture to living on two larger 'islands' of New Zealand with distinctly different climates, huge geographical areas and diverse terrain but also in coming into contact, voluntarily and involuntarily, with other and different groups within and across the same land. Political and economic survival as distinct groups were issues faced by smaller and less powerful groups against stronger aggressive groups resulting in cultural absorption or eradication (Ballara, 1998). Even in settled times, groups were not culturally static, adapting to environmental changes and affiliations to each other (Keesing, 1981). Kinship, **whanaungatanga**, and **whakapapa** appeared to be the binding threads between members of groups and groups to each other. Readiness for battle was a constant however, on a day to day level, community life followed seasonal lifestyles with futures planning of resources and food supplies and the maintenance of a societal infrastructure inclusive of social ranks.

### **Migrating communities**

**Waka**, huge sea-voyaging craft, carried Polynesian men and women to these new lands in **Aotearoa** New Zealand, the last substantial land mass to be reached by "*homo sapiens*" (Houghton, 1980, p.9; Mitcalfe, 1981; Walker, 2004). From Polynesian homelands, the first New Zealanders brought with them ancestral traditions, foods, knowledge and storying. They walked the new lands, established settlements, grew crops, held ceremonies for births and deaths and practised their religion and spirituality in much the same way as

their Polynesian ancestors. These Polynesian descendants became the **tangata whenua**, the people of **Aotearoa** New Zealand.

Pre-history New Zealand society initially commenced with a social order organised from **waka** and **whānau**. Over time **whānau** expanded to become **hapū** the predominant social grouping and eventually **hapū** organised themselves into **iwi** (Houkamau, 2006; Makereti, 1986; Mitcalfe, 1981; Walker, 2004). **Whānau** was the basic social unit in **Māori** society typically made up of three to four generations of family members with common ancestry (Houkamau, 2006). Associations with other **whānau** groups enhanced cultural cohesiveness through **whanaungatanga**, vital for kin socialisation (Walker, 2004).

**Hapū** habited localities marked by visible **pouwhenua**, maunga or **awa**, or places where significant and meaningful cultural activities had occurred enhancing identity and unity between, across and within **whānau**. **Hapū** were economic units trading with neighbours for food supplies and negotiating access across another's land. **Hapū** with converging **whakapapa** formed alliances to protect themselves from invaders (Mitcalfe, 1981).

*“The largest effective political grouping was the **iwi** or tribe”*, comprised of multiple related **hapū** groups of common descent (Walker, 2004, p.65). **Whānau**, **hapū** and **iwi** would come to define the main descent groups among New Zealand society. **Iwi** groups were not homogenous however the concept of **mana whenua**, occupation of specific localities, determined **iwi** governance over land, waters and resources. The New Zealanders were culturally a communal people living in kin groups, adapting their practices to **Te Tai Ao**, the natural environment.

### **Early remains without names**

Archaeological excavation located evidence of a *‘transitional rather than early colonial community’* located at Palliser Bay on the northern side of Cook Strait dated as early fourteenth century (King, 2003, p.69). The remains of a 35 to 40 year old woman from this period give gendered insights into early settlement of this new land. This **wahine**, of Polynesian descent, belonged to a small community and had given birth to no more than four children (ibid). Breastfeeding over many years of infant development and growth, naturally reduced fecundity and hence the small numbers of offspring for women. As well, the hard land-based lifestyles were such that both men and women worked co-operatively

to source immediate food supplies whilst simultaneously planning for the seasons ahead. Breastfeeding provided limitations to women's engagement in shared labour; however childrearing was a co-operative activity of the kin group which was particularly vital due to the short lifespan of women and men as well. **Whānau** or **whakapapa** was highly significant in that the remaining adults, biologically related, would care for children (Houghton, 1980).

### **Ordered and sustainable society**

In 1769, the crew of the French ship St. Jean Baptiste were the first people to have landed in Northland:

***“No-one, before us, had set foot in this country [since] it was discovered on 13 September by Abel Tasman” in 1642 (St. Jean Baptiste, 1982, p.164).***

The crew of the St. John Baptiste had contact with northern New Zealanders and reports in the ship's journals had accounts of established and organised settlements (St. Jean Baptiste, 1982). Local food supplies came from both cultivated plots of 'potato' and 'celery' and from the natural vegetation. Close to fresh water and nearby were small groups of huts. Sources of protein were **kaimoana** and **manu**, birdlife, and **kuri**, dog. The crew of the St. Jean Baptiste observed large fishing nets as well as **waka**, boats, on the shore. Steamed and dried **kaimoana** were consumed daily. In proximity were steep hills with another type of settlement around which were 'palisades' (ibid). When threatened by others, the 'gardening', 'gaming', 'forestry' and 'fishing' communities would retreat behind the palisades in defence and protection.

**Whānau** communities expanded over the generations as people prospered economically from the new environment of New Zealand. Society comprised of a hierarchy of four ranks: **rangatira** (chiefs), **tūtūā** or **tangata ware** (commoners), **taurekareka** (slaves) and **tohunga** (specialists and also leaders) (Mitalfe, 1981; Shortland, 2001; Walker, 2004). Leadership was primogeniture, either men or women but predominantly it is men's occupations of these positions which have been recorded in history. **Tuakana**, the elder of siblings and the elder or first families held positions of authority. **Whakapapa** lines determined supreme leaders (**Makereti**, 1986). **Whānau** with direct links to principal **tupuna** or

ancestors were considered **rangatira ariki** (primary chiefs) and were accorded great respect or **mana**.

**Rangatira** and **tohunga** were leaders of **whānau**, **hapū** and **iwi**. **Tohunga** shared similar qualities of leadership as **rangatira** and **rangatira** could occupy positions as **tohunga**, **however tohunga** could not claim **rangatira** status if they were not of **rangatira whakapapa** (Robust, 2006). Upon entering **whare wānanga rangatira** and **tohunga** endured a robust education and training. Ceremonial stones **Whatu-kura Hukātai** and **Whatu-kura Rehutai** signified the beginning of the knowledge journey and the ending of that journey in the **whare wānanga** (Brassey, 1985; Marsden, 2003; **Whatahoro**, 1913) (refer CHAPTER 5). **Tohunga** collected tribal and cosmic genealogies; they held complex understandings of the interconnectedness of the three-world creation of which people were an integral component. **Tohunga** were cultural advisors, spiritual leaders and politicians. Women held leadership positions among the hierarchy of **rangatira** and **tohunga** and ‘*could achieve positions of ‘considerable influence’*’ (Robust, 2006; Wilson, 1985, p.69). Genders roles, distinct and complementary, were necessary for a well ordered society (Lambert, 2006).

**Taurekareka**, or slaves, were persons captured during wars or raids on other **hapū** or **iwi** and were generally commoners because **rangatira** captives were killed (Walker, 2004). Slaves were charged with menial tasks in serving **rangatira whānau**, and were alive due to the goodwill of **rangatira**. Frequently they formed intimate relationships with members of **hapū** and offspring born from these unions were accepted into **whānau**, entitled to inherit the status and **whenua** of the non-enslaved parent (Mitcalfe, 1981).

Everyone else in **Te ao Māori** were **tūtūā** or **tangata ware** with “*junior descent lines*” (Shortland, 1849; Walker, 2004, p.66). There were various descriptions for **tūtūā**; commoners, “*low person...person of low degree*” and these terms indicate the influence of European society with its class systems (Shortland, 2001; Williams, 1992, p.463). However, it must be remembered that women and men belonging to the **tūtūā** group formed the bulk of the population; **they** were the fabric on whose wellbeing **rangatira** accomplished leadership. When descent lines became far removed from the senior line, a split would occur with junior members forming separate **whānau** and **hapū** and shifting to another locality to ‘grow’ a new descent line. The head person or leader of the separated group

became the **tupuna** from which members and the coming generations would claim descent. Women and men shared complementary roles and social positions across the distinct class systems under clearly identified leadership of **rangatira** and **tohunga** (Robust, 2006).

### **Wahine / Woman-being**

The St. Jean Baptiste's journal entries noted the vigour of the northerners who were generally tall, well-muscled with sturdy legs and deep tans:

***"Their faces are far from unpleasant and their features are fairly regular; I even saw some children who had charming faces and really beautiful eyes" (St. Jean Baptiste, 1981, p.119).***

Less flattering and unbalanced views of local women were recorded:

***"What I say of the men must not be applied to the women: in general they are very ugly..." (ibid).***

Men's Eurocentric value-laden judgements of local women were misogynistic:

***"What I saw in the behaviour of the men and women would lead me to believe that a man and a woman are attached to one another only in so much as fruits of their relationship appear, and then the men are jealous of their women, for as long as the association lasts. It did seem to me that those women who were unattached to men by childbearing were dependent on anyone whatsoever. Otherwise how is one to explain the shameless behaviour they exhibit, inciting sexual arousal with the most brazen behaviours" (St. Jean Baptiste, 1982, p.120).***

Women expressed their sexuality in singing, dancing and touching. No doubt this had an audience in their counterparts who would have responded with sexualised behaviours, although native men's sexuality escaped reporting in the ship's journals (St. Jean Baptiste, 1982). There were accounts of men's jealousy of women (see above) and also of men approaching the French crew "to offer them [women] to us" (St. Jean Baptiste, 1982, p.120). The ship visited Northland in December of 1769 at a time with the climate was 'tropical'. The weather, rather than modesty, determined the types of garments worn by both women and men and the mandatory coverage was of "their organs of generation" (St. Jean Baptiste, 1982, p.120). The semi-nakedness of women attracted further negative

commentary from the ship's writers, magnifying their views of native women as 'licentiousness' (bid). The French clearly held a perspective of indigenous women as 'savage' and these early accounts propagated a Eurocentric view of women as uncouth with undesirable behaviours.

**Māori** women displayed permanent coloured marks 'chiselled' onto their skin. Common were spiral shapes and most frequently, women had the lower lip coloured. This 'decorative form' was popular amongst all **wāhine** and did not reflect delineation of, rank or social status (Mitalcfe, 1981; St. Jean Baptiste, 1982):

*"Although it was a ceremonial occasion, tattooing was not an initiation... Women usually wore a simple scroll pattern on chin and lips- 'wore' is the right word to use, for an adult without these patterns was considered to be 'naked'. Slaves went 'naked', as did children" (Mitalcfe, 1981, p.97).*

Womens' ears were pierced for **pounamu** of many different hues of green. Women were active in community affairs, partaking in manual labour like fishing, cultivating, harvesting alongside men and children as well as cultural events of performance and entertainment (**Makereti**, 1986; St. Jean Baptiste, 1982).

### **Sacredness**

**Tapu**, sacredness, derived from **atua** as a divine value that had many layers and contradictions. Women were **tapu** (refer CHAPTER 4) due to their facility to reproduce (**Kahukiwa** & Grace, 2000; **Mikaere**, 2011). It would follow that all people were then **tapu**, as women were the progenitors. In particular, rohe men were **tapu** and women were **noa** **therefore tapu** and **noa were** values defining the behaviours and occupations between the genders (**Makereti**, 1986). **Wāhine** had the ability to **whakapapa** but also to **whakanoa** in undoing sacredness thereby making an environment ordinary, safe or accessible (Freud, 1934). The origins of the **tapu** of **wāhine** may be located in the roles of **Hine-Nui-Te-Pō** firstly as the 'chief' of gods (refer CHAPTER 5) (Taylor, 1975). Remember the alternative version of **Hine-Nui-Te-Pō** who crushed **Maui-Tikitiki-A-Taranga** as he attempted to reverse the birthing process by ascending her generating organs to gain immortality. The capacity to bring about a state of sacredness and to undo this, meant women had influence over tribal **tikanga**, practices, as both these concepts were necessary in the day

to day lives, the mundane of community occupations as well as during extraordinary events (Mikaere, 2011, p.215):

*“This is the mana and tapu of women, in that they have the ability to free areas, things and people from restriction imposed by tapu. Women...are agents of whakanoa...This is their tapu, and they are tohunga because of their own specific areas of activity” (Henare in Mikaere, 2011, p.214).*

## Partnerships

Women were free to form sexual liaisons with men prior to a permanent relationship (Munn, 1981). Forming associations outside of the immediate kin group were vital for land-based groups and the practice of **taumau**, or arranged partnerships between high-born women and high-born men from other **hapū**, were “in accordance with the customary practices of cementing alliances” (Walker, 2004, p.78). Both **rangatira tāne** and **rangatira wāhine** were obliged to enter **taumau** partnerships in fulfillment of their duties to **hapū**. Agreed upon partnerships reaped mutual benefits in terms of enhancing relationships across different **rohe**, thereby increasing the political, economic and social growth of **hapū**. As well, women had the role of peacemakers among warring **hapū**. Rangatira negotiated settlement of inter- **hapū** conflicts by allowing **wāhine** to leave their **whānau** and reside with the opposite **hapū**. This encouraged kith and kinship ties across the two **hapū** and mostly was a protectorant against further conflicts as **hapū** did not want to hurt or ‘kill’ their own members nor did they seek to destroy their resources. Breaking the specific peace consigned by a woman brought terrible risk of retaliation as depicted in a warning by **Hongi Hika** to his peer **Pomare** who raided **Waikato** in 1826:

*“E hoa! Kua e haere; he maungarong nā te wahine. Ki te haere koe, riro tonu atu. Friend do not go, it is peace made by a woman. If you go you will never come back” (Munn, 1981, p. 162).*

Peace had been established two years prior yet **Pomare** was determined to seek retribution for another matter. **Pomare** was killed during the raid. In, “**Ngati-Manu** An Ethnohistorical Account”, Munn reveals the many alliances generated by **Ngāpuhi hapū** when their **rangatira wāhine** entered into partnerships with **hapū** as far south as **Rotorua** (Munn, 1981). Society understood implicitly the conditions around **taumau** practices, “**he maungarongo nā te wahine**” and the **tapu** or sacredness of women of rank. Should



**rangatira wāhine** and the offspring of these unions be disrespected or maltreated then the culprits could anticipate violent retribution by the women's **hapū**. If women belonged to important **rangatira** line, then several **hapū** would consolidate to attack the guilty **hapū** (Munn, 1981).

The arrival of European traders in the late 1700s and early 1800s were viewed as assets to **hapū** who desired relationships with traders in order to grow their knowledge and skill in the new economy of trade and business. **Hapū** arranged intimate partnerships between the Europeans and **rangatira wāhine** (Walker, 2004). The idea was to bond European traders and businessmen to women and **hapū**.

**Wāhine** in **taumau** relationships with European men were especially vulnerable as this practice was outside of its socio-culture context and **Pākehā** would not have been fully cognizant with the conditions of **taumau**. Women in this early period of **Māori-Pākehā** intimacy were exposed to sexual violence, rape and abuses (Palmer, 2006). **Makereti** talks of **wāhine** partnered to **Pākehā** men in her **rohe** of **Te Arawa** in the latter part of the nineteenth century who died of broken hearts when the men walked away from their families, returning to England (**Makereti**, 1986).

The pressures to keep Europeans 'onside' in trading relationships saw **Māori** men succumbing to conflicted circumstances as in the 'Girls' War' in 1830 where a ship's master took two sisters as **utu-pihikete** (refer CHAPTER 8) (Munn 1981; Wilson, 1985):

***"After a time, he took two different and younger sisters and discarded the first pair. Not long after, the four girls were bathing on the beach at Kororareka, and were sporting and chaffing one another, as their mothers looked on from the shore. This soon turned to abuse and finally insults and cursing. The mother of the first two girls rushed into the water and almost drowned the other two. All were of high rank" (Munn, 1981, p.201).***

Fanning the flames of escalating inter-**hapū** tensions was the ship's master who baited **hapū** members of his most recent 'girls', that he considered them inferior unless they sought reprisal (Munn, 1981). Later, it became known that the ship's master had wanted the local **rangatira** of **Kororareka**, **Kiwikiwi** of **Ngāti Manu**, killed (Munn, 1981). The **rangatira** of the two sets of sisters gathered with **Ngāti Manu** to settle the matter and also to protect **Kiwikiwi** from the mischief making of the ship's master. Old wounds had been re-opened in the injury to the daughter of **Hongi** (refer CHAPTER 7). **Ururoa** of **Ngātiuru**

(refer CHAPTER 7) shared a close partnership with **Hongi**, and on March 5<sup>th</sup> 1830 he arrived with reinforcements to exact retribution. The wife of **Kiwikiwi** insulted **Ngātiuru**, by stating her people would conquer and enslave the people of **Ururoa** thereby, condemning them to “*carry her firewood upon their shoulders, heat her ovens, and cook her provisions*” (Munn, 1981, p.202). **Ngātiuru** left for the hills near **Kororareka**, returning the next morning:

*“...each with a bundle of firewood upon their shoulders and guns in their hands. At the Ngati Manu paa they told Kiwikiwi that they had brought the firewood as their slaves and laid it down. Then they fired their loaded muskets into the ground at the feet of Kiwikiwi’s wife. The matter was settled, and, apparently reconciled, the party was leaving when a young woman of Ngati Manu fired a musket and killed a woman belonging to Ururoa’s party” (Munn, 1981, p.202).*

**Ururoa** had tried to placate the **rangatira wahine** of the other **hapū** in an act of humility however he could not ignore the killing of one of his **whakapapa**. Many more were killed and wounded in the inter-**hapū** battle which followed and lasted many days. On March 17<sup>th</sup> peace was agreed between **Kiwikiwi** and **Ururoa**, involving the ceding of land in settlement. According to the customs of **utu**, further retribution was sought for other **rangatira** deaths and **hapū** enacted their vengeance on the **hapū** of the wife of **Kiwikiwi**. The primary instigator of the troubles, the ship’s master, did not suffer any consequences for his manipulation of **rangatira wāhine** and **their hapū** (Munn, 1981).

**Taumau** partnerships persisted into the latter half of the twentieth century, as seen in the arranged marriage between **Eruera** Stirling to **Amiria Manutahi** O’Hara, accounted in the life story of **Amiria** by anthropologist Salmond (Stirling & Salmond, 1976). I recall a conversation with a **kuia** from my **kōhanga reo** in the 1990s. Her first husband had died leaving behind two young children. At her husband’s **tangihanga**, the **whānau-pani**, grieving families, negotiated a **taumau** between the widow and her husband’s brother. Munn also reports on this practice amongst his **Ngati Manu** people (Munn, 1981). One rationale was for children to remain in the care of **whānau**. **Wāhine** had a voice regarding arranged marriages; however generally, women’s reluctance was cast aside as in the case of **Amiria** Stirling in order to meet obligations to **whānau** and **hapū**. Most unions were ‘love-matches’ and normally had the approval of **wāhine**, their **whānau** and

**hapū** (Makereti, 1986). Affairs of the heart external to recognised partnerships could anticipate a reaction from **whānau** (Makereti, 1986):

*“Long before daylight the stamping of feet could be heard keeping time to the takitaki, the leading song of a woman who led the taua party of a hundred people or more. There were the women in front...the women had their skirts tucked above their knees, and as they led the haka it was a terrifying sight, yet a wonderful one. With movements of the body, pukana...and tongue out the taua party advance, all the while doing the haka movements led by the women...joining in words repeated in answer to their leader-words appropriate to the hara (sin) committed. The taua advance onto the marae where the tangata whenua all gathered...greet them with cries of “Haeremai, haeremai”. As the party draw nearer, they repeat the haka appropriate for the occasion, demanding to know the reason why this woman had done this great wrong in giving her sacred body to another man. “He aha te take? He aha te take?” What is the reason, why?” (Makereti, 1986, pp.106-107).*

The guilty ‘gender’ targeted by the **whānau** in the above story was a woman and the point of this story was to highlight the accountability individuals had to **whānau** and **hapū**. Abuse and violence towards women and children within **whānau** and **hapū** were not tolerated, and neither was there an expectation to remain in unsatisfactory relationships.

Agreements were reached by **whānau** to quickly terminate disagreeable interpersonal circumstances whilst retaining **whakapapa** links with **tamariki** (Makereti, 1986; Mikaere, 2011). Large **whānau** with multigenerational members living in established communities on **hapū** owned and cultivated land, were well resourced to care for its own children and women in the event that the **whānau** of the **tane** were abusive or neglectful.

In the 1800s **rangatira** men had multiple intimate relationships, they practised polygamy (Munn, 1981; Walker, 2004). Women too, had several partnerships, though not concurrent (Munn, 1981; Shortland, 1849). It is unclear if polygamy extended to **tūtūā** as mostly it was **rangatira** men who shared these histories with European ethnographers. Multiple partnerships were indicators; of a flourishing **whakapapa** in the birth of many progeny; the security of firm alliances with the **hapū** of women; greater access to natural resources through the collective **whenua** of women and; robust interfamilial associations across the many offspring and wider **whānau**. From the 1820s onwards, Christianity had a growing influence within Northland communities. The missionaries sought conversions from initially ex-slaves and then **tūtūā** who generally were not resourced to have more than a single relationship at one time. **Rangatira** were later converts to Christianity on the

proviso they had to relinquish the practice of polygamy. Eventually, monogamy and Christian marriages as opposed to 'Māori marriages' became standard practice (Makereti, 1986).

Women's social activities among **whānau** and **hapū** were varied and wide and seemed comparable to the activities of their counterparts men. Women traditionally were:

*"... lovers, means of procreation, and ensuring tribal continuity, but never the individual mother of children" (Pere in Mikaere, 2011, p.230).*

Women were central to growing whakapapa, however it was the community and society who 'created' and cared for the child.

### **Te Whare Tangata / Generating children**

Ethnographical and anthropological writings were fixed on the birthing practices of the **rangatira** class as the leadership of early **Māori** societies (King, 2005; **Makareti**, 1986; Taylor, 1855; Walker, 1990; White, 1887). Early readings suggest there were easy 'relations' between and across the 'classes' in **Te Ao Māori**, an indication of the co-operative behaviours of communities for mutual benefits (St. Jean Baptiste, 1982). In birthing, was the growth of **whakapapa** lines across all the classes, and this was vital to building the economic, political and spiritual capacity of **whānau** and **hapū**. In **Te Ao Māori** birthing was one of two main "*rites de passage*" (Mitalfe, 1981, p. 96; **Whatahoro**, 1913) (refer CHAPTER 4). The other inevitable ceremony involved death. Everything else, such as 'marriage' and tattoo, could take place at any time in adulthood, with or without ceremony. In **Te Arawa**, pregnant **rangataira wāhine** was given special care, **mana-aki** and **tiaki**, from the **whānau** of the **matua** or father-to-be (**Makareti**, 1986). The woman was being honoured for carrying their '**uri**', their descendant. "*Te kotinga o te pito*", the severing of the umbilical cord, was a ceremonial activity accompanied by a religious practice as **tohunga** recited chants for either a **tamaiti wahine** or **tamaiti tane** (Shortland, 2001, p.72):

**Box 6.1: Chant For Pēpi Wahine**

*Tangaengae ki te watu weruweru mou,  
Tangaengae ki te mahi kai mau,  
Tangaengae ki te haro muka mau...  
Cutting to make you weave the robe to keep you warm  
Cutting to make you till the food to eat,  
Cutting to make you hackle the flax to weave with...*

The chant continued for many verses, covering the various “duties and qualities befitting” a **wahine** from being a **tamaiti** to becoming a **kuia** (Shortland, 2001, p.73). Similar chants were offered at the birth of **tāne**. **Makereti** also records from her era of the nineteenth century, “*he momo tūā*”, and a type of chant acknowledging a **pēpi wahine** (**Makereti**, 1986, p.132):

**Box 6.2: Ko Te Tūā Mo Te Wahine**

**KO TE TUA MO TE WAHINE**

*Tohi ki te wai no Tu  
Whano koe.  
Tangaengae  
Ki te mahi kai mau  
Tangaengae  
Ki te whatu pueru mou  
Tangaengae.  
Ki te karanga pahi  
Tangaengae.  
Ki te waha watui mau  
Tangaengae  
Ki te kerī mataitai mau  
Tangaengae  
Me homai tangaengae  
Hei whakatupu tangaengae  
Mo te tapairu nei.*

*E ahua mai ra  
Te toro ia kiharōa  
Hei kawē rawa ia hau  
Ke te one Rangaunu  
Kei te rerenga ki te Po  
Kowai au ka kite*

**Tūā** were naming rituals combined with religious ceremonies (Williams, 1992). This chant or **karakia** proceeds at length in asking for the **pēpi wahine** to be “*endowed with health so as to be able to work and gather in food, to be able to weave the clothing, to be hospitable so that her voice was heard in welcoming visitors to the marae (plaza), to be able to carry*

*loads of firewood on her back, to dig in the sand and gather shellfish”* and to carry our functions men could not due to **tapu**, theirs and hers, until life’s end at “**kei te rerenga ki te Po”** (Makereti, 1986, pp.132-133). **Whānau** passed the **pepi** amongst each other, dancing and celebrating (Shortland, 2001).

Remember earlier in this chapter the statement that child-rearing was a co-operative activity. Children were aware of their links with birth mothers and fathers; however, it was the kin group that collectively taught and raised children:

*“Parents and elders were generally indulgent towards children, allowing them great freedom, so that eventually they would be vigorous confident people. This was especially true of boys. [Said Samuel Marsden]...the New Zealanders did not correct their children lest they should abate their courage or subdue their passions...Hence the children are in no subjection to their parents”* (Mitcalfe, 1981, p.97).

Children would sleep in the **whare** of relatives not their parents (King, 2003). **Kaumātua** and **kuia**, as the heads of **whānau**, were the transmitters of cultural knowledge and the “*minders and mentors of children*” (Walker, 2004, p.63). Young children were nurtured within **whānau**, with multiple carers, but more likely children had close bonds with grandparents. In the bond of **mokopuna**-grandparent were intimacy, security, attachment, instruction and protection. Children whose parents had died were fostered by kin, however more than likely; children were already attached to kin even whilst parents were around. Elderly were allocated physically less demanding tasks and members with debilitating conditions were cared for (Walker, 2004).

The social, cultural and personal wellbeing of **whānau** was attributable to the leadership of **kuia** and **kaumātua**. **Tamāriki** through to **kaumatua** were active in **whānau** collective decision-making. **Powhiriwhiri** was thought to be an old term for the gathering of community in the evening to reflect upon the day and plan for the next. **Pō** means night and **whiriwhiri** loosely describes the intellectual exercise of decision making. The engagement of all, women, men and children, were vital to the maintenance of cultural cohesion, cultural development and therefore, the wellbeing of **whānau** and community. Management of people systems and natural systems required a gender balance at multiple levels of operations and governance. The leadership was answerable to the community,

inclusive of children “*who questioned leaders and could expect responses*” (Personal communication, Anne Salmond May 3<sup>rd</sup> 2012 University of Auckland):

***“Children will frequently ask questions in public conversation and are answered by the chiefs” (Marsden in Salmond, 1985, p. 249).***

Children learnt of social roles and obligations to family from the extensive relationships within kin communities. Children were raised by the collective family of women and men.

## **Summary Chapter 6**

Collaboration and co-operation between women and men and across the classes were vital to establishing successful communities whilst being prepared for battle to defend and protect their **hapū**. **Rangatira** men were not monogamous. **Rangatira** women were political peacemakers, stabilising strained relationships between **hapū** by forming intimate partnerships with men from the opposing **hapū**. **Taumau** partnerships were agreed to by both genders and when women and children were maltreated or killed, retribution was swift and harsh. **Whakapapa** was sacred and to this end, birthing was a rite of passage, strengthening bonds between and across **hapū**. The wellbeing of **whanau** and **hapū** was strongly linked to honouring women’s collective **tapu** and therefore the **tapu** of children. These practices and beliefs were transmitted orally and in collective action, and were nowhere written down.

Europeans, mainly British men, voyaged to New Zealand. Among them was ethnographer’s determination to write about the first New Zealanders in **Te Reo Māori** as well as English. Eurocentric views and opinions overplayed the histories shared by primarily **rangatira** men; fuelling misrepresentations of the social status of women in **Te Ao Māori** society. Perspectives of native women were propagated as inferior, requiring censor and civilising under the authority of men, particularly European men.

PART FOUR **WAKA WĀHINE** presents the arrival of other, Europeans, to New Zealand and the impact this had on northern communities specifically. I dwell into **whakapapa**, this time on my grandfather’s side in tracing a timeline of the influences of other, colonisation and Christianity on **Te Ao Māori** society; men firstly then women.

## PART FOUR: WAKA WĀHINE

*Rūaumoko playing up big time in the bowels of Papatūānuku, burrowing discontent this way and that, all around and over his mother. Papatūānuku content with life, the whenua warming her, iwi-i-te-iwi, bones-on-bones, senses calibrated by the nature of her own creation. For Rūaumoko, the unsettledness was a reoccurring theme. Generation baby boomer wanted more BOOM, he was so over his underground confines, no longer large enough to accomodate the swellings of his whakaaro. Too little space, too many others, whats a restless man to do except explode! Hot, excited, angry HĀ HĀ HĀ HĀ. Steam, water, rock and fire belched from the tunnels of Pūtahi in the customary two thousand year BLOW (won't be using those tunnels to carry the dead for a while), oh no. Blasted the wehi right out of the tihi. Off came the top of Pūtahi and lavar rushed towards Kaikohe. Kaihoe jumped into double-hulled waka lashed with taura strong enough to withstand the forces of Rūaumoko and Tawhirimatea and altogether, hoe, tahi-rua-toru-wha-rima-ono, HURI, hoe anō. Atop of the largest ngaru ever in the biggest migration ever, the kaihoe navigated waka away from their mountain of knowledge, away from the laughing pūriri, past familiar pouwhenua towards the deep south. Another settlement was happening. Tuakana opened the door to teina and the two carried on the business of women, connecting, seeking one another, establishing community, caring for whānau, caring for children whilst ever expanding puku brushed against others in the narrow hallways of state-house-living in the new rohe. They hungered for kai-i-te-wahine, teina seeking assurance from tuakana that things would be alright in this place. Rūaumoko rested, content again under the armpit of Papatūānuku (so over the disruptive behaviours of the many sons, ho hum, huff puff get us up the duff stuff), his burrowings like moko chisel marks across her puku of life. Whānau, birthing, in the city place would not be the same as papakainga. No Pūtahi here. The sisters would come to know other's knowledge, be surrounded by different maunga. They will survive for you moko, for you.*

HĪ

HĀ





## ***Marker Story 4 – Manawa***

I was hungry for stories about my grandparents. Nannie **Makere** said following the birth of her siblings her father, my grandfather, carried **whenua**, placentas, to a place beyond the **mara kai**, food gardens, to a small triangular piece of **whenua**, land; **whenua-ki-te-whenua**. Afterbirth eventually breaks down into the soil, a cycle of woman's creation and re-creation in the "*tripartite web of connection*" between **Papatūānuku**, **wāhine** and **whakapapa** (Palmer, 2002, p.14). My grandmother birthed at least eleven times, I have eleven aunts and uncles, and this **tikanga** of **whenua-ki-te-whenua** occurred each time. To this figure I added the previous generation, and the generations before this and back and further back when land was plenty there were greater numbers of **whānau** and birthing women. Suffice to say, our **papakāinga** was soil rich in **whenua**, **pito** and **tohi** of numerous generations. The placing of flesh, mucous and blood, from birthing events into the dirt, was a natural process without formal ceremony. I know this to be true as we were not raised with **karakia** or chants. My grandfather stepped out of the **whare**, walked through the gate of the volcanic rock fence and quietly laid the substances of his and my grandmother's procreation into the soil. We were a humble people; conception and birth were ordinary to my **whānau**. Women birthing were attended by **whānau**, birth attendants, and children were nearby. This was **whānau piripiri**, men and women gathered to await the newest member amongst us.

My grandfather was a drover, skilled at cracking the bullwhip astride his horse, commanding the dogs in driving cattle from the far north to the sales yards. At home on my grandmother's **whenua** he toiled the earth, planted **mara kai** and a food forest and, attended to the paddocks and the livestock. He was a habitual pipe smoker, sucking on Park Grey tobacco. In his later life I would observe him as an elderly man sitting on an upturned wooden crate in between the rows of vegetables tending to the plants. He wasn't a talker, he was an action man, **he tangata pukumahi**, he did things; he was a drover, a farmer, a bushman and a gardener. He had laid the railway tracks in the local area. He was a man of the land. My grandparents were my carers and when my grandmother passed in 1962, my grandfather kept me for a further 18 months before I was returned to my mother. By this time he had met his new wife-to-be. Grandfather died

aged 79 years old (according to his age on the Certificate of Marriage in *Marker Story 1-Mama's Day*). I was 25 years old and in my second year as a Registered Psychiatric Nurse in community mental health. His was a protracted death, his tired body and **puku** heavy with cancer. His most frequent comment about things European, or more precisely the government, was, "fuckin' **Pākehā**". My mother inherited some of his ways, she was a competitive equestrian rider and a wonderful gardener and she, too, was silent but did not use English language profanities. She spoke eloquently in **Te Reo Māori** and English. My mother was an avid reader.

'The Story of **Parihaka**' (Scott, 1954) reminds me of the silences in my **whānau** about ourselves. The past influences the now and there were many untruths in the silences about **Parihaka**. **Parihaka** was a Christian community in the late 1800s. The **hapū** practised passive resistance towards the government for confiscating their lands. The community led by **Te Whiti**, removed the government's surveyor pegs from their lands and erected makeshift fences of greenery and boughs across the 'confiscated' **whenua**. On November 5<sup>th</sup> 1881, government constabulary arrested **Te Whiti** and the men of **Parihaka**, removing them from their homes. Without a trial, the **Parihaka** men were taken to the South Island. The constabulary and government troops settled into occupation on a **puke**, a hill, overlooking the **marae**. Terrorism of the women, children and supporters commenced:

*"... the muzzle of the Armstrong gun was turned on the people. They were given a last chance to leave. In one hour it would be fired. They remained in a solid mass, a rock of humanity in the heart of their town. As the grim morning wore on the constabulary and the soldiers amused themselves by suddenly raising their rifles and aiming them into the crowd...with only minutes to go before the time-limit expired, as sea of faces was turned to the cannon...As the ultimate damply expired not one person left the marae" (Scott, 1975, p.123).*

A woman spoke to a **Pākehā** historian about her father. As a child her father recalled the cannon pointed downwards on his people "...it is hard for the old man to forget" (Scott, 1954, p.13). The cannon was not fired but, the next day the army commenced raids at **Parihaka** followed by looting, destruction of crops and food supplies and, the rape of women (see CHAPTER 8) (Scott, 1954 & 1975). The government placed a blanket of silence on journalist's reports of **Parihaka**, covering up the atrocities with 'white lies' (Scott 1954).

What had been the experiences of my grandfather, what were the things he could not forget, the experiences he could not articulate that remained in his silences? “Fuckin’ **Pākehā**”. My grandfather used the word **Pākehā** in describing government people. I wanted more than the ugly sound of English vulgarity to remind me of him. I wanted stories to match the watery infant memories I have of him, of my tiny hands wrapped around his trouser leg as I peered from behind at an unfriendly visitor, an auntie-in-law, whom I sensed did not like me. Perhaps my being the first ‘**Pākehā**’ baby in the **whānau** offended her, or perhaps it was my young mother whose evidence of unmarried sexuality was this **mokopuna** who shadowed her grandfather. Even our own people exhibited prejudice and stigma, we internalised trauma, learnt it deep in our psychologies, becoming like the colonisers.

Auntie said my grandfather called me “*white biscuit*”, **pihikete mā** (see CHAPTER 8 for more detail). Life as an infant must have been secure if one of the few clear memories of this period in life was holding on to nanny’s leg as this visitor looked down on me. Perhaps I felt her ‘distant stance’ through my skin and this instantly radiated to my **puku** in a visceral tightness at the disapproving eye. The body remembers stigma and prejudice and discrimination and trauma. The collective body remembers these things for a long time. Historical trauma and abuse are hard stories to articulate for **humarie** people, the humble ones, and in the silence more layers are added to the invisible wall of truths. The **mamae** continues its source unnamed as **whānau** self-destruct.

Storying is truthfulness in its many forms, half-truths, laughing truths, hushed truths and unfinished truths. Few words or no words, silence, have its own story. Some experiences are ‘*shrouded in silence*’ too uncomfortable to put-spoken-words-around-it-truth (Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011, p.1). Truths to be hidden or disguised and in these stories people, mainly women and children, were made invisible in the silence, hushed to the edges of thought until eruptions burst through the walls of dominance, justifying further suppression by the dominators.

“Fuckin’ **Pākehā**”. Words spoken without anger but uttered quietly in the awful absoluteness of dominance and inevitable powerlessness. Unsaid, I, like **whānau** before me, would have gone on believing that we the humble people were somehow at fault for

our material poverty, for not completing **Pākehā** high school, for the pregnancies as young women, for our unmarried status as mothers and, for being **Māori**.

We were not of **rangatira** class, those who crossed the bridges of Christianity and assimilation and made the journey into the twenty-first century, wellbeing intact. We were unlike the **taurekareka**, the slaves, whose salvation was Christianity, becoming the carriers of gospel for the missionaries; they too crossed the bridge to modernisation. The journey of my **whānau** followed a different trajectory, invisible, and perhaps it is the journey of other **humarie peoples**.

It is said my grandfather torched the homestead of relatives following multiple murders and a suicide. Decades later, the only **kōrero** about that incident was of incest. No-one has lived at the place since. The **papakaiinga** is an isolated block of **whenua** with a stream flush with seasonal water cress, ageing **totara** and large volcanic rocks scattered throughout the matted long grasses. Last century, harsh and tragic things transpired among my kin, men, women and children. Acts of depravity, violence, abhorrent things, and **tupapaku** buried outside of the **whānau urupa**. What happened to **tapu**? What caused the awful dysfunction? Do these things transmit to some generations and not others? If joy begets joy, trauma begets trauma.

# CHAPTER 7: REMEMBERING US

*Ahi Kā – the House of Ngā Puhī*

*We light the poem and breathe out  
the growing flames. Ahi kā. This  
is our home – our fire.*

**Robert Sullivan (Somerville, 2011, p.37)**

PART THREE introduces the threads of early Eurocentric discourse in transforming traditional oral storying or language into a written language, **Te Reo Māori** and English, thereby altering how knowledge was transmitted and who this was shared with, influencing knowledge transmission across the generations. The presence of women were located in cosmogony storying of **Māori** creation; **Hine-ngaro**, **Hine-Nui-Te-Po**, **Te Pō**, **Papatūānuku**, **Hine-Ahu-One** and **Hine-Ti-Tama**. Women were the beginnings and endings of each stage of the three-world creation, **Te Korekore**, **Te Pō** and **Te Ao Mārama**. Women were named, grounded in mythology; we were visible.

The second half of PART THREE focused on **Te Ao Māori** society and the multiple layers of women's existence. Women were intrepid crew members on migratory **waka** and co-creators in establishing new lives in the new lands. Women generated children thus ensuring the growth of **whakapapa**. Women were **rangatira** and **tohunga** with political and spiritual authority. They were **whānau** elders, holders of knowledge and teachers of children. Women's sexuality had the capacity of **tapu**, to make sacred and also **whakanoa** in making the extraordinary ordinary or accessible. Women were peacemakers in forming inter-**hapū** alliances. The collective 'I' had voice; women spoke and were heard.

PART FOUR presents **Te Ao Hurihuri**, the changing world of the first New Zealanders in coming into contact with European visitors from the 17<sup>th</sup> Century up until the signing of the **Tiriti O Waitangi** in 1840 which forms the timeline to CHAPTER 7 REMEMBERING US. I called on the **whakapapa** of my grandfather **Te Ururoa Haare Kainamu** grounding me in much the same way as the **tatai** of my grandmother **Ripeka Arepata Kihi Maihi** set the scene for the opening of this thesis into the mental wellbeing of **Māori** mothers and women. The two **tatai** of my grandparents complement each other. I am because they

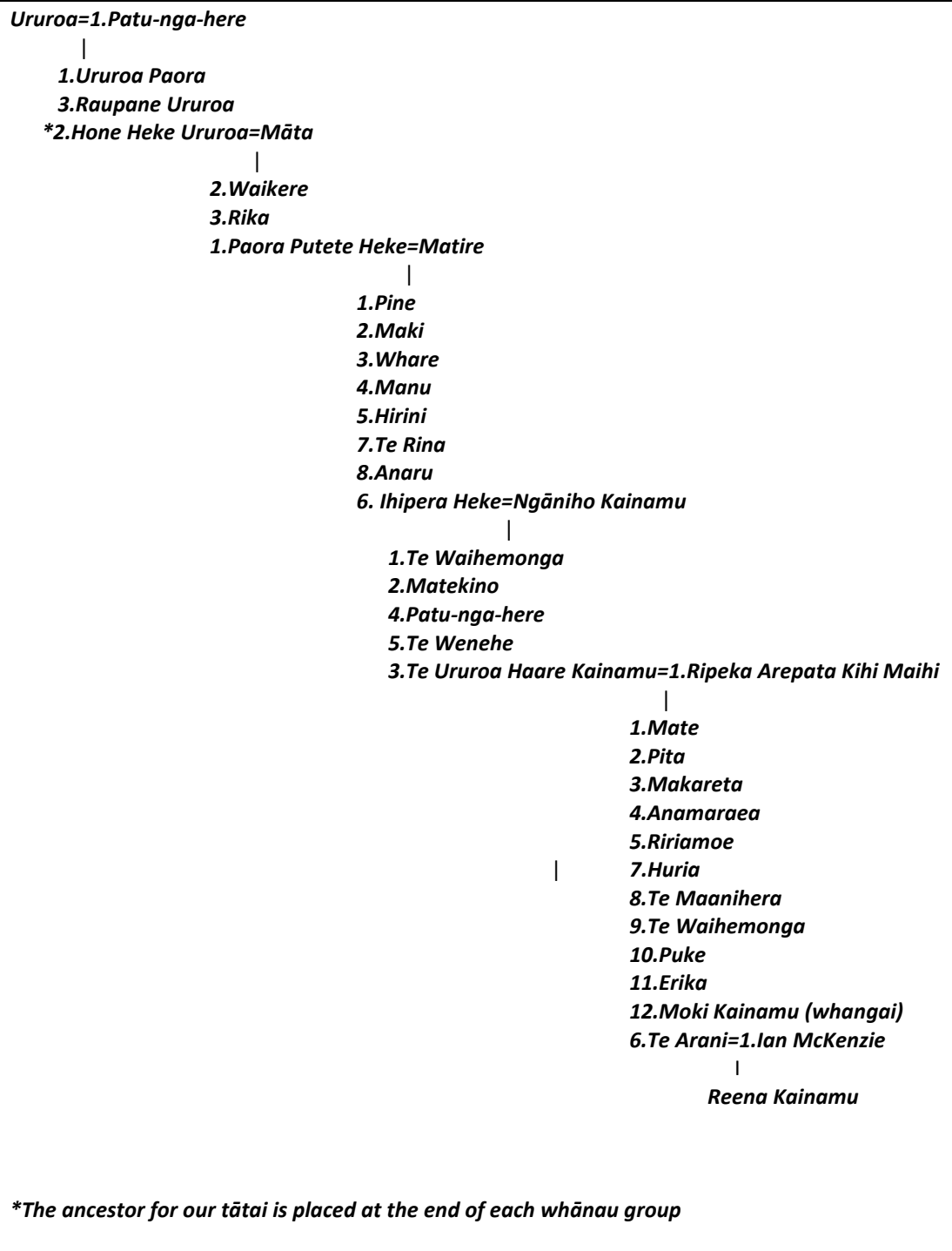
were. Women's mental wellbeing is associated to the mental wellbeing of **Māori** men; our paths are one and the same. Remember **Rangimarie Pere**, in CHAPTER 5 she speaks of **Hine-ngaro** in that the brain has both **tamatane** and **tamahine** aspects, indeed so has the entire body. We, women and men, comprise of each other. My grandfather's people were from **Whangaroa**, near the Bay of Islands, and these two areas were the early landing places for the ships transporting Europeans, predominantly British people. My people engaged with Europeans, wanting to prosper from their innovations.

CHAPTER 8 THE COLONISATION OF woMEEn presents a gendered perspective of the influences of colonisation and Christianity. It is here, in the historical pages of text, women's worlds narrowed, trapped in a void of obscurity, domesticity and subjugation. Our women bodies 'literally' sliced reduced to objects of sex and regulated and trained to serve other. We carried on living, moving with modernism and hoping with each generation our **mokopuna** would remember we the ordinary, were once people with voice and visibility.

### **Tangata pukumahi**

My grandfather **Te Ururoa Haare Kainamu** and my mother's younger sister **Nanny Wai** were the first people I remember loving me and I them. Held in my imagination and warming my body, were memories of them. His was the thigh I sheltered behind when peered at by the antagonistic gaze of an in-law who did not like me. Her's was the home I went to when hungry in the city. His was the hand I held as we walked the rows and rows of **mara kai**; **kumara**, watermelon, corn, **riwai** and **kamokamo** grown by him and my grandmother on her **whenua** in **Kaikohe**. Her **wairua** was the one I sought when the abuses happening to me were exhausting. His was the face I turned towards squealing with delight as he pulled baby rabbits out from the burrows at the end of the garden, and dropped these into my arms. Her's was the place I went for family and laughter and joy. From his throat came the sound "*ummmmmm*" when his eyes met mine, it was a sound of love. From her came nursery rhymes "*twiddle dee and twiddle dum*" and modern songs "*I love Jennifer Reckles, I know that she loves me*". It was his fingers that placed **kai** from his plate into my mouth. It is their blood I share and this is our collective **tātai**:

**Box 7.1 Tātai of Ururoa no Ngātiururoa, Ngāti Kahu ki Whangaroa**



Nanny **Makere** says the **hapū** of our **tupuna Ururoa** was at one time called **Ngātiururoa** and more than likely the name was later “*whakapototia*”, shortened, to **Ngātiuru**. An Amended Statement of Claim (ASOC) lodged by **Erimana Taniora** (WAI 1040) on behalf of himself and **Ngātiuru** and **Whānaupani** (WAI 1333) is a historical land grievance presently before the government. It is claimed that land was was purchased illegally from persons



who did not have the mandate to sell. Unpublished, the ASOC sits with **hapū** and **whānau** (ASOC, 2011).

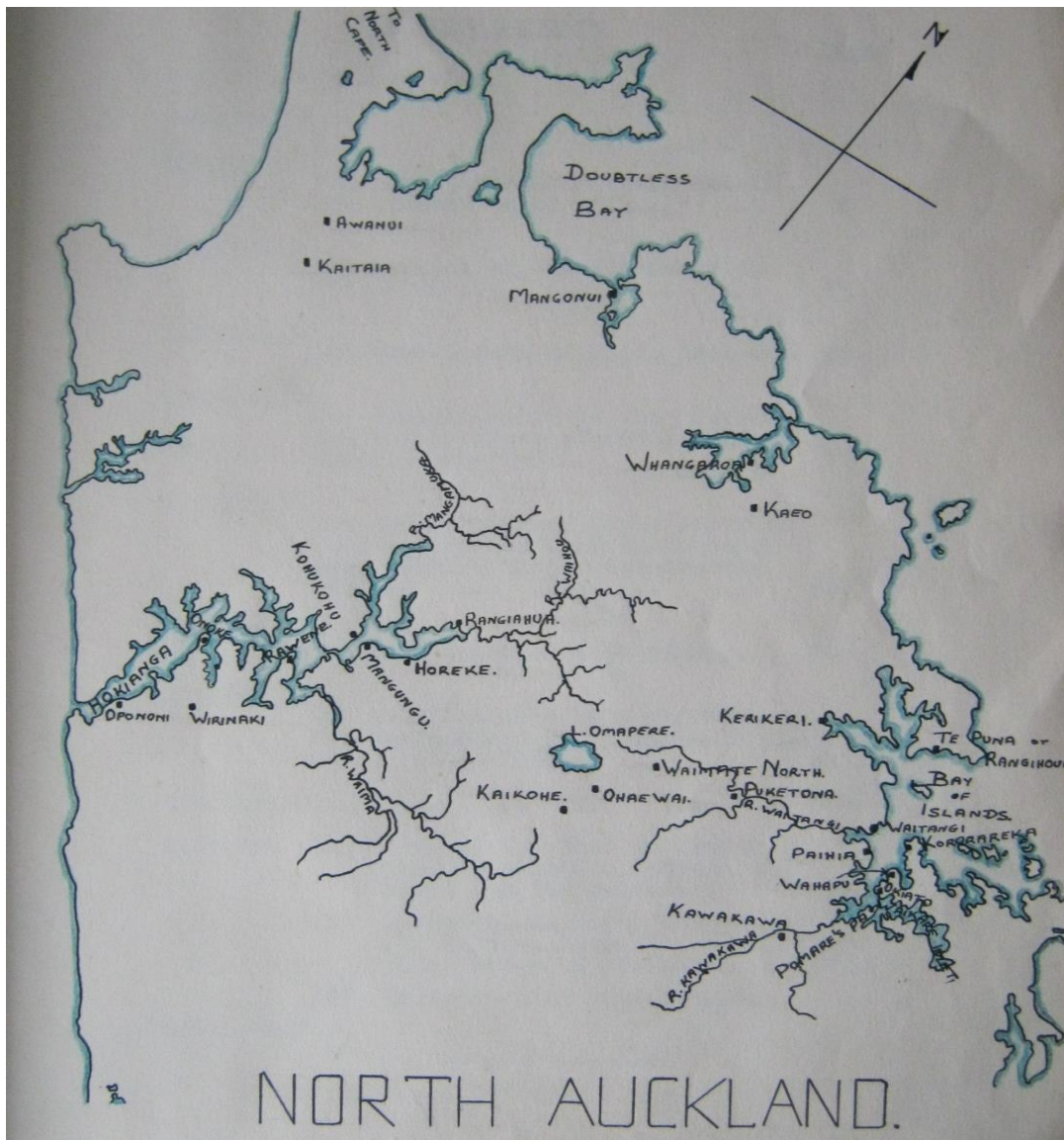
For the purposes of the claim **Whānaupani** and **Ngātiuru** were referred to as one and the same with shared genealogical commonalities. Both are **hapū** of **Ngāpuhi** however **Whānaupani** predated **Ngāpuhi** and **Ngātiuru** was also an ancient northern **hapū** (ASOC, 2011). In the document no reference is made to **Ngātiururoa** nor is **Ururoa** cited in the **whakapapa**. **Patungahere** was the first of three intimate partnerships for **Ururoa** (refer **7.1:Tātai**) and this name appears on the **whakapapa** of the ASOC some two generations prior to the generation of **Ururoa**.

The ASOC offers important knowledge around land alienation in the 1800s and the disadvantages endured by northern **hapū**, up to the twenty first century. As well, **He Whakaputanga** (the English version was called The Declaration of Independence) signed in 1835 and, the **Tiriti O Waitangi**, signed in 1840 (the English version was called the Treaty of Waitangi) were contracts entered into by **tupuna** of **Ngātiuru** and **Whānaupani**. The ASOC references the **Māori** and English versions of **He Whakaputanga** and the **Tiriti** as sources of confusion between Northland **hapū**, ultimately resulting in the northern land wars (ASOC, 2011).

**Taniora Arapata** recalled the traditional boundaries at the time of the 1856 crown purchase of **Ngātiuru** and **Whānaupani** lands (refer MAP 7.1):

*Start at Oruru until it reaches the stream of Oruaiti, turn our eyes to Berghans Point, at Mangonui and Taipa. Then we cross to the western side of Maungataniwha to Otangaora. Then we reach the forest where skid were made for the waka Mataatua called Puketi, then we reach the underground streams at Waipapa, Te Whau and Upokorau. From here we fly to Takou, to the stream Te Kopua Kawau and place there lies the waka Mataatua. Then we reach the foreshore and sea bed of the East Coast, facing towards Te Pokopoko o Hinenuipo and Te Urenui o Maui (Whangaroa Harbour) from here is Te Au Kanapanapa a sign of flashing water, it is from here we turn to look into the hinterlands to see Tangitu (ASOC, 2011).*

Map 7.1: North Auckland (Rodwell, 1950)



**Ngātiuru** and **Whānaupani** were **hapū** of **Ngāpuhi**. The geographical area of **Ngāpuhi** extended from the **Hokianga**, in western Northland, over to **Whangaroa**, eastern Northland (Munn, 1981) (see **Te Whare O Ngāpuhi** at the end of CHAPTER 5). The many **hapū** of **Ngāpuhi** shared strong kinship connections, extremely useful during the turbulent inter-**hapū** wars of the early 1800s (Munn, 1981).

**Hongi Hika** was a northern **rangatira** with extensive kin networks in Northland. He had links with **hapū** in many parts of the country, through **taumau** partnerships of **rangatira wāhine** to **rangatira** of other **hapū**. **Hika** was the primary strategic leader of the **hapū** of **Ngāpuhi** up until his death in 1828 (King, 2003; Sale, 1986; Wilson, 1985; Walker, 1990). **Hongi Hika** had three partners, **Turikatuku**, **Taniwhare** and **Kiri** and the first two women were half sisters to **Ururoa** (Sale, 1986). **Kiri** was a blind **matakite**, a confidante to **Hika**

during battle campaigns and fought alongside her husband. The relationship between **Hika** and **Ururoa** was particularly close. The two could rely on each other to take up the call to attack enemies or avenge **hapū** who had desecrated **Ngāpuhi rangatira wāhine** in **taumau** partnerships thereby breaching a political and biological kinship alliance with **Ngāpuhi** (Munn, 1981). Remember in CHAPTER 6, the peace arranged by a woman was sacred “*he maungarongo nā te wahine*” and **wāhine** as **te whare tangata** were **tapu** (Kahukiwa & Grace, 2000; Munn, 1981, p.161). Whilst an individual was responsible for violence on women, the community, **whānau** and **hapū**, were held accountable. Preparatory work for battle campaigns was a constant amid the routine of communal life, fishing, hunting, horticulture, planting, storing **kai** for the following season and, planning for the seasons ahead. Teaching and learning of **whānau** and **hapū** practices and knowledge were ongoing. To my certain knowledge, my **hapū Ngātiururoa** existed in oral history from at least the end of the 18th Century and commenced as a distinct **hapū** in much the same way as other **hapū** in breaking away from its origins to generate a ‘lateral’ **whakapapa** line (see CHAPTER 6 on the formation of **whānau** and **hapū**). According to the hand-written genealogies in our **Pukapuka Whakapapa**, **Ururoa** had three wives: **Patungahere Pahuhu**; **Miriama Ngakaikarere** and; **Rangi Puhi**. From these partnerships came an extensive labyrinth of kin connections. In the **Pukapuka Whakapapa** held by **Nanny Makere**, a date of 1775 was written beside the name of **Ururoa** in tracing a descent line from **Ngātokimatawhaorua**, the ancestral **waka**. I, we, are his **uri**. During the lifetime of **Ururoa**, **Ngātiururoa**, **Ngātiuru**, **Te Whānaupani** and indeed all northern **hapū**, were participants, willing or not, in the **Te Ao Hurihuri**, the changing world.

### **Brief encounters**

Abel Tasman a Dutch explorer voyaged to New Zealand in 1642 eventually anchoring in the bay known as **Taitapu**, later named Murderers Bay then renamed Golden Bay (King, 2003; Rodwell, 1950; St. Jean Baptiste, 1982; Walker, 2004). An encounter on the water with **Ngati Tumatakokiri** resulted in the death of several Dutch crew members and the killing of a **rangatira** (King, 2003). Tasman sailed away without disembarking on New Zealand soil having failed in his mission of seeking mineral rich lands in this new place (ibid). **Ngati Tumatakokiri** grieved for the loss of their **rangatira**. In their collective remembered

Polynesian histories, 'white' people were unknown, therefore this lethal incident was completely outside of their worldview and experience.

Storying is communication, and the memory of this event 'held' in their collective psychologies across the generations, lasting the distance of one hundred plus years when the New Zealanders would once again encounter European explorers. **Hehi**, a northern **rangatira**, recounted to European historian John White in 1839 his knowledge of five ships. The first ship seemed to be Tasman's in 1642 and others were: Cook's in 1769 at the Bay of Islands; Governor King's in 1793 at North Cape and; two ships visits to **Mangonui** in 1769 which were likely to be du Servilles's St. Jean Baptiste (Mulligan, 1958). Remember, pre-European **Māori** were a oral and aural culture. Recalling **whakapapa** in storying the past and transmitting cultural knowledge were the skills of **rangatira**, **tohunga** and **kaumātua** and passed along to certain members of every **hapū**.

The ship, the St. Jean Baptiste, sighted New Zealand in December of 1769. The ship's crew were in search of mineral laden lands, more than likely mentioned in Tasman's exploratory notes, which the ship's master used as a guide to reach New Zealand (Rodwell, 1950; St. Jean Baptiste, 1982). James Cook's ship, the Endeavour, also landed in New Zealand in the same year and this was noted in a historical journal, "*...unknown to both of them, Surville and Cook, had passed in the vicinity of North Cape*" (Mulligan, 1958, p.182). Cook had reached New Zealand in October 1769 and, he would revisit the country later and leave a lasting influence here and in the islands of the Pacific Ocean (Rodwell, 1950).

St. Jean Baptiste followed the coastline northwards to Maria Van Diemen (Cape Reinga) rounding the cape and headed south along the eastern coastline of Northland. The French spent less than a month in Northland, an inadequate time in which to learn the native language or to have more than a superficial understanding of cultural practices and, understandings. Separate journals were maintained by members of the ship's management, recording daily observations and interactions with the people of the far north. On the voyage to New Zealand, over 60 crewmen of the St. John Baptiste, that is one third of the total crew, had died of scurvy and a further eight crewmen died in New Zealand (Mulligan, 1958; St. Jean Baptiste, 1982). At the time of contact with people of Northland, the French crew were under-manned, dispirited and in need of remedies, rest,

recovery and supplies. The ship's journals noted well organised communities and natives with 'theistic notions:

***"...the image which many of them wear around their necks is certainly an idol. This figure looks as though it is squatting on its heels opening its thighs extremely wide. It has wide shoulders, the mouth is open with the tongue hanging out and it has a penis hanging down which is pointed like a dog's. The signs they made to tell us these were their gods consisted in joining hands together and raising their eyes to the sky..." (St. Jean Baptiste, 1982, p. 135)***

### **Imagined cannibalism**

The journals reported "*cannibalism by sign language*" interpreting the body language and hand gestulations of the New Zealanders in cutting and eating 'something' which the Frenchmen perceived as human flesh (Mulligan, 1958, p.192). Missionary Richard Davis also makes reference to cannibalism "*After landing, our first sight was the spot where they had been roasting human flesh*" (Coleman, 1865, p.109). Decades after the initial French visit and within a few years of Davis's journal writings, Missionary William Yates in 1835 published this, "*it is not true as represented in a recent publication that New Zealand mothers eat their own children*" (Yate, 1970, p.98). Europeans had perpetuated the myth of native mothers devouring their young as in infanticide. The native as savage and brutal was strong in the collective white imagination and, native women in particular, were vilified. The French crew did not witness any acts of cannibalism, yet they had convinced themselves of its practice:

***"...they also wear large shells hanging down in the middle of their forehead, and others on the chest, and they have bracelets of human teeth on the upper arm, or other ornaments...They seem sharp, cunning and agile. Here too they have pierced ears, wearing in them human teeth or those of another animal I do not know, or again greenish transparent stone which they carefully polish in different forms..." (St. Jean Baptiste, 1982, p.39)***

### **Ranginui of Ngāti Kahu**

The natives behaviour towards the strangers was the embodiment of compassion for the sick and dying crewmen (Mulligan, 1958; St. Jean Baptiste, 1982). They attended to the crew members onshore with meals, care and entertainment. The encounter between the French crew and the northerners unexpectedly soured when the French saw natives

dragging over the dunes a small boat that had been cut adrift from the ship in a recent gale. Instructed by de Surville the French crew attacked:

***“...all these people seeing our armed men took flight only one came to meet our gentlemen, holding a green branch in his hand, a symbol of friendship among all these peoples. Mr Surville had him arrested and well bound and taken on board the boat under a good escort. Next he burnt about thirty little huts...burned two big canoes and several of their nets...the fire spread into the brush up as far as the mountains at the back of Refuge Cove...the islander whom Mr Surville captured and then took on board...he is the man who had invited our gentlemen from the boat to go and sleep in his hut and whom had brought them fish etc...” (St. Jean Baptiste, 1982, p.85)***

The captive's name was recorded incorrectly in the ship's several journals and in 1953 it was confirmed by **Ngati Kahu** of Northland, that the captive was their **tupuna rangatira; Ranginui** (Mulligan,1958). The **uri** of **Ranginui** remembered him and, mourned him still in 1953 when they told the collective remembering of **Ranginui** . On that day at the beach the **Ngati Kahu** people were without weapons and **Ranginui** had been flourishing greenery as a sign of peace towards the irate crew of St. Jean Baptiste. Communicating anger and in retribution for the northerners 'stealing' the boat that was cast adrift; du Surville razed their **kainga**, destroyed boats and a fishing net and immediately set sail to Peru with the New Zealander on board. Sadly, a description of **Ranginui** was, “...rather sad; he sighs and cries often” (Mulligan, 1858; St. Jean Baptiste, p.86). The final mention of him was on March 24th 1770 upon sighting the islands of Jaun Fernandez:

***“It was at the time that we sighted these islands that Naquinovi [Ranignui], the man we had captured in New Zealand, died. Grief undoubtedly contributed greatly to his death, but the shortage of water which we had been suffering for a long time was the principal cause of it” (St. Jean Baptiste, 1982, p.173).***

**Hehi** in 1839 recalled the remembered story of St. Jean Baptiste's ventures in Northland. His words were translated in this poignant statement “they took one of our people who was lost forever” (Mulligan, 1958, p. 187). **Karakia**, a descendant of **Ranginui**, had this to say in 1953:

***“...the memory of the incident has still been retained and that his family and other Māori family of the district are direct descendants of the unfortunate chief who was captured after much kindness to the French” (Mulligan, 1958, p.182).***

The descendants of **Ranginui** had a **toki** made bearing the name **Whakarau**, made captive, in memory of **Ranginui** and this has been passed across the generations. It would seem that du Surville had every intention of taking for himself a native to 'study' (Mulligan, 1958). Neither du Surville or other crew members had learnt **Te Reo Māori**. Discourse between **Ranginui** and themselves would not have occurred and native intelligence was not being sought. Drawings of **Ranginui** revealing the tribal **moko** on his body, buttocks and thighs, were recorded in the journals of the crew and, published in the European world. **Ranginui** was kidnapped from his homeland whilst hosting sick crew of St. Jean Baptiste. Why did du Surville kidnap **Ranginui**? Because he could. His Eurocentric viewpoint placed the native disposition as inferior to his own 'civilised' culture. Northland **Māori** now had encounters of white people's arrogance and power in ships with superior weaponry.

### **The imperialistic gaze**

Foreign explorations to New Zealand brought the full gaze of the European imperialistic lens. Through the 15<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, European imperialism and colonialism spread across the world's continents, pursuing profits and power and also evading persecution and religious conversion happening in Europe (Keesing, 1981). Europeans had advanced technology in cartography, shipbuilding, navigation, mining and agricultural productivity as well as superior knowledge of the world's geography, minerals and wealth. Europe was the industrial centre of the world and this enhanced European's sense of success and influence. European society held understandings and beliefs that introducing 'civilisation' and Christianity to indigenous populations would be helpful to non-industrialised societies. The five hundred years of European expansion in search of profits and power and in 'civilising' natives resulted in subjugation, displacement and death for indigenous peoples (Keesing 1981). For European modernization and industrialisation, the exploitation of indigenous peoples and the natural resources under their control was necessary for economic development (Bodley, 1990). Profits, power and civilising were psychologies of domination.

Estimated numbers of the New Zealand population at the time of early European contact varied from around 80,000 to 100,000 (Coleman, 1865) and from 100,000 to 110, 0000 people (King, 2003). Pressured to leave countries of origin in the northern hemisphere due

to undesirable political, social, cultural and economic circumstances, Europeans risked arduous and dangerous voyages south in search of freedom from persecution and poverty and in the quest for prosperity. Among them would have been the disillusioned, the powerless, the brutal, criminals, romantics, working class, English gentry, adventurers, scholars, artists, missionaries, evangelists and explorers (Smith, 1999). Whalers were among the first trading ships to arrive in New Zealand, following the whale migrations off the northern coast of the North Island and whale fishing was seen to be established in 1802 with ships anchored in the harbours, bartering with natives for food (Rodwell, 1950). While explorer and trading ships were in port, crew disembarked and “*may have run wild*” during short visits and in later years as the shipping traffic increased with the growth of trade in the Bay of Islands, the onshore unruly conduct of traders, sailors and ex-convicts would concern local **hapū** (Rodwell, 1950, p.21) .

#### **Other arrives**

There were reports of around 400 to 500 ship jumpers and ex-convicts inhabiting the North Island and living among **hapū** about 1834 (Rodwell, 1950). Generally this group had no regard for authority and were the operators of ‘grog shops’ (Munn, 1981; Rodwell, 1950). The alcohol industry was associated with the growth of licentious behaviours. Maggie **Papakura** writes this:

*“Some of the pakeha in the old days were tino rora, pretty low down. Some were sailors who deserted their ships, and some wanted to settle down and start in a new country. A Maori would claim one of these as his pakeha, thinking that he might help him to deal with the pakeha traders. The pakeha would be free in personal matters, but in anything which affected the hapu, he had to conform to the rules of the kainga. He was a pakeha Maori, and one of them. Then there were pakeha tino taurekareka (very low down indeed) who visited New Zealand in whaling vessels in the very earliest days. For the most part they congregated at Kororekareka in the North and in Cook’s strait on the North Island side. Their behaviour shocked the Maori although he was called a savage. Their drunken orgies, debauchery, filthy language,, immorality, and vileness was a disgrace to the pakeha...”(Makereti, 1986, pp.109-110).*

The early whalers brought with them alcohol practices and expectations of prostitution with **wāhine**. Prostitution resulted in venereal diseases (refer CHAPTER 8) (King, 2003; Walker, 2004). Missionaries minimised the effects of alcohol on **Māori** communities in the



Bay of Islands and downplayed the introduction of venereal disease to indigenous women through the prostitution trade (Munn, 1982; Rodwell, 1950).

As early as 1827, the influences of alcohol consumption were noticed inland in northern **Māori** communities by missionary Richard Davis whose residence in Northland covered the 1820s onwards (Coleman, 1865; Smyth, 1993). Davis was based in **Kaikohe**, the **rohe** of my grandmothers **hapū Ngati Whakaaeke** for nearly a decade (Smyth, 1993). As he completed his round of parishes in **Kaikohe, Mangakahia, Waimate, Matauri, Otaua** and **Te Puna**, Davis notes, *“Among the natives there is much declension. Ardent spirits have been introduced, and some drink a great deal”* (Coleman, 1865, p.376). In despair he wrote *“Kaikohe is sunk in drunkenness”* (Coleman, 1865, p.409). By 1836, *“drinking and prostitution were rife”* in the Bay of Islands (Walker, 2004, p.79, Wilson, 1986) and **Māori** women and men would have been in the midst of sexual exploitation and addiction to alcohol and tobacco.

Prior to the arrival of missionaries in 1814, there were reports of white people living in North Auckland; an ex-convict, a **Pākehā-Māori** and two women convicts who had escaped from gaol, likely from the direction of Australia (Rodwell, 1950). Among the missionaries to land in Northland were a carpenter, a twine-maker and a blacksmith and they set about developing settlements and communities. Within two years a school house was built and much later the education of local half-castes was considered however, a specific school for ‘half-caste’ children did not eventuate. Half-caste was a value-laden term for children born of **Māori** mothers and **Pākehā** fathers. In **Pahia**, the local white women’s temperance group were also concerned about the numbers of half-caste children (Fleming, 1989). The origins of these children were unstated but a tentative guess to their likely parentage would be the prostitution trade and, communities where large numbers of ex-convicts and ship jumpers were living alongside **Māori**. Many of the latter were involved in the proliferation of ‘grog shops’ (Rodwell, 1950).

Fifty two white men, women and children resident in the Bay of Islands in 1819 and, on the opposite coast at **Hokianga**, a further 60 settlers, inclusive of more ‘tradesmen’, landed in 1827. Settlers and missionaries required lands, the former for personal prosperity and the latter to build homes, school houses and, for agriculture and horticulture in which to feed their families.

## Christianity and civilising

Missionaries arrived in Northland in 1814 with a goal of introducing “Christianity to New Zealand” (King, 2003; Rodwell, 1950; Walker, 2004, p.81). The missionaries had a “civilisation first” policy in teaching the natives “European manners and morals”, agriculture and horticulture (King, 2003, p.141). For Friere domination involves invasion, overt and camouflaged “with the invader assuming the role of a helping friend” (Friere, 1972, p.150). Some missionaries were concerned over the rapid commercialisation of the north and the settler focus on individual or personal gain (Coleman, 1865; Wilson, 1985). Christianity would become synonymous with colonisation in the European discourse of cultural superiority (Kessing, 1981; Walker, 1990; Mikaere, 2011; Smith, 1999).

Davis from the Church Mission Society (CMS) arrives firstly to **Ōhaeawai** (refer MAP 7.1), east of **Kaikohe**, in 1824, and was tasked with teaching agriculture to the locals. **Māori** people were intellectually versed in cultural philosophy and epistemology and took a genuine interest in **Pākehā** existentialism. Davis notes in his memoirs that **Māori** were less taken with lessons in agricultural methods and more interested in the meaning of **Pākehā** life (Coleman, 1865; Smyth, 1983). The land could not yield with immediacy the crops and food supplies required by missionaries and, their families therefore assistance was received from **ahi kā**, local people. For a time, Davis was reliant on the generosity or **manaakitanga** of **ahi kā** in supplying his family with food and in the provision of protection and safety against unfriendly **hapū** (Smyth, 1983). **Mana-aki** is an important aspect of **whakawhānaungatanga** in fostering relationships and local people were open to developing amicable links with missionaries and sympathetic towards **Pākehā** children.

## Disease and death

The early visiting ships of the late 1700s carried crew and passengers with diseases to which **Māori** people had no immunity (King, 2003; Walker, 2004). Initially, infectious diseases were restricted to the entry points of ports and coastal areas reflecting the communities the visitors moved amongst. With the increase of **Pākehā** settlers to inland areas, diseases spread rapidly and fatally throughout entire communities (King, 2003). In Northland, **whānau** and communities were devastated by high numbers of illnesses and

deaths caused by European introduced diseases to which they had no resistance (Coleman, 1865) (see Table 7.1):

**Table 7.1: Epidemics and Illness in Northland (Smyth, 1983, pp.38-40)**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Epidemic details</b>
<b>1829</b>	<b>Whooping cough epidemic, brought to New Zealand on a ship Sydney January 29th, many children died</b>
<b>1838</b>	<b>Cholera epidemic</b>
<b>1845</b>	<b>Fever, dystentry, thirty people died</b>
<b>1848</b>	<b>Tuberculosis surfaced, mainly children died</b>

Grief, loss and trauma were experiences of **Māori** people in the aftermath of epidemics which reoccurred over a of one hundred plus years, 1790 to 1900s (Walker, 2004). Missionary Richard Davis comments in his memoirs of a “*fever epidemic*” in **Mangakahia** south of **Kaikohe**, the **rohe** of my grandmother’s maternal **whānau**, named **Pou** (see Certificate of Marriage *Marker Story 1-Mama’s Day*). In a **whānau** of one hundred members, twenty people died from disease (Coleman, 1865, p.365). The following year Davis penned this:

***“At the funeral (of Mrs Davis) I first observed the measles among the natives. The epidemic spread quickly and was soon accompanied by whooping coough. This called for new exertion among the sick, the dying and the dead...under this duty I staggered on in the midst of scenes of distress, sorrow and death...” (Letter dated 7/4/1854, Coleman, 1865, p. 372).***

Burying a child was a huge sadness. Burying several or all of one’s children was inconceivable loss:

***“Nathaniel a Māori and his wife had buried six children, another woman had lost ten children and was about to lose her eleventh. These deaths occurred throughout 1849 because there was much sickness at the time” (Smyth, 1983, p.40).***

***“... the Maori children suffered most from the diseases during the 1840s and 1850s because the Maoris did not have the knowledge of how to deal with the sicknesses...” (Smyth, 1983, p.41).***

**Māori** people had no immunity to European introduced diseases nor did they have information in which to manage these diseases. The families of missionaries fared better as

they had the healthcare skills in which to nurse sick family members. Missionaries and their families attended epidemic stricken communities assisting with the deaths and dying of native people (Coleman, 1865). In Northland repeated diseases, probably compounded by poverty and inadequate diet, occurred to **Māori whānau** after **Māori whānau**. Many communities were exterminated by diseases. This was a holocaust with a residue of psychological trauma. A general philosophy held by the missionaries was eventually, the native generations would develop immunity to introduced pathogens (Coleman, 1865).

### **Educating men into patriarchy**

Early native converts to Christianity were **taurekareka**, slaves. Prior to captivity during inter-**hapu** battles, they would have belonged to the **tūtūa** class, commoners. In the new economies of cash and bartering introduced by European traders, **rangatira** no longer had the capacity or desire to sustain slaves extraneous to **whānau** needs. Increasing baptisms of former slaves occurred in the 1820s to 1840s (Coleman, 1985). Freedom from slavery, access to education and being united or 'equal' with other people under a Christian doctrine of a single god would have been uplifting for slaves who were at the bottom end of the **Māori** social strata.

In Northland, mission schools were set up with varying degrees of success and were the first European institution to transplant the Eurocentric views of cultural superiority (Ritchie, 1993; Walker, 1990). Missionary Davis supplied food as enticement for **Māori** to attend classroom lessons (Coleman, 1865). He had noted when students were hungry, the school room emptied. Patriarchy was woven in the schooling system and, from the classroom it would make its way into native families completing a cycle of cultural invasion, "*internalising paternal authority through the rigid relationship structure emphasised by the school...*" (Freire, 1970, p.153). **Māori** men adopted the attitudes and behaviours of their teachers, Christian European men. The subjects of the English school curriculum were taught to native New Zealanders in **Te Reo Māori** language inclusive of literacy, numeracy, writing, English and "*catechism*" (Walker, 2004, p.85). Reading, writing and Christianity would progress in tandem as the early missionaries focused attention on native men (Ritchie, 1993):

***“As Māori men, most of them former slaves learned to read and write, and were trained to teach, they returned to their own communities...establishing schools” (Ritchie, 1993, p.1)***

The missionaries learnt **Te Reo Māori** and “*scripture*” was translated into the **Māori** language with the first pages of written **Te Reo Māori** rolling off missionary pressers in 1827 (Walker, 2004, p.85). By 1835 five million pages of **Te Reo Māori** scripture had been produced by the missionary printers (Wilson, 1985). Davis in his memoirs exclaims his excitement at two thousand copies of scripture noting “*the line of distinction between the Christians and the Pagan natives becomes more and more distinctly visible*” in Northland (Coleman 1862, p.194). As the early Christian converts were previous slaves, it can be assumed that these **Māori** men took the scriptures into native communities as an introduction to Christianity:

***“Mission-trained Maori became the new men who carried their message of written language into tribal villages in advance of their European mentors” (Walker, 2004, p.85).***

Ex-slaves now converted to Christianity acquainted communities around the country with the teachings of the gospel. Essentially, the new converts had stepped into traditional leadership roles previously carried by **kaumātua, tohunga and rangatira**. They were heading leadership into a new direction. Values like **whānaungatanga** which lay at the heart of kin communities, would eventually be surpassed by ‘god’ or Christian values.

### **A new economy**

In the early decades of the nineteenth century northern **Māori** were ‘*active*’ in developing and participating in the new ‘*economy*’, making use of their lands in new ways through agricultural and horticultural skills learned from the missionaries (King, 2003, Smyth, 1983, Walker, 2004). **Māori** grew and processed flax for clothing textiles, **kauri** gum was extracted from land in Northland and **Māori** planted and harvested crops supplying **Pākehā** with produce from their lands (Rodwell, 1950; Smyth, 1993). A **Ngāpuhi** man **Rawiri Taiwhanga** became the first commercial dairy farmer trading butter to the “*Bay of Islands merchants*” in 1835 (Owens, 1992, p.36). From cash income, **Māori** invested in ships and flour mills and produce was shipped locally and internationally on **Māori** owned vessels. **Māori hapū** dominated coastal shipping and in the **rohe** of **Whangaroa**, the homelands of

my **tupuna Ururoa**, shipbuilding facilities flourished. From 1850 to 1909 over eighty-four schooners, ketches, scows and luggers were built in **Whangaroa** (Sale, 1986). Frequently these were named for local notable **Māori** and non-**Māori**, women and men alike. A schooner built in 1900 was named for **Ururoa** however, the schooner was lost off the **Wanganui** coastline in 1908 (Sale, 1986). Some **hapū** and **rangatira** had embraced the transition from a barter economy to a cash society.

### **Land transactions, pre-Treaty**

In Northland, multiple and variable land transactions occurred between **hapū**, **Pākehā** settlers, missionaries and speculators in the two decades leading up to 1840, a year defined in history for the Treaty of **Waitangi**, a contract between **Māori** and the Crown, as representatives of the British monarchy (Rodwell, 1950). The news of a Treaty signing in New Zealand planned for 1840 carried overseas attracting the attention of Australian speculators and local British buyers resulting in a rush of land purchases in the North and South Island in 1839. Several missionaries made purchases of huge parcels of land for their own private prosperity whilst operating mission stations on land provided by local **hapū** (Rodwell, 1850; Walker, 2004). By 1840, 1,686,080 acres across **Mangonui**, **Whangaroa**, **Hokianga** and the Bay of Islands had been sold (ibid).

In **Whangaroa Northland**, some **land** transactions were conducted *“subject to tikanga Māori and any formal deeds were drafted and signed in te reo Māori”* (ASOC, 2011, p17). Underpinning land transactions was the concept of **tuku** which embodied specificity; **whenua** was gifted for particular reasons to particular people and when their usage of the land had ended, then land was to be returned to the giver (ibid). **Hapū** retained authority over their lands and to whom land could be given to, the resources on land and continuing payments.

Some land sales created inter-**hapū** conflict as to who had the right to claim ownership of **whenua** and then to sell (Rodwell, 1950; ASOC, 2011). Previously, land was under the dominion of the collective **hapū**. Land sold without the agreement of the collective in the 1800's would later surface as a legal claim under the Treaty of **Waitangi** Act 1975 in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. **Hapū** were emotionally and spiritually connected to **whenua** and the sale of

land to Europeans “was frequently accompanied on the part of the natives by scenes of lamentation and farewell” (Firth in Rodwell, 1950, p.236).

My **tupuna Ururoa** was reported to have commenced land sales as early as 1829 in the **Whangaroa** region:

*“At the time of the Treaty of Waitangi all the Tangata Whenua was under Ururoa...he sold what land he liked and gave the payment to whom he liked.”  
(Sale, 1986, p. 77)*

The above is a simplistic statement reporting on one individual’s land transactions when the concepts around collective land authority or **Mana Whenua** were extremely complex issues. It would appear that **Ururoa** did sell lands in **Whangaroa** of which the proceeds were then distributed among **whānau** and **hapū**.

In *Marker Story 2 – The Cake Tin*, the contents of the said Cake Tin included land papers pertaining to my grandmother, **Ripeka Arepata Kihi Maihi**, of her **whenua** in **Kaikohe** and the surrounding district. There were no land ownership papers pertaining to land in **Whangaroa**, the birthplace of my grandfather **Te Ururoa Kainamu**. I asked Nanny **Wai** what had happened to my grandfather’s share of inherited land She said he had signed his land shares over to **whanaunga**, relatives who were living at that time in the **rohe** of **Whangaroa**. My grandfather had made his life in **Kaikohe** alongside my grandmother on her **whenua**.

**Ururoa** was joined by other **rangatira** in their concerns over the future governance of New Zealand. It was felt that **Māori** needed to retain a strong say over the future wellbeing of New Zealand in developing as a new nation of **Māori** and Europeans. The unruliness of British subjects in the Bay of Islands and the lack of censor over their lawlessness were areas of grave concern. The missionaries could not curtail the drunkenness of British men and sailors nor did they have influence on other British subjects, for example the ship’s captains identified at the centre of the ‘Girls War’ (refer CHAPTER 6) (Munn, 1981).

Increasing numbers of settlers were arriving in Northland putting pressure on local **hapū** for land and resources. Trading and businesses in the Bay of Islands were flourishing and the numbers of natives receiving instruction in Christianity and education meant **Te Ao Māori** was changing rapidly. **Rangatira** sought to develop a declaration to bring some **hapū**

and **iwi** unification in order to form an on-going political and economic relationship with the settler government.

### **He Whakaputanga / The Declaration of Independence**

Northern **hapū** under the leadership of **Hongi Hika** had commenced “*earlier oral discussions*” with the British monarchy King George during the visit of **Hongi Hika** to England in 1820 (ASOC, 2011, p.10; Walker, 2004). Twenty-five northern **rangatira** adopted a national flag at **Waitangi** in 1834 and this gained acceptance by other **iwi**. The following year on October 28<sup>th</sup> 1835:

*“35 heredity chiefs or heads of tribes which form a fair representation of the tribes of New Zealand from the North Cape to the latitude of the River Thames [formed a confederation known as the] United Tribes of New Zealand” and declared New Zealand “He Wenua Rangatira” (Owen, 1960, p.14).*

The Declaration of Independence was written in English and is different to **He Wakaputanga**, the declaration prepared in **Te Reo Māori**. The first signatory on the English declaration was **Paerata**, a **Waikato rangatira**, and the second was **Ururoa** (Owen, 1960). Over the next five years, both the English and **Te Reo Māori** declarations were signed by further **rangatira** in Northland down to the **Hauraki** Gulf (Walker, 2004).

Although the declarations had been put together with the assistance of **Pākehā**, largely it was ignored and, dismissed by European society as a non-event and, an over-reaction to the possibility of French interests in settling Northland (King, 2003). A truth may have been European officials and, missionaries fear of local **Māori** mounting a united political body in maintaining and exercising control and authority over their **whenua**. **He Whakaputanga** and the associated documents following **He Whakaputanga** (translations and interpretations) resulted in misunderstandings:

*“He Whakaputanga created different and potentially conflicting understandings and, in so doing, laid the foundations for future difficulties. The gap between Ngāpuhi and British understandings implicit in the 1835 document was a major factor in the gulfs of understanding that re-surfaced in 1840 with the different texts of the Treaty and which ultimately led to conflict in the Northern War” (ASOC, 2011, p.11).*



**He Whakaputanga** was the precursor for the **Tiriti o Waitangi** 1840 in **Te Reo Māori** and the English version, the Treaty of Waitangi 1840.

### **Te Tiriti o Waitangi / The Treaty of Waitangi**

**Māori** remained the larger population pre-Treaty, greatly outnumbering Europeans. They would have felt confident in their ability to have a strong presence politically regarding future governance of the nation. For the Europeans the benefits of a treaty were more land, wider trading markets and greater number of Christian converts among **Māori** people. **Rangatira** were not a united body in accepting the Treaty, suspicious of its motive and those British who purported its necessity (Walker 2004)

Others gave persuasive support for the Treaty of **Waitangi** as did **Tamati Waka Nene, no Te Tai Tokerau:**

*“Friends! Whose potatoes do we eat? Whose were our blankets? These spears (holding up his taiaha) are laid aside. What has the Ngāpuhi now? The Pākehā’s gun, his shot, his powder. Many of his children are our children” (Walker, 2004, p.95).*

And later, northern **rangatira** who were once believers of the Treaty would fight each other in defending **mana** over **whenua** and the perceived ‘brokenness’ of the Treaty’s words. There were two versions of the **Tiriti O Waitangi** (TOW) , the English language version signed by “*thirty-nine*” **iwi** representatives and the **Te Reo Māori** language version signed by “*five hundred*” **Māori** representatives (ASOC, 2011; Houkamau, 2006, p.80; King, 2003; Walker, 2004).

Among the British were critics and cynics of the Treaty, unambiguous with condemnation and, in cultural superiority of **Māori**. The English elite saw themselves as racially superior thus legitimising colonisation of **Māori** or ‘savages’ with or without a treaty (Walker, 2004). Race and class set the tone for future **Pākehā Māori** relations and the Treaty emerged on a foundation of multiple discourses. Equality or respect for the authority of the first New Zealanders was heavily weighted against foreign ideas of individualism and capitalism in opposition to the collectivism and bartering economy of indigenous **Māori**. In 1840, the **Māori** population had nearly halved since pre-European estimates due to introduced diseases and warring **hapū** and **iwi** (Walker, 2004).

Following the Treaty, disquiet arose among various northern **rangatira** regarding the rapid dispossession of lands, the huge number of migrants and the dishonouring of the tenets of the Treaty. Prominent among these was **Hone Heke**, who at one time was a Treaty supporter. He waged rebellion against the new settler government (King, 2003, Wilson, 1985). **Hapū** in the north were divided in support of the government and the Treaty. **Ururoa** who was initially dissuaded from rebellion combined forces with **Hone Heke** in fighting the government militia and supportive **hapū** (Owen, 1993; Wilson, 1985). Inter-**hapū** tensions in the 1840's were thought to be fuelled by past resentments of previous wars in Northland. As well, the differences between the **Te Reo Māori** versions and English language versions of **He Whakaputanga** and **Te Tiriti o Waitangi** created misunderstandings between northern **hapū** (ASOC, 2011), resulting in conflict. The continual fighting drained the resources of some **hapū** whose economy and health had been neglected. Sickness, disease, inter-**hapū** battles, warring against the government and land alienation resulted in poverty, despair and a reduction in the fertility rate (ASOC, 2011; King, 2003). **Rangatiratanga** among **whānau** and **hapū** was undermined and northern **Māori** society underwent transformation (Walker, 2004).

**Ururoa** did not add his name to the list of **rangatira** representing **hapū** and **iwi** in agreeing to the Treaty of **Waitangi**.

It is purported that my great great great great grandfather **Ururoa**, died in 1860 (Sale 1986). From the **Pukapuka Whakapapa** held by Nanny **Makere**, the year 1775 would seem to be the birthdate of **Ururoa**; he lived to be an old, old man. Forty three years after his death my grandfather **Te Ururoa Kainamu** was born in **Maungaiti** in **Kaeo**, Northland. Three years after his death in 1983, I commenced my family of four children. From the birth of **rangatira Ururoa** in 1775 to the birth of his my youngest child in 1991, 216 years had passed. During this time, **Māori** land ownership went from total **rangatiratanga** over lands and resources to 66,400,400 acres in 1840 and further reduced to 1,866,337 acres in 1919, of which the bulk of this figure was leasehold lands under **Pākehā** occupation (Moon, 1993).

Following the **Treaty of Waitangi** in 1840, the government instituted the Native Land Courts where **rangatira** placed claims for land illegally sold or taken from **hapū** possession. In the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, **rangatira** followed the Native Land Courts sittings

around Northland waiting for **hapū** claims to be heard (ASOC, 2011). The prolonged waiting meant leaders were away from the **whenua** and, land was left unattended and, unprepared for the following seasons. **Hapū** were living in substandard conditions resulting in sickness and death. **Rangatira** charged food at stores located near where they attended Native Land Court sittings (ibid). Store owners were paid in land for food under **tamana**, advance payments. More land was taken. The government later ceased **tamana** payments in the late 1800s (ASOC, 2011).

From **rangatira Ururoa** to his descendant **Te Ururoa Kainamu** (my grandfather) and to the millennium generation of my children, **Te Ao Māori** society changed and our **hapū** underwent huge transformation: from a land based people to landless; from natural wealth to material poverty; from a barter system to a cash economy; from **hapū** governance to **iwi** representation; from kinship communities to suburban places; from a hierarchical, strongly led society to leaderless; from **whānau** to individual households; from collective ancestral knowledge to whiteness; from **tapu** to **noa**; from longevity in our men to the premature deaths of men and; from omnipotent woman to domesticity. Within these many beginnings and endings were the blocks of intergenerational cultural trauma and grief. Under the weight of another's cultural hegemony, the stories of ourselves were concealed. Domination had achieved its inevitable end in cultural disconnection. The ancestral dots that triangulated and secured us to this place and that place were not seen.

## Summary Chapter 7

Europeans were antagonists in the face of welcoming natives and they held in the imaginations a picture of **Māori** as savage. This discourse informed their interactions with natives. **Māori** had no resistance to the introduction of alcohol and introduced diseases; disruption, death and despair were the outcomes. In my homeplace of Northland, alcohol abuse was widespread in the early half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Christianity offered salvation, education and, instruction in agricultural methods, whilst undermining the hierarchal system within **hapū**, replacing social obligations within **whānau** with church and, tilting the gender balance firmly towards men. As the new 'sole' leaders of **Te Ao Māori**, men became the social and public face of **hapū**; they would also wear the stresses of compliance in European society. **Whenua**, the political, economic and spiritual foundation of **Te Ao Māori** was purchased by speculators, missionaries and settlers, and confiscated

forcibly by the government; **Māori** society fragmented and for some **hapū**, **whaunaungatanga** weakened. We the indigent, became 'you people'.

CHAPTER 8 presents the colonisation of women and the narrowing of women's worlds. Our men adopted patriarchal values believing enculturation would assist **whānau** and **hapū** however, the process of colonisation was domination and this landed heavily on women and children.



# CHAPTER EIGHT: THE COLONISATION OF woME<sub>n</sub>

## What does it mean to be Māori?

*Our whakapapa; from Io, Ranginui and Papatūānuku, their progeny of tutelary gods, Hine-Ahu-One and Hinetitama, Hapū ancestor deities and even our voyaging waka, signals and illuminates the pathway of our sacred origins. Therefore, whanaungatanga and whakapapa “the genealogical relationships between people are of the highest importance” and connect us with mana and tapu. This I believe is what it means to be Māori. Upholding our old ways and adapting with the times, understanding these values of Mana, Tapu and Whanaungatanga and our connections with all Māori past, present and future that stretches back through our whakapapa to Io.*

**Apenti Tamanui-Fransen no Ngāti Porou (Craccum, 2012, p.37)**

CHAPTER 7 introduced the time of early **Māori** contact with European explorers to Northland which ended disastrously for both sides. **Māori** held the remembrances of these events in their storying across the generations and, the European explorers wrote these incidents into history informing the literary world. These early written texts contained the threads of Eurocentric discourses on women as inferior and sexually licentious. Within a short period, traders, whalers, ex-convicts, missionaries and settlers headed towards New Zealand; some for trade and others for a new life. For the latter, Northland became home. Patriarchy, practised by the settlers and adopted by **Māori** men, diminished the status of women in **Māori** creation stories and in society.

CHAPTER 8 privileges women’s stories and focuses on the changing domains, social and private, of **Māori** women over the nineteenth and twentieth century. Europeanisation of natives introduced discourses of women as inferior to men and to **Pākehā** women. **Māori** women’s visibility in historical literature was compartmentalised to sexuality and reproduction, discussed in association to ‘prostitution’, ‘sexual relations with **Pākehā**’ and in the reproduction of children inclusive of ‘half-caste’ offspring (Shortland, 1849; Sorrenson, 1992). Women’s sexuality and sexual reproduction would become the focus for both **Pākehā** men and women, though for opposite reasons. This chapter discusses the gendered aspects of colonisation which, as stated in the previous chapter, had an inevitable cause; to dominate.

## He maungarongo nā te wahine

The peace laid down by a woman referred to the social status of women in softening the effects of inter-**hapū** conflict by partnering men from opposing **hapū**. These were formal agreements negotiated within **hapū** during times of conflict as well as peace (**Makereti**, 1986; Munn, 1981; Stirling & Salmond, 1976). The purposes were to foster **whānaungatanga** between **hapū**, to strengthen **whakapapa** lines and also for the consolidation and continuation of **rangatira** ranks within **Te Ao Māori**. In CHAPTER 6: **HE KURA TE TANGATA** is a story of a **kuia** whose **whānau** arranged for her marriage to the brother of her dead husband in the 1970s. The two **hapū** were concerned for the welfare of the widow and wanted to retain links with children. A **kaumatua** remarked that in times past, pairing a widow with another man within the same **hapū** soon after the death of her partner ameliorated the anguish and distress of recent emotional loss, thus preventing a downward spiral of mental health (Personal communication with Ron Baker, November 2012 **Tamaki Makarau**). Women's authority covered the domains of politics, spirituality, economics (they toiled alongside men), sexuality as in **whakanoa** and **whakatapu**, knowledge holders, healers and, generators of **whakapapa** as in **whare tangata** (**Mikaere**, 2011).

## Women for barter and collateral

The arrival of **Pākehā** to these shores had an immediate trajectory on women's status; **Pākehā** men would only trade with other men (Walker, 2004). This practice largely discounted women as leaders or representatives of **hapū** and viewed men as the single public face of **whānau** and **hapū**. **Pākehā** regarded women, their own included, as the property of men (**Mikaere**, 2011). How **Pākehā** men could and would utilise women became clear during the first recorded **Māori**-European contact in Northland in 1769, when it was thought that native men offered women to the crewmen as barter for goods (St. Jean Baptiste, 1982). It is unclear whether the exchange was successful, nonetheless, the 'offer' did not seem to surprise the ship's crew. There were other disparaging reports of women exposing their genitals to the Frenchmen in what was perceived as provocative behaviour. Johnston and **Pihama** interpreted this as the **whakapohane**, an act of extreme derision by women towards crew members (Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Williams, 1992).

European men desired native women for pleasure, as domestics and wives. To encourage **Pākehā** traders into **whānau** and **hapū** and thereby having access to their skills and knowledge, **hapū** negotiated arranged partnerships between **rangatira wāhine** and **Pākehā** men (**Makereti**, 1986; Walker, 2004). This was outside the usual bounds of **taumau** in the context of **hapū** obligations, and, did not fit under payment for goods. On the other hand, **Pākehā** were aware of women's land ownership which was an attractive prospect for foreign men wanting land (**Mikaere**, 2011).

### **Utu Pihikete, a gendered legacy of colonisation**

In Minnesota, America, "*white European colonists brought with them a culture of prostitution and imposed this on native women*", viewing indigenous women as they saw their own white European women of low social status (Farley, Matthews, Deer, Lopez, Stark & Hudson, 2011, p.33; Silliman, Fried, Ross & Gutierrez, 2004). Subjugation of indigenous beliefs with European cultural understandings coupled with the removal of lands and the introduction of diseases, served to traumatise indigenous people. Prostitution is a business transaction in the trade of sex for a product or service. Its introduction into indigenous populations where it was unknown, subordinated the status of women. Native men continued on with practices that denigrated and diminished women (Farley et al., 2011) Prostitution is viewed by indigenous scholars as a gendered aspect of the legacy of colonisation (ibid).

Within the context of **whakawhānaungatanga**, the endorsement of women-men unions were 'customary practice' in fostering kinship ties across **whānau** and **hapū** and in developing alliances across **hapū**, as discussed in CHAPTER 6. Knowledge of **whakapapa** on both sides of the partnerships were paramount in deciding the best outcome for **whānau** and **hapū** involved. Outside cultural institutions of **whānau** and **hapū**, the endorsement of sexual relationships to augment business transactions between **hapū** and European traders, seamen and ex-convicts would become open to abuses, paving the way for the exploitation and victimisation of **Māori** women internally within **Te Ao Māori** and externally:

***"Aside from being regarded as the wives and children (and therefore the property) of Māori men, or as temporary bed-mates for white men, Māori***



*women were also sometimes regarded by the settlers as potential sources of land and economic security” (Mikaere, 2011, p.194-195).*

**Pihikete mā**, white biscuit, was the term my grandfather used for his half-caste **mokopuna**; myself. Grandfather had a wry sense of humour and the term referred to my **Pākehā** parentage. **Pihikete** and **paraoa**, biscuit and bread, are words used casually to indicate **Pākehā** contexts. The term **utu pihikete** has its origins in the sex trade and translates to the payment of biscuits for sexual services. Prostitution flourished in the early decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century as the Bay of Islands established itself as the commercial centre of New Zealand. **Rangatira** women involved in the sex trade were reported as innovative in negotiating higher prices and better working conditions for sexual relationships with European men who were able to ‘afford’ **wāhine rangatira** (Wilson, 1985). **Wāhine**-led *“versions of post-contact sex industry provided numerous opportunities for Māori women to acquire mana and contribute to the wellbeing of their whānau”* as opposed to men-dominated sex industry which was more than likely exploitive (Palmer, 2002, p.21). **Utu pihikete** suggests that some women’s circumstances were extremely impoverished, accepting payment of food for sexual services. Through prostitution, **Māori** women became the *“most common form of payment for European goods”* (Wilson, 1985, p.7).

This makes me sad to read of the rapidity of our men in commodifying and objectifying **whakapapa** for business purposes with **Pākehā** and how quickly our women were initiated into the sex trade industry. **Māori** were keen to acquire the trading practices of Europeans and, the material goods on board the ships: tobacco; alcohol; food; muskets; and cloth (St. Jean Baptiste, 1982). Ship’s crew were transient visitors to ports around the world and accustomed to bargaining with natives for sexual trade. How would this have impacted on our women’s relationships with our men? How did our women, **rangatira** and **tūtūa**, reconcile **Te Ao Māori** values of women with the tenets of the prostitution trade and its denigration of native women?

Women captured as slaves were compliant with **rangatira** expectations to enter into prostitution as this assisted, albeit tenuously, their survival. For these women, prostitution was not profitable as the fiscal benefits went to their captors, whilst the women, mothers, and offspring lived in squalor resulting in high vulnerability (Wilson, 1985). However, following the trend of **taurekareka**, or slaves who were freed from captivity to follow

Christianity under the missionaries, women slaves were more likely set free, to pursue their own working conditions with European men of low social status.

*Some one hundred years on from the Bay of Islands sex trade and a nanny shares with me the common vocation of prostitution for rural women during her years of growing up in Northland in the 1940s and 1950s. **Wāhine** travelled from rural communities by bus to the ports of Auckland to service the sex trade on the boats. They were called ship girls and groups of them travelled back and forth (Journal entry November 2012).*

### **Bacteria as a weapon**

The introduction of contagious bacteria and viruses, maliciously or negligently, by invading forces, foreign travellers, explorers and early settlers were common among indigenous populations (Walker, 2004). The First Nations people of Canada have stories of “*blankets used by smallpox victims being sent*” into their communities while foreign militia and settlers waited outside for people to succumb to disease and to die (Smith, 1999, p.63). The introduction of European-borne diseases had devastating effects among indigenous populations as discussed in CHAPTER 7. Sexually transmitted diseases were introduced to **Māori** women initially via the prostitution trade by sealers, whalers, traders and explorers from the late eighteenth century onwards (Fleming, 1989, King, 2003, Smith, 1999, Walker, 2004; Wilson, 1985).

Gonorrhoea, rather than syphilis, was thought to be the specific venereal disease as sterility resulted, slowing fertility rate decades later (Houghton, 1980). In the 19th Century, “*true syphilis in a Māori*” was never seen by medical personnel practising predominantly within these communities and, children did not bear any marks of syphilis, leading the medical fraternity to conclude that syphilis was an unimportant disease among **Māori** and primarily a disease of ‘*low-living whites*’ (Houghton, 1980, p.135). Venereal diseases were unknown in pre-contact communities. Following the arrival of European men, gonorrhoea and syphilis were identified in some communities as **tokatoka**, syphilis, and **paipai**, gonorrhoea (Goldie, 1904; Scott, 1975):

***“...we have no evidence of the existence of syphilis in New Zealand in pre-history. The Europeans nurtured it, lovingly, and carried it away around the world with them again” (Houghton, 1980, p.143).***

## **Parihaka, cultural trauma of women**

A **kōrero** was shared with me regarding the malicious transmission of venereal disease to the women of **Parihaka** following the removal of their leader **Te Whiti** and the men by government constabulary (Personal communication Ruth Herd, **Te Ati Awa**, July 9<sup>th</sup> 2012 **Hui Whakapiripiri** Auckland). On November 5<sup>th</sup> 1881, the constabulary marched on **Parihaka** towards the first lines of defence *“two hundred half-naked little **tatarahiki**...in the face of the troopers they calmly chanted songs and spun tops. Behind them groups of older girls, skipping unison, made the second line of defence”* (Scott, 1975, p.113). The lines did not waver and the son of **Te Whiti** recalled years later:

***“the soldiers rushed the women and called them “bloody black niggers”. They swung their swords threatening to cut the women’s heads off” (ibid).***

**Pākehā** men, the government, had no respect for native women. Women and children were the initial line of defence, responding to the force of constabulary with **haka**, songs and some even offered bread to the troopers. Remember it was stated earlier, that these people practised passive resistance. Later, after the men had been taken from **Parihaka**, the constabulary raped women and young girls:

***“The night raids were stepped up to find houses to destroy and the women were frequently victims of drunken and diseased troopers” (Scott, 1975, p.127).***

The strategy of infecting the village women with venereal diseases was specific to the **Parihaka** women. Previously, people not of the **Parihaka hapū** were warned by the government to vacate the village. Those left behind and without men (who had been removed earlier) were identified as **Parihaka** women and children (Scott, 1975). The rape of women by diseased troopers was biological warfare, genocide, in transmitting disease with long term sequelae of perinatal complications, miscarriage, infant morbidities and mortalities and later adult psychiatric illness:

***“The reality behind the indulgent amusement was that syphilis was brought into the town once given a clean bill of health by Taranaki’s medical officer, Dr. O’Carroll, and congenital cases, a direct result of the invasion, were reported through the province for years afterwards. A flat rock in the Waitotoroa Stream where infected women bathed is known to the present day as Te Paipai, paipai being venereal disease” (Scott, 1975, p.12).***

A young doctor working in the **Taranaki** community decades following the destruction of the **Parihaka** village informed the writer Scott:

*“There was looting and debauchery. Perhaps I speak too strongly but the truth must be told. In my work as a young man I saw cases of congenital syphilis in Taranaki that were the result of the occupation of Parihaka” (Scott, 1975, p.127).*

The trooper’s hierarchy permitted soldiers with venereal diseases to rape the **Parihaka** women. The intent was the annihilation of future generations through sterility and congenital diseases, and, the degradation of women. Note the gendered language: *“women were frequently victims of drunken and diseased troopers... there was looting and debauchery”* (Scott, 1975, p.127). Troopers and constabulary were not brought to trial, yet *“armed constabulary were court-martialled for copulating with dogs”* during the **Taranaki** campaign (Hill in Scott, 1975, p.127). The sexual violation of **Parihaka** women were not considered criminal.

I attended the movie *“Parihaka”* produced by **Paora** Joseph, screened at the International film Festival at Sky City Auckland, on August 5th 2012. **Naida Glavich no Ngāti Whatua ki Kaipara** introduced the opening of the movie **Parihaka**, asking its producer *“He aha te tote o te kōrero?”*, what is the salt of the story? Joseph replied, *“who will listen?”*. Perhaps he was saying, who will listen to the truths.

The movie portrayed the forceful and illegal removal of the **Parihaka** men as punishment for the **hapū** in continuing to develop land confiscated by the government during the land wars in the late 1800s. Tribal lands were deemed as ‘surplus’ by the government and claimed by the government for **Pākehā** settlement (Walker, 2004). The movie followed the recent **hiko**i of the **kainga tamariki** and **whānau** as they traced the steps of their **tupuna mātua** who were arrested and removed from **Parihaka** in 1881. The men were used as slave labour, building roads and communities in parts of Wellington and Dunedin. The men were imprisoned in appalling conditions (Scott 1975).

At the movie’s end was a time for audience questions. A **Pākehā** man, aged approximately in his sixties, stood to share his story. He said he had been raised and educated at **Parihaka** and was “likely a descendant of one of the local constabulary” who raided **Parihaka** in 1881. With upraised palms, his body language conveying distress, his words expressing

bewilderment, the **Pākehā** man asked, “why were we not taught this history at school...my **Māori** friends never said anything about this, why?”

The focus of the movie **Parihaka** was on the forced removal of the men and their journey to return to home lands. The trauma to **Parihaka** women was not revealed. Stigma and shame are attached to sexual abuse and violence. Shame is internalised in victims as reflected in the stories of the women in the **Whakapapa Kōrero** (CHAPTER 4) and myself. Communities do not like to speak about the sexual atrocities committed on children and women and in the silence, abuse continues.

**He aha te tote o taku kōrero?** What is the salt of my storying? We all must listen.

### **Disease implications on maternities**

Gonorrhoea or Neisseria gonorrhoea spreads to the cervix, resulting in pelvic inflammatory disease and inflammation of the fallopian tubes (Fleming, 1989). It “*entered the bloodstream, attacked the joints, the eyes and the lining of the heart*” (Fleming, 1989, p.9). Women had increased risk of ectopic pregnancy and premature birth. Infected women during childbirth risked passing the disease onto their babies and the outcomes were eye infections. Congenital blindness was common among **Māori** (Goldie, 1904).

Communicated through sexual contact, syphilis or treponema palladium was brought “*seaborne*” across from “*Tasmania*”, referring to the crew members of ships contracting the diseases and infecting coastal communities (Young, 1915, p.117). Syphilis is also inherited, “*...an ‘insidious and destructive degenerative disease, attacking the heart, the nervous system and the brain leading to mental and physical disability and death in some cases*” (Fleming, 1989, p.10). Congenital syphilis resulted in miscarriages, new-born mortalities, infantile seizures and mental retardation in babies. “*Premature birth and miscarriages were not uncommon*” with women and mothers “*suffering as often as from two or three to ten or twelve times*” (Goldie, 1904, p.110).

*Hangi pants, hangi pants, hangi pants! Laughing, the nanny repeated the words from her childhood. I imagine her as a ten year old, giggling as she sings these words to her sisters or girl cousins. At seventy plus years old, her voice still carries the teasin and mocking tone of a young girl. She explains about hangi pants. In the bush where she went with her grandmother, a fire would be lit and rocks placed on top. When the rocks were extremely hot, water was added to the rocks and her grandmother would lower herself over the steamy vapours. This was a common practise for womens’ ailments and undertaken in the*

*bush because of the privacy afforded women. She said this method of steam relieved the symptoms of venereal diseases as well as being a treatment following birth. Hangi pants, hangi pants, hangi pants! (Journal entry November 2012).*

### **Syphilis and insanity**

Syphilis was associated with subsequent onset of insanity, general paralysis of the insane characterised by psychotic symptoms of sudden and dramatic onset. Reference had been made to the “*comparative rarity of mental disorders*” among the indigenous population in New Zealand in the 19th Century (Goldie, 1904, p.74). The most common varieties of mental illness in the mid 1800s were in order of occurrence; “*idiocy, senile mania and dementia, morbid impulse such as homicidal and suicidal mania and general paralysis of the insane*” (Goldie 1904, p.69). Among **Māori** the common mental disease was “*congenital amentia, in all its varieties*” (ibid). Mental disorders among **Māori** were thought to be the results of civilisation in a collision of cultures, and **Māori** also had a high frequency of congenital mental disorders, enduring for up to three generations (Goldie, 1904). It was predicted that three to four per cent of all syphilis sufferers would develop general paralysis of the insane and in the decade prior to 1915, there had been 451 deaths in New Zealand (Young, 1915).

In 1922, the estimated population of New Zealand was 1,296, 886 and the total number of people treated for venereal disease and associated complications was 3,031 (Fleming, 1989), the percentage of **Māori** people in this figure is unknown. Many more in the community went undetected and therefore untreated. From the earlier times of its appearance among **Māori** communities, women would have endured stigmatisation for contracting venereal disease, a sure sign of sexual connection with ship crewmen and **Pākehā**. Congenital syphilis among surviving babies would have presented itself in co-morbidities, adding further to the distress of mothers. Alienation of members with venereal diseases would have been self-imposed as well as a response of stigma and in communities attempting to halt its contagion and to understand its virulence.

By the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, large numbers of **Māori** came to the attention of the authorities for sexually transmitted diseases:

***“...stigmatisation suffered by certain groups in society singled out as responsible for the prevalence of venereal disease...throughout the century***

*[20<sup>th</sup> century]...defined in terms of sex, behaviour, mental deficiency and at least in some cases race" (Fleming, 1989, p.172),*

*"The behaviour of many coloured girls is definitely a menace...they have in a way a different moral standard from our white girls which causes men to expect from the latter that which he receives from the former" (Young Women's Christian Association in Fleming, 1989, p.172).*

**Māori** women were viewed as immoral and therefore the carriers of venereal diseases and exposed to prejudice and stigma from **Pākehā** women. The health authorities were not investing health funds into **Māori** communities to assess and treat venereal disease. In 1939, screening for venereal disease was undertaken in the **rohe** of **Whakatane** for **Māori** aged five years and over, led by a **Māori** medical officer (Fleming, 1989). The results of the screening were a *"high incidence of syphilis"* among the **Whakatane rohe** (Fleming, 1989, p.86).

The implications of venereal disease on **Māori** women's mental health and wellbeing have not been caught in the literature. Stigma and shame would have been the legacy of sexually transmitted diseases as well as grief and despondency for pregnancy loss, infant morbidity and infant mortality. Silence prevailed.

### **Half-caste children**

The earliest written record in English on the observation of a child of mixed ethnicity was 1805 (Wilson, 1985). With increasing cross cultural interpersonal contact through prostitution the numbers of mixed heritage multiplied. However, it was thought **Māori** women induced abortions and practised infanticide in rejecting pregnancies and babies as a result of sexual liaisons in the prostitution trade. This may have accounted for the apparent obscurity of larger numbers of mixed heritage children in the early 1800s (Wilson, 1985). Children of mixed ethnicity were referred to as *"half-caste"* (Sorrenson, 1992, p.43).

In **Paihia**, Northland, 1839, an attempt was made to *"found the Victoria Paternal Institution for the offspring of English father by New Zealand mothers"* in recognition of the large numbers of cross cultural births (Owens, 1992, p.47). The institution was perhaps concerned for the racial survival of Europeans who numbered but a couple of thousand among a predominantly **Māori** population in the early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. In pre-

European **Māori** society, children born from the relationships between “*slaves*” and members of **hapū** became “*objects of care*” within **whānau** (Shortland, 1849, p.296). As such, they could expect to be the recipients of **whakapapa** through the non-slave parent and accorded the rights and privileges of **whānau** and **hapū** members. There was no apparent stigma attached to their cross-class parentage.

Earlier in this chapter, discussion was had around the vulnerable position of slave women who were placed into prostitution by members of the **rangatira** class. Pregnancy and birth were occupational hazards for women and children born out of the sex trade industry were socially disadvantaged. Without **whānau** and **hapū** support, mothers and their children were susceptible to exploitation and extreme hardships.

### **Christianising native women**

With prostitution and Christianity came stereotyping of ordinary indigenous sexualities, primarily that of **wāhine** as promiscuous, immoral, uninhibited and savage. Missionaries strived to end sexual freedoms as well as types of indigenous ‘marriages’ (Palmer, 2002):

***“Māori marriage was the despair of the missionaries. They made it a high priority for elimination and they preached hell fire and brimstone to the sinful pagans who continued to practice it. They refused to accommodate or tolerate Māori marriage as being an alternative to their idea of the nuclear family and its demands on the colonial wife to be subservient, lacking in initiative and obedient to her husband. She had to prize highly her role of housewife and mother and believe it to be Gods will...the Māori female had to be domicilled very quickly to the values of the new regime that had arrived to civilise her” (Jenkins in Mikaere, 2011, p.231).***

Christianity “battled against cosmological narrative and value system which underpinned **mana wahine** and concepts associated **te whare tangata**” (Mikaere in Palmer, 2002, p.39).

Christianity held the concept of marriage as the institution within which sexual relations between men and women were undertaken. From this Christian union, children were conceived and born, thus the social engineering of the nuclear family of two parents and biological children took shape among **Māori** communities. Unwed mothers and their children were viewed as disgraceful. In **Te Ao Māori**, children were cared for by the collective **whānau** and under a Christian family ethos, parents or mothers were expected to parent their children.



Literacy and numeracy were first taught to **Māori** children and adults by the missionaries in Northland and the initial students were men, predominantly former slaves, who were also trained as teachers and in the gospel (Ritchie, 1993; Scott, 1975). The new teachers returned to their original communities to both teach and preach the bible. The early missionary schools had an assimilation agenda in the 'education' of **Māori** students and in the internalisation of gender expectations (Johnston & Pihama, 1994). The essence of education for **Māori** girls was in preparation for domesticity, largely in servitude to **Pākehā** settlers. Women were taught servitude to men and **Pākehā** women. That young **Māori** women had ancestral lines inclusive of leadership, orators, artisans, songsters and poets couched in 'epoch' old indigenous cosmologies, did not suffice as being equal to Eurocentric knowledges or equal in social status.

In Northland, **Māori** women were regarded as an unpaid workforce in carrying out domestic activities in the households of missionary families (Rodwell, 1950). The women were paid 'in kind', receiving instruction from the missionaries. In the literature they are referred to as "*Māori servants*", "*domestics*", and native domestics (Rodwell, 1950, p.176). **Pākehā** men and women held a sense of ownership of these non-paid workers:

***"...a girl who has been residing with us for nearly two years left today. The problem is that she will not return again, a trial to which our good wives are often subject. After a girl had lived long enough in a family to become useful to her mistress, she will leave without the slightest reason" (Rodwell, 1950, p.115).***

A *kuia* spoke of her grandmother as a young woman who was a housekeeper [likely a domestic] for a **Pākehā** family in one of the major towns in Northland. This was in the early decades of the 1900s. As a young woman her grandmother became pregnant to the **Pākehā** husband at the same time as his wife was pregnant. The baby of the housekeeper was taken away and placed in an asylum in the city. Later, the woman whose house she cleaned died and the widower married her (Journal entry November 2012).

The mission schools taught **Māori** students in **Te Reo Māori** up until about 1870 and then the English curriculum syllabus was taught in English in the new Native Schools with the specific aim of the "*speedy and complete Europeanization of the Māori children*" (University of Auckland, 1960, p.ix). This reflected the assimilation policies of the then government (Walker, 2004). The goal of Europeanising **Māori** children was unsuccessful and a 1930 review found that **Māori** students were increasingly conscious and proud of their **Māori** identity (University of Auckland, 1960). In Northland, assimilation and

integration educational failed **Māori** students who did not apply to sit external examinations and did not complete secondary school.

In the 1900s, **Māori** women underwent further dramatic social changes (Palmer, 2002). The increasing numbers of European demanded maternal services and to this end, the Health Department concentrated maternity services underpinned by “*eugenic ideologies*” focused on rearing healthy British “*stock*” (Palmer, 2002, p.32). Maternal and child services were founded on similar policies, inherently racist towards **Māori** (ibid):

***“If we lack noble mothers we lack the first element of racial success and national greatness and...the physical and moral betterment of the race ” (Dr Truby King in Palmer, 2002, p.32).***

**Māori** men trained in academic institutions promoted **Pākehā** views for our mothers to follow the lead of **Pākehā** women as mothers and wives. Politician **Āpirana Ngata** requested the editor of a **Māori** newspaper to publish a letter from ‘boys’ of his old school **Te Aute** College to their “*sisters at Hukarere College: present students and alumnae 14 June 1899*” (Curnow, Hopa & McRae, 2006, p.64):

***“This work of ours is very stressful, but yours is the most difficult task, to persuade the hearts of our mothers to overturn the Māori customs that are degrading Māori women. Girls you are the very ones to achieve this...for you in the days ahead, there is housekeeping, looking after the sick, challenging the power of the traditional priests, teaching your children what you learnt and are learning at this time - living properly, cultivating the land, praying, attending to the worlds of your elders, and the Christian faith...You, the women, will be the first to lend support, by laying down your instructions for the manner in which Māori women should conduct themselves. Do not lose heart in this work of yours, do not fear that our mothers will not heed your choices or support your policies...”(ibid, pp.64-65).***

Written by young men from **rangatira** families to young women of the same ilk, the letter above was weighted with words of privilege. The adoption of Christian practises more than likely improved the health of communities by: improving hygiene practices; abstinence from alcohol; promotion of education and; communal faith. The focus of **hapū** had changed from the collective, to the church. Women were expected to be Christian wives, homemakers and ‘good’ mothers. The denigration of **Tohunga** as spiritual leaders of **hapū** and healers had commenced and would eventually result in the government’s **Tohunga**

Suppression Act 1907 (Palmer, 2002). These were **Pākehā** discourses in further undermining **Te Ao Māori** society and women's status.

Mothers were disparaged for social problems which arose out of land alienation: reduced natural resources; overcrowding and; the inability to meet obligations to the collective wellbeing of **whānau**. In the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, poverty was apparent in communities and **hapū** struggled to feed **whānau** (ASOC, 2011). Large multi-generational **whānau**, unhygienic living conditions and substandard homes hurried the spread of communicable epidemic diseases and more deaths followed (King, 2003). Despair and grief reflected **hapū** desperation and many people turned to alcohol practises to numb their pain and helplessness. For entire communities where alcohol consumption was normal "life just drifted by" (King, 2003, p.245).

I contemplated my **whānau** in **Kaikohe**. They were humble people living off the land still, in a time of phenomenal social change. The odds were, we would self-implode.

*"I hid the rifle in the drain" she said. As young girl she had known her father was capable of atrocities like the incest of her sister. Incest was practised in the family. The **kuia** knew about these things and other family silences. On this particular day, her brothers and sisters, the ones at home, lay dead, as well as her mother. She too was left for dead, "See, see my scars where he hit me with a hammer" as she pushes the hair back off her forehead "See, see". He bludgeoned them and her, then hung himself (Journal November, 2012).*

### **Disconnecting an ancestral link**

In bullying **Māori** women and mothers to adopt European maternities, the government employed legislation: the **Tohunga** Suppression Act 1907 (Moon, 2011, Walker, 2004) prohibited traditional health practices; the Native Health Act 1909 banned **Māori** women from breastfeeding in public; the Campaign for Safer Maternities 1924 was a deterrent to untrained midwives and; the Health Act 1935 paved the way for **Māori** women to birth in hospital (Palmer, 2002). Previously, birthing was predominantly at home. Monetary incentives such as maternity benefits and free maternity care if under a doctor were enticements for women and mothers to seek the 'cradles' of the government in which to birth their babies. Prior to World War Two, 90 per cent of the **Māori** population was rural (Walker, 2004). Depopulation following the war saw 40 per cent of **Māori** people living in the suburbs in 1961 and, in 1963, 95 per cent of **Māori** births took place in maternity hospitals (Palmer, 2002). Restrictions around women's maternities also had a parallel

process in **Te Ao Māori**. **Hapū** women were banished from **urupa** and menstruating women were not permitted in certain areas like **mara** or gardens and places where men worked as in **whakairo** (August, 2005). **Tapu** took on a new beginning, in being unclean. Remember, women's bodily substances were normal and **tapu** as in sacred, as were men's. Back before.

*At the **tangihana** of my cousin I sit beside his coffin with his mother. She tells me the story of our births. My pregnant young mother, the **teina**, had left **Kaikohe** to live with her older sister, the **tuakana** (see **PART FOUR: WAKA WĀHINE**). They commenced labour at the same time and were driven to St. Helens Hospital in Auckland. They lay side by side, their bodies in rhythm to the expectant births. My mother was taken to the delivery suite and I was born this side of midnight. Her **tuakana** birthed my cousin minutes after midnight. The sisters met again in the daylight. **Tuakana** pushed aside the curtain to see her sister, looking tenderly down at me, her new-born. Alone, in the city without their parents or old people around them, the sisters had birthed. There was no-one to take our placentas back to the soil of **papakāinga**. The chain of **whenua-ki-te-whenua mai rano**, since the beginning of time, was disconnected. What should have been our joint 48<sup>th</sup> birthdays, was the **tangihanga** of my cousin; another premature death of a man in our family (Journal entry, September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2006).*

In Northland, the focus of both **Māori** and **Pākehā** social scientists in the two decades after the second world war were the migration to the cities; the rates of low educational achievement of **Māori** at secondary school compared to **Pākehā** students; establishing **Māori** cultural programmes at high school; **Māori** poverty and; **whānau** (University of Auckland, 1960). My mother had left school in 1957, aged sixteen years old, and on her school report it was clear she had not reached a scholastic standard to enable her to sit the formal examination at the end of that year (refer *Marker Story 1-Mama's Day*).

At a young **Māori** leaders conference held in **Kaitiāia** in 1960, **whānau** and mothers were on the agenda as problems: too many children; grandparents left to raise children whilst parents worked away; the generation gap between grandparents and **mokopuna**; grandparents were seen as unsuitable caregivers; a call for formal adoptions rather than **Māori** adoptions of children; **Māori** women marrying young and starting families early, and; **Māori** mothers' poor hygiene, low domestic skills and questionable childrearing practises (University of Auckland, 1960).

My young mother birthed me during this period of social concerns for **Māori** women and families. I read the school reports from the Cake Tin Nanny **Wai** had stored under her bed (see *Marker Story 2- The Cake Tin*). The younger brother of Nanny **Wai** was away from

school for 45 half days in a single term, and Nanny **Kuia**, my mother, was off school for 55 half days in a single term in 1956. Where did they go I asked? Nanny **Wai** said my mother was more than likely training for equestrian competition, riding her horse under the coaching of her father. Nanny **Makere** agreed that her younger sister was in the saddle but probably accompanying her cattle drover father and developing her riding skills in this way. Nanny **Wai** said her brothers and her would leave home together in the mornings for school, and, at the end of the lane, she headed towards college and the boys went in the opposite direction, appearing back home later in the afternoon. The older sister Nanny **Makere**, spent significant amounts of time away from school assisting her parents in the bush, hauling logs and rounding up cattle. During this work, the **whānau** lived in **wharenikau**, temporary huts, and Mama, my grandmother, cooked outside. Earning income for the family was difficult work and time consuming; education was not a priority nor was it attractive for the children.

I easily imagined the blame, shame and condemnation my pregnant mother would have experienced intimately, personally and socially during the late 1950s and 1960s. She was the unorthodox member of her family being pregnant and unwed, not once but twice. The third time she married. As a young child, I feared my mother, she was silent and angry and I did not understand her motivations nor her moods. Now as an older woman I am in wonder of her tenacity during times when it must have appeared that the world was against her, and it probably was.

### **Private family things, the SS225**

I contemplated my grandmother's role as a mother in birthing eleven children, caring for **whāngai** and **mokopuna** and four generations living together on a few hectares of **whenua**. I have many questions about both my grandparents of which some have been answered by reading the contents of the Cake Tin and other queries have been answered by the nannies, their children. They were cash poor but always had food supplies (Harding, North, Barton & Murray, 2011), however, cash was needed to pay for land rates and other expenses related to family life. When I lived with them, the 'old home' did not have electricity and Nanny **Makere** told me my grandfather had managed to link up the council water supply to the household without this being metered. Clever old man.

**Whangaroa** in Northland, had become a desperate place for **whānau** and **hapū** from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century onwards. Land dispossession resulted in insufficient lands in which to cultivate **mara kai**, plant food forests or for food gathering (ASOC, 2011) to sustain **whānau** and **hapū**. **Rangatira** men had left **papakāinga** to follow the Native Land Court, and the land was left unploughed and attended. Families starved and people died. Our **Pukapuka Whakapapa** of our **Ngātiururoa** side recorded many early deaths of my people however, how they died was unknown.

My grandfather, **Te Ururoa Haare Kainamu**, migrated away from **Whangaroa** and married **Ripeka Arepata Kihi Maihi** of **Kaikohe** in 1931. His two sisters **Te Waihemonga** and **Patungahere** and their parents, **Ihipera Putete** and **Ngāniho Kainamu** followed my grandfather to **Kaikohe**. Nanny **Makere** said her aunties loved their only surviving brother and wanted to be near him. He was of strong build and fit; they were confident that he would continue to care for them all as a **whakapapa** group.

My grandfather torched the **whare** of **whanaunga** where a family had been murdered by the husband and father (see *Marker Story 4-Manawa*). The mother and children were interred in a **whānau urupa**. There are stories of **tūpuna** buried in local **urupa** not normally used by our kin and other stories of **tūpuna** “*kei waho ki te taiapa*”, buried on the outside of the **urupa**. Incest, sexual abuse of children, violence of children and women were destructive elements in our **whakapapa** and **whānau**. Nanny **Makere** called these elements ‘private family things’; knowledge of these private family things filled the silences and gaps in our storytelling.

Nanny **Makere** said when she was a young girl, her father would ‘drink’ and share the things that made him sad and angry. Older children got to hear the ‘private family things’ and also they wore the stresses of angry, stressed, frustrated and disillusioned parents.

In the weeks before Mama’s death, my grandfather made an initial application for financial assistance to the Social Security Department. The department sent a letter dated February 19<sup>th</sup> 1962 asking for further proof of birth and identity. Attached to the letter was a S.S.225 Information required to verify age with several options for my grandfather to prove his identity. This form had lain in the Cake Tin since February 1962 and, its folded edges were now yellowed with age (refer Figure 8.1):

Figure 8.2: S.S. 225; INFORMATION TO VERIFY AGE

[S.S. 225]

**SOCIAL SECURITY DEPARTMENT**

INFORMATION REQUIRED TO VERIFY AGE

**INVALIDS** No. 13/2269

DISTRICT WHANGAREI

FULL NAME OF APPLICANT: Jack KAINAMU

1. Have you attended school? If so, please state:
  - (a) The name of the school \_\_\_\_\_
  - (b) The name of the Headmaster at the time of your attendance: \_\_\_\_\_
  - (c) The name or names by which you were then known: \_\_\_\_\_
  - (d) The years in which you attended school: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Do you possess a Pukapuka Whakapapa in which your date of birth is shown? If so, please forward for inspection. \_\_\_\_\_
3. Have you ever been baptised? If so, please state the name of the church and the location, and, if possible, the name of the Officiating Minister. \_\_\_\_\_
4. Have you been married according to Pakeha law? If so, please forward your marriage certificate for inspection or advise date and place, together with the name of the Officiating Minister. \_\_\_\_\_
5. If you were married according to the Maori Custom, please state the date and place of the ceremony and the names and present addresses of three reputable Pakeha who can confirm your statements. \_\_\_\_\_
6. Has your life been insured, and if so, was it necessary for you to produce proof of your date of birth? Please state the name of the Insurance Company and, if possible, the policy reference. \_\_\_\_\_
7. If you have had service with any of the Armed Forces, please state:
  - (a) Your Service No. \_\_\_\_\_
  - (b) Branch of Service \_\_\_\_\_
  - (c) Rank \_\_\_\_\_
  - (d) Approximate years of service \_\_\_\_\_
  - (e) Name under which you enlisted. \_\_\_\_\_
8. Please supply the names and addresses of three reputable Pakeha who have known you for a considerable number of years and who you consider will be in a position to state your present age. \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Mama died on February 26<sup>th</sup> 1962.

## **The new rohe-Otara**

I joined my mother, her new **Pākehā** husband and my two siblings in a housing state in **Otara**, Auckland built for the working classes. The **Māori** Affairs pepper-potting housing scheme in locating **Māori** alongside non-**Māori** in the suburbs did not happen in the way the government planned (Walker, 2004). Instead, in **Otara**, there was a density of **Māori** families, as high as 40 percent and the significance of this is revealed later. Our neighbourhood comprised of **Pākehā**, **Māori** from rural areas and Pasifika peoples newly arrived from Polynesian homelands. My mother's sisters and brothers were scattered across the suburbs of Auckland and in other urban areas.

Our home was a stopover for our rural **whānau** seeking employment in the city. A sick uncle stayed for a long period, receiving medical treatment and convalescing. He was visited regularly by a doctor and this piqued my fascination with medicine and healthcare. We had **whāngai**, a cousin, who later became pregnant and my mother, we, raised this child for many years. My mother and my cousin enjoyed a close bond. I recall sharing my room with a pregnant mother and her three pre-school children. They were unrelated to us. Her husband was a work associate of my mother and the family could not afford accommodation. They stayed with us for some months until such time as the husband saved enough money in which to get their own rental place. My mother maintained as best as she could, **whānau** practices of caring for kin members and others in need, in the suburbs of Auckland.

We had violence in our home, a father whose alcohol behaviours resulted in assaults on our mother and in the trashing of our house (see poem Brother in CHAPTER 1). It appeared too me that he had little respect for his **Māori** wife, my mother, for whom he created hardships like demanding she break her shift of taxi driving to cook his evening meal. I remember this as I was told by him to telephone the taxi office asking for my mother to return home. She cooked for him and I cooked for my siblings. For us it was mince and for him it was steak. I also made telephone calls to the police to remove him from the house and once again, this was under his instruction. Theirs was a conflicted intimate relationship, similar to the conflicted partnerships within the **WHAKAPAPA KŌRERO** (refer CHAPTER 4). My mother was emotionally detached from me, the child raised by grandparents, and this left me exposed to the dangers of abusers of young children.



Associated with my stepfather were men like him who sexually abused me. Remember one of the nanny's story about sexual abuse of children; abusers stay in gangs, they know each other and abuse young children in their network.

Our mother worked, she raised five children, plus **whāngai**, and cared for other **whānau** members. One of her biggest fears was that Social Welfare would remove us children from her care and we would be lost in an abusive government system of foster care. I recall her saying to me, if they come to take you all, 'stay together'. Stay together!

As an unmarried mother, she had experienced social stigma, discrimination and racism which may have been alleviated once she married, but then, behind the locked state-house door she was beaten, abused and disrespected. I recall her bruises, her sadness and her helplessness. I remember her distant and uncaring disposition towards us, her children; there was no love in our house. Sometimes it seemed like she targeted her resentment at me. As the eldest child I carried responsibilities of childcare and domesticity. These are normal activities of older children. My mother was without support and care for herself. I recollect the bruises and the silences of the other nannies too. The sisters stayed away from each other, they did not share their stories of being beaten by husbands nor did they complain of poverty. The women carried on in silence, feeding their children and working. Our mothers had no stories to tell us their children of their lives growing up, nor could they conjure up some good stories about their new city lives. Yet there were stories of enjoyable times.

The sisters visited each other. I recall Nanny **Makere** standing in our kitchen as I stood on the table with my ballet outfit on, a white 'tutu'. Whilst my mother hand stitched the skirt to the bottom, the two sisters were laughing, speaking in **Te Reo Māori**. It had been a long time since I heard my **reo** as my mother only spoke English in this suburban home. Their language and laughter filled the spaces.

Women developed kin-type networks within the suburbs. They joined committees, sports clubs, churches and suburban **marae** and, generally re-created suburban spaces in which to gather as **Māori** women and mothers (Harris, 2007). The pre-school education movement, Play-centre, started in the 1960s with its self-help, parental involvement and parental management (Walker, 2004) and this philosophy attracted the likes of my mother

who attended with my younger siblings and other **mokopuna**. Two decades later, I would replicate my mother's practices in attending **kōhanga reo** with my children.

I attended regular mainstream schools. I learned to read and write and wrote my own stories and won awards for creative writing far removed from my real life. In my stories I recreated myself as a superstar, the heroine who saved other people from death. Later at high school, I could speak and write Latin and French and quote Shakespeare confidently. There was no **Māori** cultural content in my education curriculum. Adults referred to me as a half-caste and I could hear the accusation in their tone and I could feel the stigma in their gaze.

**Otara** in the 1970s was a suburb of youthful unrest. Large numbers of **rangatahi** planned and participated in protests against the powers of dominance in education and government. We were the raised voices of hope for our 'hushed' parents generation. Youth, **Māori, Pākehā** and Pasifika from **Otara** were active in the 1975 Land March, the stand off at **Takaparawhau** (Bastion Point) in 1977-78 and involved in the **Haka Party** Incident at the University of Auckland in the late 1970s (Walker, 2004). **Rangatahi** spoke loudly about: the dispossession of **Te Reo Maori**; the devaluation of multi-generational **whānau**; land alienation; dishonoring the articles of the **Tiriti O Waitangi** and; the under representation of our people in the nation's success stories.

It was an exciting time to be a young woman in **Otara**, to experience cultural renaissance in the making; challenging domination and hegemony.

### **Childhood abuse and getting beyond**

On the homefront, battles were being fought. Abuse of myself had started. In another display of misogyny my mother's husband put the question to my mother to chose between him and myself. I was maybe 11 years old at the time, possibly younger. One of us had to go and silently I pleaded, let it be me. With several children, my mother chose to remain in the marriage. She could not give me up, it would mean she had failed to care for her firstborn. It would be a few years before I would disclose the abuse to her and meanwhile I carried on trying to protect myself. I avoided bathing when my stepfather was home, so he could not catch me naked and, I stopped coming home for lunchbreaks, when he was on leave. I had a range of avoidance strategies to keep out of his reach and

his influence. Many times, I was a hungry, unwashed, troubled and silent child. Teachers at my school would attest to this. In my mid-teens I found my voice and let him know his behaviour was no longer acceptable.

In my distress and in the extreme emotional neglect I experienced high anxiety and unusual occurrences. I recall the wallpaper in the hall rushing at me like a huge wave and to avoid its reach, I sunk against the opposite wall. I sat on an enlarged out of proportion sofa, its size filled the room and, I felt miniscule and insignificant. A beehive box of matches bigger than me had me shrinking in fear. When these things happened I checked the boy's room for the sound of my brother breathing. I could hear him and I was okay. I sat outside on the step in the early hours of the morning, listening to the sound of the milkman tipping the change out of the empty bottles and replacing with bottles of milk. I was still me. I became accustomed to unusual occurrences like the the sense of someone next to me, lying beside my body. This was my **tupuna Mama**, she was near by and I drew comfort from this in that I mattered to her and her to me.

At age eleven I got my first job working in a local Chinese takeaway from about three in the afternoon to after midnight on Friday and Saturday. The job paid twenty-five cents an hour and I used the money to buy pens and books and pay for bus fares to visit Nanny **Wai** in the next suburb. Working gave me some freedom and kept me out of the home, away from my parents. When I was aged about fifteen years old, I told my mother of the abuse and I asked to return to my grandfather. This did not happen and I felt she did not believe the things I had told. Rebellious and bellicose, I directed my sting towards my stepfather, refusing to comply with any of his requests. He demanded that I be 'civil' to him...after all he had done.

Eventually I left home, commencing new employment and university at the same time. After a year I left university and entered into a nursing programme. At last, I had a career and my independence; I was on my way.

### **Love and men**

I met my husband to be and I was pleased with the attention. My stepfather walked me down the aisle as my mother would not have my uncle do this for me. She continued her denial of my childhood sexual abuse and of the abuses that had occurred within our family.

Within days of new married life, emotional, psychological and physical abuse commenced; the verbal denigrations to my gender and my ethnicity; the power over my income and independence; the control over 'my' visitors to our home; being hit and; the belittling of the things I valued most for myself. I sunk into a spiral of heavy alcohol and drug usage for some years. Contact with aunties, siblings and friends reduced and in the void of isolation, I lost the notion of who I and where I was headed.

The death of my beloved grandfather provided the opportunity for me to leave New Zealand. I planned my move out of the country and, out of my husband's life. Yet, this could never be finite. He followed me overseas in an attempt to reconcile the marriage however I was firm in wanting my independence and he returned to New Zealand. Afterwards I discovered I was pregnant and chose to stay in England, working and living in Exminster, Devon. I came home two months before baby's due date and although I returned live in our joint home, we eventually divorced. His mother and the sisters remain firmly in our child's circle of family and he less so.

I met the father of my children and although his **Pākehā** perspectives and my expanding **Māori** worldview clashed, he was supportive of his children entering into a **Māori** language education system. As time went on, more and more, I moved towards cultural learning and academic study. The pursuit of these placed strains on the relationship and the distance between us grew too wide to shrink and eventually our long-term relationship terminated. Apart, we are both better parents for our children now in their **rangatahi** years. My journey was taking me back to my cultural roots as a **Māori** woman. I was transforming, realising an authenticity of cultural self, understanding the depth of beauty in **Te Reo Māori** language, remembering a past beyond abuse, resistance, difficulties and silences; I had discovered **te pito o te au**, my core. The **pōtiki**, my youngest, left home and following twenty four years of raising a family, there was just me.

I tested the pool of mature relationships, by sliding into the water to find the temperature warm, inviting and exciting. At my age group there are many peculiarities to romance and seeking intimacy. **Māori** men want to know how much land I have (absolutely none apart from a suburban house, mortgaged), do I live in **Remuera** (there was no pepper-potting in this rich suburb), what is my income (I am doing a doctorate, come on!), what is my future earning power (I am middle aged and waiting for **mokopuna**), do I have famous

connections (**Papa** Eddie from **Otara** was the most meaningful, personable, wise and humourous person I had known and, at his **tangihana** were the ‘whose who’ of community, good people), and finally; am I somebody. Egos abound in **Māori** men. They have a strong sense of who they are in this world; they were raised to be men in a man’s world. Whiteness governs society and society grooms women to raise women and men in a certain way. We women raise **Māori** men.

More seriously, I ‘fell’ out of a new and important relationship and landed in a pile of mess fifty two years in the unmaking of me, a **Māori** woman and, at the same time I commenced this doctoral research. Had the rejection by a man of ‘my own’, a **Māori**, been my undoing? This was a simple anecdote for a complicated situation and from this emerged another profound truth: our worlds had collided, the world of men and women. We were both products of our colonial past.

Who and how, was I? Was I defined by abuse and neglect and trauma? How did the terms **Māori**, half-caste and, colonised define me? Did my relationships say who I was as a wife and partner? Did motherhood define who I was? Am I someone if I was no longer a mother or a lover? Had I failed the demands of an ‘S.S. 225’ of my life...who would ‘verify’ me? Where in this world was **Reena**?

### **Māori woman, unwrapped**

I entered into counselling sorting through the decades of having wrapped my self up in insulation against the winds of life. Wrapped up against the challenges of being **Māori**, a woman and a mother in; having high expectations for myself; in not subjugating myself in this man’s world (I was not always successful); in illuminating my knowing in the dominance of whiteness; in resisting marginalisation and; in raising my children on the many silent truths within our **whānau** and sometimes, repeating those truths with my own children. I had reared children who had become accustomed to a mother who was detached, unemotional and sometimes, rejecting of them.

Sitting with my counsellor, going over my life, we came to the realisation that currently I was experiencing anxiety with depression and, that I had had this on three previous occasions during adulthood, following major transitions in life. The first occurred after my first baby was born and the second time, after my final baby was born. I had thought

these were normal experiences following birth: the exhaustion; the lack of drive; not wanting to see people; the constant waking up during the night to check baby's breathing and; the low mood. I got on with the routines of mothering. The third time followed the breakdown of my long term relationship with the children's father and at that time, I was treated for depression by my General Practitioner. This most recent episode of anxiety came on top of a series of events: menopause; surgery; my last child leaving home and; the breakdown of a new relationship. This final time I chose talking therapy.

What I thought I would talk to the counsellor about and what I did talk about were different. I had planned to talk about my broken heart but instead we talked about my 'other' brokenness. At my centre, at my core of self, who was I. As a mother I had constructed a cultural foundation for my children so they could have a better life than I had had. In doing so, I alienated myself from family, to protect my children from the risks of sexual abuse and also to distance ourselves from the family culture of drinking. Alcohol behaviours were widespread among **whānau**, it was normalised. I had been on constant alert throughout my children's growing up years, watching for abusive people.

Sexual abuse and emotional neglect strike at the core of esteem in a child. Sexual abuse happens to certain children when there is lack of caring people around that child. There is no-one enquiring as to where the child is, who she is with and how is she today. My mother was 'being' abused herself, physically, economically and emotionally. She had two children from previous partners and she needed to 'make us good children' so her husband would allow us to stay, to be 'together'. Staying together was important to her. We were not bad children, we were emotional children wanting love.

There was still that wound of neglect of experiencing rejection, its force amplified by abuses and as an adult woman was I good enough; "*are you somebody*" (O'Faolain, 1996). I had to be somebody for me.

I sought counsel with my kinswomen and we unpicked the many seams of layered silence. We talked about their lives and their experiences of being young women, mothers and grandmothers in rural New Zealand. Quiet and strong women, they shared stories of hard-working families doing ordinary activities of gardening, droving and caring for multi-generational **whānau**. These were large families living in small homes and involved closely with the **whenua on** which they lived and grew food gardens and forests. From within our

large kin network, there were 'hidden' stories of extraordinary events for example men and children hurt or dying at the hands of violent angry men; **whānau** members excluded from burials within the **urupa** due to past shame; incest; large numbers of **whānau** succeeding to ownership of small land parcels; 'ship girls' and the associations to **utu pihikete** and; the institutionalised racism captured in the S.S.225 "*please supply the ages and addresses of three reputable **Pakeha** who have known you for a considerable number of years and who you consider will be in a position to state your present age*" (see page 206).

My grandfather did not share his history with his children, they did not know the stories of his **hapū** or how he came to be with their mother. Nor did they know the history on their mother's side and, the old people have now all passed. My kinswomen expressed difficulty and reluctance in revealing the levels of **whānau** violence and trauma. I could hear the collective shame and shared **humarie** or humbleness among them.

As a family group, the aunties and uncles all bar one, moved away from the **whenua** of my grandmother and into the cities. My second childhood with my mother and my new family was constructed on suburban building blocks, built on shaky social foundations. The cultural aspects of life, living amongst **whānau** and kin communities abruptly ceased, replaced by individual family units, state housing, an English-speaking society and a '**Pākehā**' world of industry and poverty. This was the substance of my, our, existence.

I revealed myself to friends and other women. I was more open about the "*private family things*" of **whānau** back then and now. My disjointed and troubled past now mattered in a different way, it was more coherent in that I could follow the footprints of **tūpuna** back through time to a place where we women mattered in multiple dimensional ways.

I went back five years 'before then' to a life on the land with loving people, then I went back fifty years, then five hundred years and then fifteen hundred years and beyond, to the spiritual homeland of **Hawaiiki**, where the first woman was created from the generating red clay, **Kurawaka**, of **Papatūānuku**. We were sacred people, men and women.

I headed upwards into the literary stratosphere and saw the the many many many layers of **Te Pō**. **Te Pō** birthed **Papatūānuku** and from **Papatūānuku** and **Ranginui** came our

**whenua**; the **maunga** and **awa** and the **moana** (White, 1887). The collective **atua** of the primal parents created **Hine-Ahu-One**:

*“When I wake in the morning I give thanks, I have a ritual with my body just to wake up, with all my toes and my ankles and my feet and my knees and my thighs, my vagina, my body – because my body was a koha from the atua, so I know it wasn’t just from tane, the men. A real story of te whare tangata, or my body, is simply about a whole lot of atua giving part and taking part in the creation of Hine-ahu-one. They donated different parts, for instance the kuia that sit at the 12 gates of the heaven, the marae kura, they give us a womb and the men that assist those kuia gave us our ability to think and to reason” (Kohu, 1997, p40).*

Then there was **Hine-Nui-Te-Pō**, “Great mother night, the grandparent of the rest...the womb of nature” (Taylor, 1855, pp.16-19). Then to **Te Korekore** the period of the double nothingness. Here were the beginnings of knowledge:

*“From the conception the increase, from the increase the thought, from the thought the remembrance, from the remembrance the consciousness, from the consciousness the desire. **Nā te kune te pupuke, nā te pupuke te hihiri, nā te hihiri te mahara, nā te mahara te hinengaro, nā te hinengaro te manako**” (see Box 5.1: The Epoch of Thought, p.120).*

Here was **whakaaro**, the first thought, the consciousness, **hine-ngaro**, knowledge. Here were women.

Knowledge was refined in the depths of **Te Korekore** and **Te Pō** by the many **atua**, men and women gods. The **Tapu**, the **Noa**, the **Mana**, the **Mauri** were **wairua** or spiritual values interwoven amongst the stuff of everyday life the fishing, the hunting, the crafting, the artwork, the song and, the poetry of life in generating and sustaining kin communities. It was all here in “three knowledge baskets and two small stones” (**Whatahoro**, 1913, p. 20), for men and women. Knowledge and wisdom are separate things. Knowledge is a set on facts and information, a ‘thing’ of the intellect (refer PART THREE). “Wisdom is a thing of the heart. It has its own thought processes. It is here that knowledge is integrated for this is the centre of one’s being” (Marsden, 2003, p.29). Wisdom, lies in the **ngākau**, the **Hine-ngaro**, mind-heart. Wisdom is a relational state, deriving from a connection with a higher source and, in the being and doing with others in sustaining kinship bonds. Women were present in knowledge development, women were omnipresent in the origins of the universe. Say our beautiful names: **Hine-ngaro**; **Hine-Nui-Te-Pō**; **Te Pō**, **Papatūānuku**; **Te**



**Ao Mārama; Hine-Ahu-One** and; **Hine-Tī-Tama**. These women names were processes and events in our collective **Whakapapa** in the creation of our **Māori** world.

I triangulated myself in reaching for the dots from back there bringing these forward to the present and there stood wo**ME**n visible and whole; I am enough.

### **Summary Chapter 8**

The subjugation of the quintessential elements of women to **Te Ao Māori** society resulted in stifling cultural esteeming from **whānau** to **whānau** where women's roles were relegated to mothers and wives or partners and thereby under societal influences of the state. Women's stories were silenced and women were emotionally and physically silenced. Colonisation and its ongoing effects, was the severance of wo**ME**n from an authentic cultural centre and replacing this with not good enough; exposing women to abuses, trauma and exploitation. In the void of **whānau** elaborating on the normal questions of children about 'who are we' and , 'how we are' in the universe; women and children were abused. Sacredness was clouded by the ordinary of hegemony.

Women's knowledge and being are unequivocally linked to the genesis of the **Māori** universe of the creation stories in the tripartite of **Wāhine, Whakapapa** and **Papatūāuku**; visible and articulate, woman stands here, at the beginning of time.

## PART FIVE: HINE-NGARO

Figure 9:1: Whetu Mārama, nā Ani Kainamu 2007



*“The power, the rightness, the sheer joy of being a Māori woman. Of knowing that stretching out on either side of you like a vast glittering fan of lights are women of courage, initiative, healing, imagination, terror, and deep, deep knowledge. Whose adventures crossed mountain ranges and spanned the huge ocean; whose visions knew no bounds. Whose searching and inventiveness discovered new fibres, new foods, new richness in a strange environment. Whose very being, in these islands, left breath that fills us all. With the knowing, they were here. And still are.”*

*Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Mana Wāhine Māori (1991, p.9)*



## ***Marker Story 5 – Belonging***

White walls, white house, white dress, white god, white lie. My first untruth was told at the confessional. During weeks of religious instruction I was primed and prepped to construct a performance. I silently practiced, rolling the words up and down my body in trying to ease them into a cavity between the sinew and bones of a child, a place for strange thoughts and words to sit. My chest expanded with tightened breath, a space opened up in my head, in a disconnected part of my brain, disconnected from my **puku**, unattached to my back and feet. Staring straight ahead, unblinking, the words welled up and in the releasing of these for at time I was convinced of my child sinning ways. Badness was expected of me and I gave it good, in a practised-sort-of-way. Guilt was taught and I learnt this among the many religious things a child was to learn. I protected myself with detachment, severing my body talk from brain talk, shutting down the connections to whole-body-ness. Be good my body, hold tight, be still, be quiet and do as instructed. Don't tell tales, not allowed to tell tales, no stories, no past. Be good, be good, be good. Absolved of my sins in the confessional (the ones specially fabricated) and for a moment I leaned into this Christian religion.

Cultural shock is embodied in this story of the confessional, in the wearing of a white-bridal-like dress down the aisle towards man/priest/god/colonial state and in the migration away from **papakāinga** to new housing, state housing, in **Otara**, to live in a crisp white house amongst other brand new houses built for my people arriving from the rural towns. *“Long after a crucial incident is supposedly finished”* (Bochner in Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011, p.3) I am reminded of negotiating ‘intensity’ as best I could as a child and this would become a repetitive pattern leading into adulthood. The telling of a ‘white lie’ was easier than defending my innocence as the obedient **tuakana**, ‘eldest’ child of a **Māori** mother. I was ‘other’ and fitting in was expected of me. Contradiction, conflict, chaos and crisis were common experiences within the milieu of violence, sexual abuse and family alcohol abuse. These troubled **whānau** times arose from a background of tremendous social transformation for **hapū** and **whānau**, my people, since the arrival and mass settlement of **Pākehā** in New Zealand in the 19th Century (King, 2005; Walker, 1990). **Te Ao Māori** faltered, the gender balance tilted across the cosmos and in life itself; the

‘unspoken’ ripple of silencing women would have momentous consequences far into the new millennium. People dealt with the spiritual and emotional pain of land dispossession and cultural displacement from ancestral ways “*sometimes unconsciously or consciously obliterated through alcohol, violence and self-destruction*” (Smith, 1998, p.21).

Intergenerational cultural trauma would be experiences for many **whānau**. In the all-surround ‘whiteness’ of dominant European discourses, lines blurred between now and then, here and there and before and after. We could not see the dots to connect our **whānau** stories to our histories.

I heed Linda’s **kōrero**, “The ‘Authentic, Essentialist, Deeply Spiritual’ Other” and I hear the caution in “*the notion of authentic is highly contested when applied to or by indigenous peoples*” (Smith, 1999, p.72). My eldest remarks, “*we are seen by them [non-Māori] as authentic other in particular ways*” for example the very public performance of **kapa haka** and **Te Reo Māori** language, aspects of culture acceptable to Eurocentric society as authentic **Māori**. To some of our own, “*taha Māori is confined to*” **waiata**, **haka**, **whakairo** or carving and **whare tupuna**, meeting houses (Awatere, 1984, p.79). What is viewed as ‘real **Māori**’, ‘real indigenous’ people or ‘real cultural values’ are debates which fragment or marginalise those who speak on indigenous issues, silencing or making invisible particular members of indigenous groups, women and, those identifying as urban indigenous (ibid). Power and visibility is maintained by dominant groups within society (hooks, 2009).

**Māori** women have been exercising **tino-rangatiratanga**, self-determination, in areas of academia, health research and writing (August, 2005; Awatere, 1983; Awatere, 1995; Harris, 2007; Glover, 2001; Makereti, 1986; Mikaere, 2011; Pere, 1995; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1999; Tamanui; 2012; Te Awekotuku, 1991; Wilson et al., 2011). Identification as indigenous woman sits alongside identification as successful, assertive, assured and whole:

***“This is the hour of our remembering, of our putting those parts of ourselves that have been dismembered and disenfranchised back together again. It is only from this place of wholeness, our holiness, that we can dream once more...”(Elizabeth Kapu’uwailani Lindsey 2006, p.9).***

Remembering, for indigenous women, is recalling in particular ways loss and pain (Smith, 1999) for value systems relinquished and or subjugated as a legacy of colonialism. We

define ourselves as women through remembering , acknowledging and honouring ‘the before’. Back then. We define ourselves in teaching each other, our children, our men, brothers and partners and our **whānau** these recollections in guiding the journey ahead. But far greater than conscious intent in the resistance and ‘critiquing’ of cultural dissonance, is the core knowledge that we women belong to this land, this **whenua**. In our cultural epistemologies, our women bodies were created from the **uku**, the clay, of **Papatūānuku**. Although the land is now too small a quantity to economically sustain the collective us, we remember the values connecting people to the land, drawing us back to these homeplaces to visit those who did not leave or those **whānau** who returned to live their days out on the land. In belonging are recollections of **whānau** practices; **Whanaungatanga, Tapu, Mana, Mauri** and **Aroha**. These **tikanga** or practices between and across family members are our culture and these we carry in our bodies (Meyer, 2004). Women are **Whakapapa, Whānau** and **Papatūānuku**, we are everywhere, beginnings and endings.



# CHAPTER 9:TE AU KĀNAPANAPA

*5. "And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day"*

*6."And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.*

**The Holy Bible authorised by King James.**

My then seven year old cousin **Hinemoa** King was asked by her Nanny, Mama, **Ripeka Arepata Kihī Maihi Kainamu**, to read from the Bible. **Hinemoa** picked up her Nanny's bible and it opened on Genesis Chapter 1, verses 5 and 6 (above). **Hinemoa** recalls the month as May 1958. Several months later I would come to live with them and, in November, my cousin **Hinemoa** would be eight years old (Personal communication **Hinemoa** Andrews 20/04/2013 via email). My grandmother had taken comfort from the verse above; the English texts of the creation of the world. Quite possibly, at this time in her life, she had been a Christian.

**TE AU KĀNAPANAPA**, title of CHAPTER 9, is a **pouwhenua**, a **Ngatiuru** landmark in **Whangaroa** (refer CHAPTER 7; ASOC, 2011). **Te Au Kānapakanapa** is located in the sea, in the motion of the waves. Its meaning is flashing water, a glimmering deep green colour. Beyond **Te Au Kānapanapa**, continues a great expanse of the Pacific Ocean and at its northern aspect are the islands of **Hawai'i** and to the east is **Rapanui** or Easter Island. With **Aotearoa** as its most southern aspect, a triangle is formed encompassing multiple island nations surrounded by seas. **Māori** people came from these seas, islands and societies bringing with them cultural knowledge and practices. Our **whakapapa** links are to ancient races and to our spiritual home place **Hawaiiki** (White, 1887), this is **Mana Atua**, connecting us to the realm of **Atua** and **Io**. From the point where **Te Au Kānapakanapa** was sighted, our **tūpuna** turned their eyes westward towards the 'hinterland'. **Maunga**, **whenua** and **moana**, **Mana Whenua**, were geographical markers retelling histories and culture. In these stories are lived experiences passed down through **whānau** and **hapū**, **Mana Tangata**. **Mana Atua**, **Mana Whenua** and **Mana Tangata** are compass points locating us as **wairua** people, sacred beings.



The oral examination for this autoethnographic research continued with a performance as I flicked between the pages of this thesis in giving voice to womens' narratives, poetry and prose and interwoven throughout was my collective story of **whānau**. What had happened to myself and my family had also happened to other humble peoples, some of the womens' stories bear this out. The historical disconnection from our cultural heart, the **whenua**, was both a physical and spiritual trauma and under the combined weight of colonialism, Christianity, patriarchy and hegemony society collapsed leaving invisible and silent women's cultural knowledge and status. The onus for cultural and social survival into the millennium and beyond, was carried by individual **whānau** and still, for many, many families, the struggles are ongoing. In delivering the conclusions of my oral performance, I faltered, feeling the load or weight of having to add to the plethora of **Māori** health and social policy in addressing intergenerational deprivation, disadvantage and despair. In what ways could this **Māori** indigene's autoethnography contribute to knowledge on women and mothers' mental health and wellbeing? What were the learnings from **whānau** who maintained tight links with each other and across the generations? How did the presence or absence of leadership within families impact on womens' early childhoods and later experiences of raising their own children? What is culture for women and **whānau**? Autoethnography is writing in and about cultural ordinariness and of being. Within these are layered accounts of intimacy, relationships, managing the day-to-day business of life and sense-making of the world. The women research participants gave narratives rich in epiphany, raw personal insights and uncluttered observations of lived experiences. They 'story-ed' emotions and many truths, their bodies remembering events and circumstances which mattered in how they perceived themselves to be as **mokopuna**, daughters, women and mothers; their worlds were shifting and dynamic. Autoethnography and narratives are transformative writing and speaking processes, engaging with a story of what was and is, understanding its significance for creating multi-dimensional possibilities in the formulation of concepts founded in particularities of groups of people and communities. Stories about women, mothers and **whānau** are powerful and political.

A complex mutli-layered phenomenon as revealed in this research does not generate easy-to-implement recommendations. I struggled with the task of proposing yet more

recommendations to add to the burden already borne by women, mothers and **whānau**. There are implications to be drawn, however, for **whānau** and **Whānau Ora**.

In this final chapter I return to the **Whakapapa Kōrero**, the mothers' narratives (see PART TWO) with particular attention to CHAPTER 4: **Te Tote O Te Kōrero**. The mothers' narratives through their embodied lived experiences, enlighten and contribute to the knowledge on what it means to be **wāhine**/women, daughters, **mokopuna**, mothers and grandmothers. In **Te Tote O Te Kōrero** the narratives are deduced to four primary discourses: **He Tapu Te Tinana** (sacred body); **Damaged Discourses and Disconnections; Silence to Voice** and; **Ko Au Te Pito** and expanding on each primary discussion are several sub-headings. This research holds important implications for broad health, education and social developments borne out of women's lived experiences.

### **He Tapu Te Tinana**

Sub-headings from the women's narratives were; **Ko au te mokopuna, ko te mokopuna ko au; Whenua-ki-te-whenua** and, **Whāngai** (see CHAPTER 4).

**Whakapapa**, people's interconnectedness with the separate realms of environment and gods and with each other, across and between the generations were important knowledges for women and **whānau**. We are from this place, we are our mothers, we are our grandmothers, we are our **tupuna**, we have responsibilities (Meyer, 2004).

Women and mothers had been on journeys or were on journeys in seeking cultural knowledge in which to better position themselves therefore their **whānau** and, their children's future. **Te Reo Māori** and **tikanga** revitalisation were core to women's cultural journeys and the journey of self-discovery. This was women's leadership in ensuring **whakapapa** maintenance founded on core cultural values of **Mana, Tapu** and **Mauri**. Generating the next layer of **whānau** as in pregnancy, rearing, and caring, inclusive of **Whāngai**, of kin babies and children, were of utmost importance to the **tupuna**/grandparent generation **Tupuna**/grandparent and **mokopuna**/grandchild bonds were sacred and women recalled how their grandmothers and grandfathers had been with them. Women desired transgenerational relationships for their own children. The **Tapu** of a newborn was reflected in the placing of the placenta back with **Papatūānuku**, the earth or in **tangihanga** for a stillbirth; **Whenua-ki-te-whenua**. **Mana**, authority, lies with

**whānau**, grandparents and parents to provide, protect and care for **whānau**. When these relationships and roles are effective then **Mauri** within individuals strengthens, culminating in collective **whānau** wellbeing. This is **whānau ora**, leadership though **tupuna** or the grandparent generation in giving primacy to the youngest family members, mother and **pepi**; *Ko au te mokopuna ko te mokopuna ko au*, I am the grandchild the grandchild is me.

#### **Implications for whānau ora:**

“Grow a village around the child” –

Developing a social media campaign in promoting **mātua**/parents, aunts, uncles and grandparents in exhibiting the range and membership of healthy **whānau** into which children are born.

Locating real stories of families in communities and how they connect with others in providing support for young **whānau**.

Identify innovative parenting or grandparenting practices and promote the concepts of community and collectivism in supporting **whānau** in raising children.

#### **“Whānau leadership” –**

Developing local and regional health promotion of **whānautanga**, family unity, leadership and strength across and between family members.

Highlighting the value of **tūpuna** or grandparents in remaining connected with young families.

Promoting this programme through primary schools and **marae**, involving representatives of a cross section of **hapū** and **iwi** figureheads in the importance of **whānau** leadership and connectedness to community.

“**Whānau** centered ante-natal and birthing environments” –

Developing community programmes with both educational material and cultural knowledges around **hapūtanga** or pregnancy and grounded in **Atua Wāhine** or women divinities. Knowledge of **ipuwhenua** (vessel for the placenta) practices and of **wahakura** (sleeping baskets for newborns) followed by the making of **ipuwhenua** and the weaving of **wahakura** are cultural knowledge and tools relevant during pregnancy. It is imperative that ante-natal healthcare and birthing care reverberate cultural resonance leading to enjoyable meaningful healthcare experiences and engagement.

Developing policies for culturally and spiritually safe practices around birthing of the **whenua**, the placenta, and its handling, storage and passage from mother to the family to ancestral place, **whenua-ki-te whenua**, placenta to the land.

Teaching midwifery and nursing students **Te Ao Māori** values of; **Tapu, Noa, Whakapapa** and **Whānau** as these pertain to the health and wellbeing of mothers and babies.

Integration of **te reo Māori me ōna tikanga** throughout midwifery and nursing education programmes.

Informing **whānau** of safe sleeping practices for babies.

Growing a **Māori** workforce across primary and secondary healthcare to reflect the millennium generation of **Māori** parents, **whānau** and babies.

### **Damaged Discourses and Disconnections**

Sub-headings from the womens’ narratives were; **Whakapapa, desire and dishonor; Untenable relationships and whānau support; Burdened women; Sexual abuse of children and young people; Mental illness** and; **Mixed culture, mixed values, seeking dad** (see CHAPTER 4).

**Whakapapa** was a rite of passage for **whānau**; pregnancies were expected and babies celebrated however, frequently, there was shame and stigma attached to young mothers. Grandmothers ‘buffered’ their children from interfamilial shame, brokering relationships with family men. Young women especially wanted contact with estranged fathers in seeking approval and also wanting a **tupuna mokopuna** relationship. In family circumstances usually involving parental alcohol usage and men’s abandonment of family,

mothers and grandmothers carried economic and social burdens. Women off loaded stress and responsibilities onto elder daughters or elder **mokopuna**. Grandmother and mother relationships with daughters and **mokopuna** were fraught with rejection, abuse and conflict. A pattern of conflicted early childhood relationships continued into later intimate partnerships. Women who had received emotional support from **whānau** members, managed to move beyond hardships whilst others struggled.

Women's stories were **whānau** stories of 'domination', 'survival' and 'existence'. Women in these situations were disrespected, unsupported and undervalued as in this poem by Briar Grace-Smith:

**They've Taken Away Our Hongi**

***They've Taken Away Our Hongi  
Replaced it with a kiss  
A 'there you go little lady kiss'  
While the fulla next to me gets the works  
Spose I should be grateful its no more noses  
No flat squishy ones  
Long pointy ones hairy ones and dripping ones  
Just a safe mouth to cheek and maybe a rub on the back  
I could even get used to this  
But I won't  
I shall grab your hand firmly, there will be no confusion, no more kissing  
We shall greet each other the way we always have  
With a hongi  
Pressing  
Knowing  
The mingling of breath  
Of life force  
Tēnā koe***

The colonised colonise. Men beat women, women beat women. Elder children, children from previous partnerships (**whāngai** or step-children) and, children estranged from mothers wore the bruises, emotional and physical, of cultures of dominance. Women and children in these circumstances had poor self esteem and suffered inferiority complexes. This contributed to the silence of victims in not feeling worthy enough to speak out. Disconnected from **whakapapa** stories, alienation from within occurs. **Whanaungatanga** is reduced in **hapū** and **whānau**, to households and to individual members. Survival is reliant on a single relationship; this is control. Addictive behaviours and violent cultures arose out of spiritual voids in the disconnection to ancestral pasts and histories; distanced from

knowing and knowledge. There is no room for truths here, the space is taken up by pain and loss and grief and humiliation and self-hate; this is domination.

**Implications for healing and treatment of trauma and abuse:**

“Individual and community wellbeing programmes” –

Developing wellbeing education in high need areas (low decile schools and high social deprivation areas) tailored to person, genders and groups located in the primary healthcare sector. The programme focus is cultural wellbeing and esteem building inclusive of traditional and modern roles and practices of the genders.

“Art and healing programmes” –

Establishing community programmes involving art, painting, **uku-work**, **harakeke**, poetry, fiction writing and story telling. Art is cathartic, it adds an indigenous and spiritual dimension to healing as experienced by myself in the performance of this research, in particular, the **uku** work, poetry and prose.

Developing **Wahine-ki-te-wahine** programmes for women to build upon relationships with each other. Delivered by cultural teachers, poets, storytellers and artists and from a foundation of women’s cultural epistemology.

Developing **Tane-ki-te-tane** programmes to support a parallel process of transforming men, drawing on historical knowledge, traditional and transitioning gender roles into the millennium.

Identifying **Te Ao Māori** models of community and **whānau** and incorporating these into programmes.

Developing intergenerational programmes to attract grandfathers, fathers and sons.

“Dedicated research on men’s health, wellbeing and illness” –

Creation of research funding to investigate the health and wellbeing of **Māori** men and the impact of poor health and low esteem on their roles as fathers, partners and within **whānau**.

“Conflict management in intimate relationships” –

Establishing relationship counselling services in communities, for individuals and couples to resolve and manage conflict in their intimate partnerships.

### **Silence to Voice**

Sub-headings from the womens’ narratives were; **Discovering connection/Self to whānau; Embodied emotion** and; **Wānanga as liberation**.

Domination comes in many forms, patriarchy, hegemony, racism, misogyny, oppression and exploitation, enabled by processes seeking to privilege groups or people over another and others. Domination has public and private domains. A woman or child who experiences domination in the intimacy of home is rendered powerless and invisible and will then struggle to stand or speak in public (hooks, 1989). Silence is like glass, it can be shattered;

### **Litany for Survival**

***and when we speak we are afraid  
our words will not be heard  
nor welcomed  
but when we are silent  
we are still afraid  
so it is better to speak  
remembering  
we were never meant to survive.***

### **Audre Lorde (hooks, 1989)**

Historical events that have silenced native women are not to be packed away, deleted from memories. How else do we understand the incongruence of where we have come from to where we are now? Emotional pain is remembered in women’s bodies and like low esteem, these things are passed onto the next generation. The sting of remembered pain remains. When women’s being shifts from object to centre as the subject,

transformation will occur in the core of self. Self is the centre of knowing where truths resonate. With knowledge, comes change and liberation.

The **Whakapapa Kōrero** were mothers remembering their pasts. Some mothers mentioned the unmentionable, of abuses at the hands of their mothers and grandmothers, women who had no love for themselves and no understanding of the **Tapu** of their bodies in bearing the generations. Mothers were speaking to others about these hurts, they wanted change, knowledge and connection. Women wanted better stories, they wanted life and love; they shattered the glass and expunged silence.

### **Implications for trauma and abuse programmes:**

“Intervention for harmful behaviours”

Establishing accessible AOD (alcohol other drugs) and addiction services programmes at primary health level.

“Early intervention and prevention”

Delivery of talking therapies, narratives, art therapy, cognitive behaviour therapies and youth programmes in primary health for **rangatahi** who have identified with moderate to severe mental health needs and have had backgrounds of trauma and abuse. Programmes and therapies will have a youth focus and integrated with **Te Ao Māori** values.

“Transformative; **whānau** healing”

Establishment of cultural programmes for families which inform families of the historical, traditional and contemporary influences on wellbeing. Programmes to be facilitated by community members who have had lived experience of familial dysfunction and have transformed their lives and redefined themselves.



“Healing rifts between **whānau** and siblings” –

Establishing counselling interventions with a **whānau** focus in seeking solutions to improve family communication and understanding. Key to this will be understanding the dynamics of **whakawhanaungatanga** and **Mauri**.

Training of skilled cultural counsellors to work alongside **whānau** in accessible community settings.

“Ante-natal screening for mental disorders, family violence and early childhood trauma” –

Detecting early the adverse life experiences of women and mother is crucial to engaging women in interventions that halts the cyclical nature of intergenerational trauma and abuse.

Training midwives and registered nurses in screening for adverse life experiences during ante-natal checks and wellchild checks and referring women to primary and secondary healthcare services.

“**Te Tote o te Kōrero**; women-speak” –

A ‘roadshow’ presentation to **marae** and communities on the diversity of women’s participation in society. Presenters will reflect the age range of mothers, nannies to millennium mothers in sharing testimonies of transformation, of moving beyond adverse life circumstances and of success stories.

### **Ko Au Te Pito**

Remember back in PART TWO, I said the young women in the group **Mama Pūhou** reminded me of my own daughters? Remember when I mentioned the **Haka** Party incident at the University of Auckland? Remember when I spoke about the younger researcher chastised by the experienced researcher over the slight to **Kaupapa Māori** methodologies? Remember? This current generation are the products of our resistance to hegemony, of our activism in generating cultural renaissance. We, mothers and fathers, ‘remembered’ for them and the next generations:

## FOR OUR MOKOPUNA

*woman*  
*writer*  
*Māori woman writer*  
*writing words*  
*painting truths*  
*cutting*  
*slicing*  
*stabbing at hope*  
*for a better*  
*future*  
*for our mokopuna*

**Marewa Glover (2001)**

My daughters and son and their generation do not want conversations about ‘their’ political activism and ‘their’ resistance to ‘whiteness’. They ‘do’ these things in the everydayness of engaging with society. Our collective **mokopuna** are full participants in an ever-changing world and, in carving out the pathways for future **mokopuna**. Young **Māori** women are ‘being’ mothers in new ways in combining their aspirations alongside ‘birthing’ our **whakapapa**. We want our women to have babies, this is healthy **whakapapa**. The connections of **tupuna-mokopuna** remain all important; this is **whānau**. We must savour the institutions of **Whakapapa** and **Whānau**. Women’s voices must be heard in both public and private places.

At the cultural core of my children and their generation, stands **Mauri**. A strong **Mauri** rises through the collective **whānau** and community practices of **Tapu, Mana, Whakapapa** and **Whanaungatanga**. These are transportable values carried in and through to the future in stories, conversations and connections and held in the physicality of young peoples bodies. We are a **Wairua** people, sacred.

**Implications for rangatahi success: Mauri Tu Mauri Ora:**

“**Tupuna-matua-mokopuna**/grandparent-parent-child” –

Developing a social media campaign in highlighting the relationship between grandparents-parents-grandchildren with a focus on the knowledge held by grandparents

and the ways in which grandparents contribute to **whānau ora** and to cultural esteeming of **tamariki** and **rangatahi**. **Tupuna-mokopuna** and **tupuna-mātua- mokopuna** are **whānau** relational models (see CHAPTER 4, p.91).

“Scholarships and grants” –

Targeting funding for young mothers to enter into the tertiary education environment.

Developing scholarships for research that involves interdisciplinary research communities such as the arts and health researchers to encourage innovative cultural research methodologies and practices that are relevant to **Māori** communities.

Establishment of leadership scholarships to advance **Māori** women’s presence in academic tertiary environments in generating **Māori** indigenous women- specific knowledges and programmes.

“Anti-stigmatisation of young parenting” –

Establishment of policy documents communicating **whakapapa** as a **whānau** imperative.

Removing terms and words stigmatising or blaming gender or youthfulness or ethnicity in birthing statistics; this is dominant cultural bias and racism.

Celebrating **whakapapa** maintenance and birthing as a rite of passage for **whānau**.

Promoting pregnancy and birthing in the context of **whānau ora**.

## Summary

This indigene’s autoethnography reveals personal and collective insights into the worlds of women. Intergenerational trauma and abuse is gendered and, continues among specific **whānau** in our communities. This is the legacy of historical cultural trauma, abuse and grief. In the silences, compounding cyclic abuse is poverty: in the marginalisation experienced by women halting their full participation in society; in the low status given to women and mothers; in the lack of recognition of our **whakapapa** values; in the paucity of love in homes where material resources restrict the ability to care for multigenerational- **whānau**; in the premature deaths of men and; in the discrimination, racism and sexism of

hegemony which disadvantages indigenous **Māori** people. Our collective mental wellbeing as mothers is politically, economically and socially influenced, impacting on the wellbeing of **whānau** and community. The wellbeing of mothers, **whānau** and community are interrelated.

Leadership in **whānau** and communities is a start to illuminating the social status of mothers. Leadership needs to be reflected in general society, in the classrooms of learning institutions, in academic research communities and on the benches of policy and decision makers. Interventions, policies and programmes will require broad health, education and cultural knowledge approaches across sectors to reverse transgenerational deprivation. Being **Māori** needs to be ordinary in the celebration of practises around **Whakapapa** and **Whānau**.



# AFTERWORD

The autoethnographic research journey, that is this work, continued up to, during and after the examination of the work. Life continued and events unfolded, **na wai ra na wai ra**, creating more endings and new beginnings. This afterword documents some final experiences and performances, insights and encounters of my autoethnographic journey.

**Ko te mea nui, ko te aroha: tikanga-a-whānau**, August 2013

Some months following the submission of this thesis, my stepfather passed away, he is survived by his wife, my mother, and their children, my siblings. My children and I attended the **tangihanga** and whilst my children engaged in the full rituals of **tangi** firstly entering into the **tapu** ceremony of acknowledging the **tupapaku** and the **whānau pani**; I did not. We had discussed this as a **whānau** and my childrens' desires were to be together with their cousins for **whānau piripiri**/intimacy, **manākitanga**/caring and **aroha**. For the remainder of the **tangihanga**, we assisted with **kai** preparation for the many **manuhiri**, we washed dishes and wiped tables, we talked with, laughed with and entertained **manuhiri**. I greeted my brothers at the airport and brought them to the **tangi**, I greeted the many relatives of my step-father and our **whānau**. We did not attend the prayer services, nor did we go to the cemetery for the burial. We stayed behind to set up the reception venue for the **hakari**. In this time of layers of crisis, there was no conflict in coming together as a **whānau**. We all understood the roles to be performed, we understand **tikanga**; the practice of **tika**, **pono** and **aroha**, that which is right, that which is the truth, that which is love/affectionate regard. This is **whānau**.

As time went on, I spoke with a **kaumatua** about the ritual of '**takahi**' loosely referred to as tramping the house or clearing the house after a death had occurred; it is a spiritual ritual, a **wairua** process. Following his instructions and with the permission of my youngest brother I 'cleared' the house his father had lived in, the house belonged to this brother and he would be returning months later.

Recently, I spent time with my brother. He had come home to New Zealand to pack his father's belongings and to reorganise the house. He talked of the neighbours who had

known his 'dad'; they told my brother how much they had liked him, 'the old fulla'. My brother shared one particular story with me told by his father's neighbour. Brother cried. I lightly touched his arm in apology for not feeling what he was feeling but I let him know that I cared for him as a sister would. We talked of the lives of people with alcohol addictions, the damage caused to family members through these behaviours. We were that family. My brother sees another side of his father, as he would and I am pleased my brother's upbringing had been happy.

At this point, I reflected about my stepfather's childhood, the family that had raised him and the community he had lived within and society at that time. I recalled a statement by one of the women in the **Whakapapa Kōrero** as she related her grandfather's depression and drinking behaviours '*they don't drink because they're happy*'.

#### **Healing a rift, December 2013**

Three years had passed since I had seen my father; three years was the duration of this thesis. Several times over this period, my sister from him would tell me that our father was travelling this way and would I like to see him. This time I said yes. We met over several days and we both enjoyed the kin companionship. We did not talk about the rift or the reason for this. We had both moved ahead to another space where we wanted a relationship; we are finding a way to be family.

#### **O'ahu in the Hawai'i Islands, December 2013**

As a **whānau** we visited the Bishop Museum in **O'ahu**, the keeper of Hawai'i's natural and cultural history, boasting the world's largest collection of Polynesian artefacts. The Polynesian Hall represents Pacific cultures and inlaid in the wood of the groundfloor is a map of the Pacific with **Aotearoa** New Zealand centre bottom and the great expanse of the Pacific ocean reaching as far north as the **Hawai'i** Islands, displaying the multiplicity of island nations between. The Polynesians brought **Māori** to **Aotearoa** New Zealand and in the waters from **Hawai'i** to **Aotearoa** lie our ancestors. Suspended above is a **waka** representing the voyaging of the Pacific waters and to the side of this is a long screen displaying the motion of the waves. An inscription on the wall reads:

**“LAND IS THE LINK BETWEEN THE EARTH AND THE SKY, THE SEA AND THE CLOUDS, THE PAST AND THE FUTURE”** Bernard Narokobi, Papua New Guinea 1988.

We, **Māori**, we women, have shared histories with other women, men and communities of the Pacific. A narrator in a video in the Polynesian Hall had this to say of peoples from lands in the seas:

***“We have different ways of orienting ourselves in the world, we have infinite sources...”***

Polynesian peoples organised their knowledge systems and ways of being around land, sea and skies. We are these people.

People of **Hawai’i** too share creation stories of man, **kane**, and woman, **wahine**, from the clay (depicted in the Bishop Museum). **Iwi** in Aotearoa New Zealand, **Nga-I-Tahu**, **Nga-I-Porou** and **Uri-Wera** in White (1887, p.55-59) related creation stories of **wahine** from the special generating waters and soils of **Hawai-i-ki**. Particularly, **Nga-I-Tahu**, talk of **Kurawaka** (red medium), the generating clay of **Papatūānuku**. On **O’ahu** and other islands in **Hawai’i**, the soil is mineral rich in iron oxide, giving the dirt a deep red colour. I conclude this story with **Ngāpuhi** Robert O’Sullivan, resident poet in **Hawai’i**, speaking about the end of life is a **wairua** journey back...:

With the leaping spirits we threw

Our voices past Three Kings to sea –

Eyes wide open with ancestors (Sommerville, 2011, p.38)

**A Nanny speaks**, January 2013

I am seated in aunties lounge, a suburban home I have been coming to since I was a young child. I show her the thesis, this page and that and, I read to her snippets of stories; **kōrero** is our **kai**, it feeds our souls. She laughs, delighted with the many stories and truths. She sees the copy of her parents marriage certificate and wants this; I tug the page from the binder and hand it to her. I show her the S.S.S25 Social Welfare Department and tell her the story of her father’s futile attempt for an Invalids Benefit and the responding letter saying he needed, still, to provide a birth certificate. This was 1962 and her mother, Mama, was dying. I read to her from the S.S.S25 the many options my grandfather had to provide of evidence of his birth and age, none of which my grandfather could meet. Reading aloud



from the form I inform her of the final evidence required in seeking three reputable **Pākehā** my grandfather considered were in a position to verify his age at 59 years old. Immediately, auntie's eyes flooded with stinging tears. She said "he couldn't read, he couldn't write" and he was asked to get the agreement of three **Pākehā** to be applicable for much needed financial assistance. She was unaware of how much stress and pressure her father was under at the time of her mother's ill health, as she was dying. I was three and half years old and an auntie and several uncles were living at the old home with my grandparents. I tug the page with the S.S.S25 from its binder and give this to auntie. She will display the papered racism from fifty two years ago at her work for her colleagues to see.

We talk, like we have always talked, about **whānau**, family celebrations and conflicts and, **whakapapa**. I share another story with her. Recently, I had been talking to one of her younger sisters about the difficulties in my childhood and the hardships faced and overcome by my mother. Rather than being reflective, I may have sounded self-absorbed and in my family focusing on one-self is viewed as indulgent. The younger sister of Nanny **Makere** quipped "*you are lucky we didn't adopt you out, we kept you!*"; she laughed and Nanny **Makere** laughed as well in the retelling of this story. My grandparents, aunties, uncles and cousins 'kept' me in their bodies and in their stories of who we were as **whānau**; life is not an event, it is captured in our bodies, experienced, lived and remembered.

In spite of her ailments, Nanny **Makere** is thankful for her wellbeing, she is thankful for this time in her life of "**whakamaumaharatanga**", remembering her brothers, her parents and her son who have passed on. The stories in the thesis by the women research participants, the hidden kin stories, the marker stories and my stories, were stories the women, my kin and myself were comfortable in going to print and made visible to the public. And as poignant and vulnerable as some of these stories were, other unwritten but verbal stories we kept amongst each other. These were truths that punched at the core of our esteem, halted our breaths as we waited for our hearts to stop pounding: stories so awful we wondered if indeed they were real, and they were. Like their authors, myself included, some stories are works in progress. Later this year, auntie will be 78 years old. I ask her what is the **ngako** of her life thus far, what wisdoms has she for me. She speaks of her

siblings and all of us the **mokopuna** from their generation and the children of her **mokopuna**; she has an enduring **whakapapa**. And you auntie, what is it about yourself and your own journey in life that brings you contentment at this age and time. She said:

*“Ko te mea nui, ko te tau o tāku wairua i ora pai ai tāku hine-ngaro”*

**Wairua** and **Hine-ngaro**, are interwoven aspects of wellbeing; not to be separated out or one privileged over the other. I get ‘it’ auntie, I get it.

### **Tiri in Woman Far Walking**

*“the memories flow like a river. The currents cross and recross and, when the passions are in full blood, they join, swollen, together. You live this long, these things happen. Reality and unreality. Yesterday and today. Madness and sanity. One minute there. Next minute gone. But you still live on and all that life, that history, is like waves of the sea bursting above you, curling you down into the sand – “*

**Witi Ihimaera (2000, p.2)**

This passage is from a performance of a play **Woman Far Walking** that I attended. In the play **Tiri**, at age one hundred and sixty years, is the oldest woman in the world and a woman who has been battling all her life. *“It is about history, women, how nations are made and how the human spirit survives to carry us through into the new millennium”* (Ihimaera, 2000, p.2).

**Māori** women continue the dreams and aspirations of those before them, the great unseen of **tūpuna**. We see connections more than we see disconnections, every thing has **whakapapa**, and **whakapapa** is what binds people to each other and links people with the natural environment giving rise to infinite possibilities of knowledge. This is an indigenous way of thinking and being and feeling in intertwining our now with our past in illuminating the way forward: the present does not sit alone, ever. This autoethnography performance, this thesis, exists in the now, a completed written performance, held up on both sides by the past and the future. Life is a continuum and, at life’s centre is **whakapapa** in attending to the most vital relationships - **whānAU** – self in family.



# Appendices



## Appendix I: Participant Information Sheet

### Health Systems

Reena Kainamu

Mobile 02102610101

**Whānau Ora: Māori Motherhood, Cultural Connectedness and Mental Well-being**



The University of Auckland

Private Bag 92019

Auckland

New Zealand,

### Participant Information Sheet

*Ko Putahi te maunga*

*Ko Wairoro te awa*

*Ko Ngapuhi te iwi*

*Ko Ngatiwhakaaeke te hapū*

*Ko Te Kotahitanga te marae*

*No Kaikohe āhau*

Tēnā koe,

My name is Reena Kainamu and I am a doctoral student at the University of Auckland. This project will investigate what it is like to be a Māori mother in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. My supervisors are Dr. Nicola North, Dr. Pam Bennett, Dr. Jane McKendrick and Dr. Terryann Clark.

### Purpose of this study

The title of this study is: "**Whānau Ora: Māori Motherhood, Cultural Connectedness and Mental Well-being**". The aims are to investigate the experiences of Māori women in being mothers raising their children and their own experiences of being parented. The objectives of the research are:

- to explore the influences of parenting experiences on a positive Māori identity;
- to explore the influences of a positive Māori identity on mothers' mental health and well-being and;
- to explore the influences of a positive Māori identity on parenting.

I am a registered psychiatric nurse. My academic studies include a Diploma of Mental Health (1999 University of Auckland), Master of Nursing (Mental Health) (2003 Massey University) and a Postgraduate Certificate Health Science (2008 University of Auckland). Throughout these programmes my research has been around Māori health.

### Your participation:

If you agree to participate in this study I would like to interview you to learn about your experiences in being a mother and to hear about your experiences of being parented by a Māori

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82931

Facsimile: 64 9 373-7533

Email: [n.north@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:n.north@auckland.ac.nz)

parent/s. I would like to have a maximum of two interviews of no more than one and a half hours each.

The interview will be more like a conversation than a formal interview and will explore several themes. We will start by talking about your children, and then explore together the experiences as a mother that have been positive, and those less positive, and the skills in mothering that you brought to bear on being a mother. In particular, I would like to learn about your positive experiences of parenting and the things or people that helped you to be positive.

I am interested also in exploring with your experiences of being mothered, and how these experiences influence your being a mother. Finally we can talk about how you would advise a woman just starting out on the journey of motherhood based on your own experiences of being a mother.

To ensure accuracy in the research process our conversations will be conducted primarily in the English language and te reo Māori terms if preferred by yourself. The conversations will be digitally recorded. Later, this will be typed (word for word) by me. The interview will take place at a time and venue agreeable to us both. I will give you a copy of the transcript for you to clarify that what was said was actually what you meant to say. Following your reading of the transcript you are able to withdraw information for a period of up to one week. You are welcome at any time during the talks to have a support person with you.

It is important to remember that the purpose of this study is to find meanings, understandings and interpretations. For my part I am not here to agree or disagree with any part of your interpretation.

### **Research procedures**

If you agree to take part in the interview your written consent will be obtained prior to the start of the interview. You may withdraw part or all of the information you provide for the study up to one week after the completed interview. The information will only be used for the dissertation and any publications that may come out of it. All information will be securely stored and electronic data will be password protected. Once the study is completed all data will be stored for a further six years in agreement with the protocols of the University of Auckland. After this period the data will be destroyed.

### **Confidentiality**

No material which could personally identify you (such as personal name, names of those close to you, place of birth, address etc) will be used in any reports on this study. The researcher would like to include your name under the acknowledgements in the final report. This request is detailed in the Consent Form. However should you disagree with your name being included in the acknowledgements of the final report then your wishes will be followed. You will be asked to select pseudonyms (alternative names) for privacy and confidentiality and the pseudonyms will be used in the report.

Further information on confidentiality in the event of disclosure of safety concerns are detailed below. Even in these instances no information identifying you by name will be included in any report.

### **Data storage**

Data will be kept secure on a password protected computer. Following completion of the study the data will be maintained on a password protected computer for a further six years. After this time the computer stored data will be deleted permanently. Consent forms will be stored in a locked cabinet and only accessible by the researcher.

## **Your rights as a participant**

You have the right to:

- decline to participate,
- to have a support person with you during the interview,
- decline to answer any particular question,
- request the digital tape be turned off at any time during your participation and,
- provide information on the basis that it does not identify you.

## **Discomfort or hurtful memories**

You may experience some discomfort as you share your story about less than positive aspects of being a mother and about being parented. The interview and/or recording can be stopped at any stage for any reason during the interview. The researcher will discuss with you possible support. These include contacting the 0800 611 116 Healthline, a Ministry of Health funded initiative operating 24 hours by registered nurses who will advise you on the appropriate service and locality nearest to you for further assistance. Alternatively, consultation can be sought from your GP, a close whanau member, a support person or a local community service. The researcher will respond sensitively to your discomfort and inquire as to when or if you are ready to continue.

## **Care and protection issues**

Should it become apparent in the interview that you and/or children are currently not safe in your home, the researcher will negotiate with you to engage with a local community agency (a list will be provided by the researcher). The researcher will facilitate contact with the appropriate protective agencies (Child Youth & Family). The researcher is committed to maintaining the safety of you and your children.

## **Cultural safety**

I have set up an informal advisory group (external to the University) comprising of kuia to provide me with cultural guidance if needed. In addition an academic supervisory team that includes Maori researchers will provide academic guidance on the project. Should matters of concern arise for me during the project I may discuss such matters in general with either or both advisory groups. At no time will information which identifies the research participants be shared with individuals in these groups nor with any other person.

## **Dissemination**

At the end of the study you will be given a copy of the final summary. Should you wish the researcher to present the findings back to yourself and whanau then this is possible.

## **Koha payments**

The researcher will apply to the Health Research Council, Māori Education Trust and the Henry Rongamau Bennett Memorial Trust for funds to assist with the study including koha payments to participants. The expected koha will be in the region of \$100 and costs of refreshments.



**Researcher name/contact**

Reena Kainamu  
**Mobile 02102610101**

**Supervisors name/contact**

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Assoc Prof Toni Ashton  
Head of Section  
Health Systems  
Tel: 09 3737599 ext 86136  
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For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, and Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, and Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 ext. 83711.

Noho ora mai

Nā

**R.V.Kainamu Māori Health Researcher, RPN, DMntIH, MN, PGCrtHSc**

**APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON  
20/07/09 for (3) years, Reference Number 2009 / 262**

## Appendix II: Consent Form

### Health Systems

Reena Kainamu

Mobile 02102610101

Ethics Number: 2009 / 262

### Whānau Ora: Maori Motherhood, Cultural Connectedness and Mental Well Being Consent Form

## THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

I have read the Participant Information Sheet for this study and I have had time to consider taking part in the project. I understand that this study is voluntary and I can have whānau support or a friend during the interview. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw participation at any time, and to withdraw any data traceable to me up to one week following receipt of my transcript.
- I understand I will be given a transcript of the recordings and I will have up to one week following this to make changes or delete information to the transcript.
- I understand I will be offered the final transcript once the project is completed.
- I understand that in the event that I may experience emotional discomfort when sharing my story that you the researcher will talk to me about seeking support from whanau, others or formal assistance at some stage.
- I understand that the researcher will consult with the project advisory group and/or the supervisory group with matters of concern or discomfort but will not disclose my identity to them.
- In the event that care and protection concerns for children within my care become evident, I accept that the researcher will negotiate with me to contact a local agency (name to be supplied by the researcher) to facilitate contact with the CYF (Child Youth & Family service) for solutions.
- **I consent** (strike out the term that does not apply) to the researcher to list my name under acknowledgements in the final report of the findings.
- I wish / do not wish to receive the summary of findings.
- I understand that data will be kept for 6 years, after which they will be destroyed.
- I agree to participate in this study as outlined in the Participant Information Sheet of which I have been given a copy
- I agree to be digitally recorded.
- I wish to have the recordings returned to me.
- I understand recording can be stopped at any time for any reason

Name

Signature

Date

**APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON  
19/08/09 FOR (3) YEARS REFERENCE NUMBER 2009/ 262**



## Appendix IV: Advertisement

Health Systems

08 May 2010

Reena Kainamu  
Mobile 02102610101



THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND  
FACULTY OF MEDICAL AND  
HEALTH SCIENCES

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Ref. 2009 / 262

### Advertisement

#### **Whānau Ora: Māori Motherhood, Cultural Connectedness and Mental Well-being**

I am a doctoral student studying with the University of Auckland and my project is around Māori motherhood. I would like to hear your stories about being raised by a Māori mother, grandmother, older sister or aunty whether you were a biological child, whāngai or adopted and how these experiences influenced, or not, the parenting of your own children. What aspects of the way you were raised were important in your own experiences of being a mother? What aspects were difficult? What is it in your parenting that you would like your children to value? The information you share with me will go along way to assisting with my research. I have received funding from the Henry Rongomau Bennett Trust and the Health Research Council. Your contribution to this study is extremely valuable and you will be given a koha for participating. Please contact me (text or ring) **mobile 02102610101** for further information.

Naaku noa  
Na Reena Kainamu

**APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN  
PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 20/07/09 for (3) years,  
Reference Number 2009 / 262**



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